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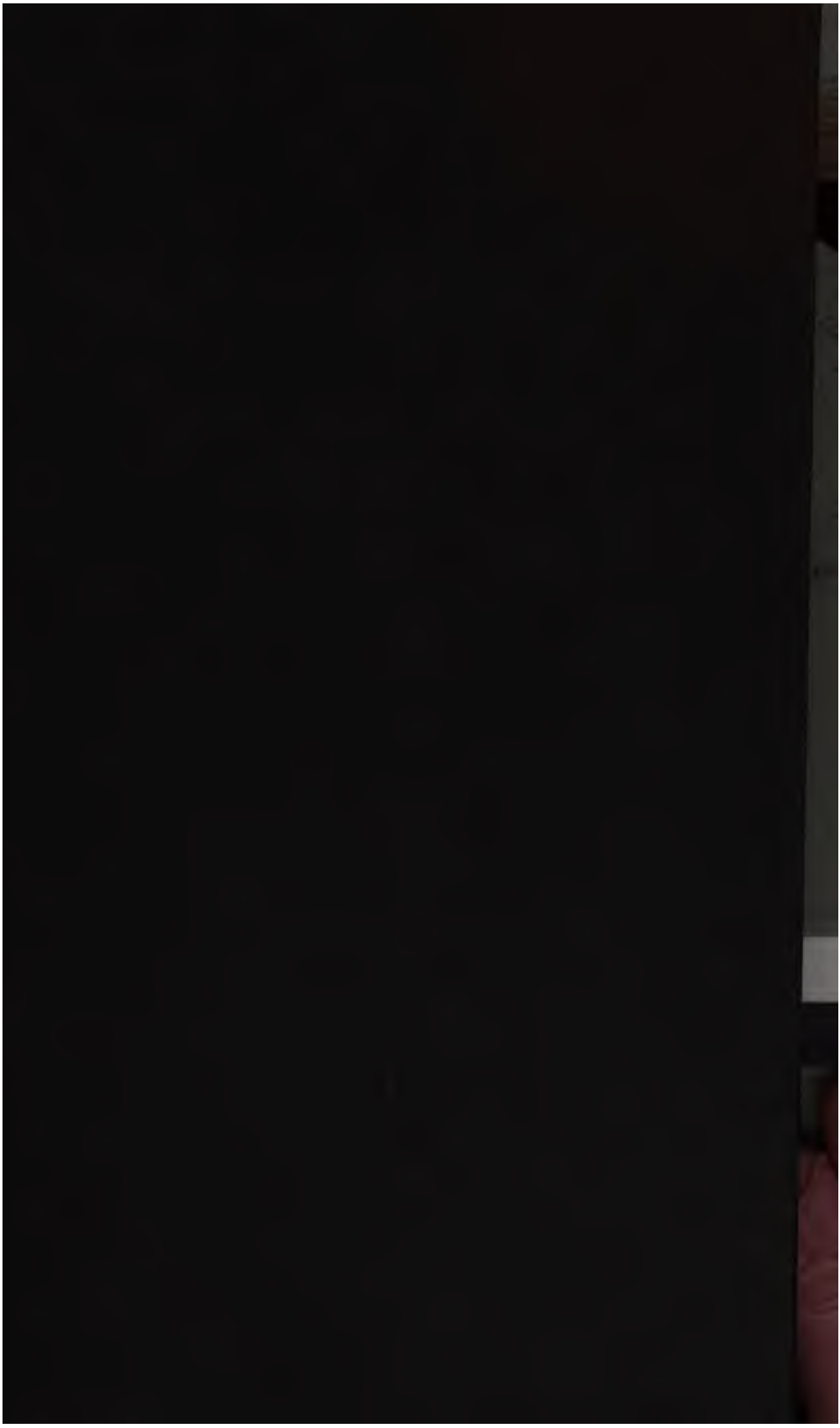

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A

COMPLETE

HISTORY

OF

CONNECTICUT,

Civil and Ecclesiastical,

FROM THE EMIGRATION OF ITS FIRST PLANTERS,

FROM ENGLAND, IN THE YEAR 1630,

TO THE YEAR 1764;

AND TO THE CLOSE OF THE INDIAN WARS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY BENJAMIN TRUMBULL, D. D.

Vol. II.

NEW-HAVEN:
PUBLISHED BY MALTBY, GOLDSMITH AND CO.
AND SAMUEL WADSWORTH.

1818.

District of Connecticut, ss.

BE it remembered, that on the twenty-second day of June, in the 42d year of the Independence of the United States of America, Maltby, Goldsmith & Co. and Samuel Wadsworth, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit: "A complete History of Connecticut, civil and eccle-"siastical, from the emigration of its first planters, from England, in the year "1630, to the year 1664; and to the close of the Indian wars. In two volumes. "By Benjamin Trumbull, D. D. With an Appendix, containing the original "Patent of New-England, never before published in America"—In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

R. I. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut

PREFACE TO VOL. II.

THE collection of materials for the writing, and the compiling of the first history of a state, or nation, is far more difficult, than doing it after others have gone before, and exhibited some outline, or general example of the work. Especially is the collection of materials, and the substantiating of facts, more difficult, and matter of greater labour, when the business has not been undertaken till a long period has passed away, from the first settlement of a country or a commonwealth. Under these difficulties, the writer of this history began the laborious work. Almost a century and an half had elapsed, from the time of the emigration of the first planters of the colony, from their native country, before the work was attempted. The fathers of the colony, and their children, were generally in their graves: a third and fourth generation were come upon the stage. The materials were scattered far and wide. They were to be collected from the records of two colonies; from the records and transactions of the commissioners of the united colonies; of towns and churches; from ancient tracts and pamphlets; from old manuscripts, the church yards, and monuments of the dead. Many of them could be read but with great difficulty. When the collection of proper documents was effected, the arranging of such a mass of papers, and the forming of an orderly, well connected and authenticated story, from the whole, was a matter of great and difficult labour. The compiler would never have conceived the greatness and difficulty of it, had he not known it by experience. No person will conceive it, who has not had some experience of the same kind.

When the compiler had finished the first volume, he had no design of publishing another. He considered the work too arduous; that it would bring the history down too near his own times; and that he was too far advanced in life for such an undertaking: but he has been so strongly urged, by gentlemen of the first character, in this state, and many others, and the first volume has met so favorable a reception, that, with the desire of doing some further service to his fellow citizens, he has been prevailed on to publish this second volume.

It has been his desire to give the history of every town in the state; but, after publishing his design in the newspapers, with heads of inquiry, and writing a multitude of letters, he has not been able to obtain, from some towns, the least information. He has visited a great proportion of the towns in the state, and written to gentlemen in them repeatedly, yet he has not obtained all the information he wished. It will be observed that some towns are almost wholly unnoticed in the history. The only reason is, that no information could be obtained from them.

For the purpose of giving a fair and just representation of facts, much more has been quoted from records, various pamphlets, tracts and letters, than otherwise would have been done. For that purpose, many

things have been collected and read, to which, otherwise, the compiler would have paid no attention. Great pains have been taken to ascertain facts, and to write an impartial and well authenticated history: how far he hath succeeded in his work, must be left to the opinion of the public.

It was the intention of the writer to have given an account of the cities in the state, their latitude and longitude, their trade, manufactures, &c.; of the state prison; of the fisheries; of the exports and imports; of the militia, train of artillery, fortifications, &c.: but finding that the volume would not admit of it, he has omitted the account which he designed.

Notwithstanding all the pains which have been taken, it will not be strange if, in such a variety of facts and dates, there should be some mistakes. There may have been some in the great number of historical communications made to the author, and it is not improbable that he has made some himself, though, he hopes, none very material.

He has had assistance from gentlemen in the several parts of the state, in making collections of the history of their particular towns. To them, and to all others who have given him assistance, he presents his grateful acknowledgments.

It will be observed that the ecclesiastical part of the history is kept by itself, in distinct chapters, and comprises about a third part of the history. It would make a volume by itself, and might be printed separately without any derangement of the narration.

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HISTORY

OF

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AFTER the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony had been established, and had time to operate, the churches became more regular and harmonious in their discipline, enjoyed more general peace, and their numbers constantly increased. But the long and distressing war, in the reign of Queen Anne, had injured the morals of the people, occasioned the emission of a considerable number of bills of public credit, and retarded the sale and settlement of the lands belonging to the colony. Therefore on the termination of the war, several important objects arrested the attention of the legislature. The first and principal were the reformation of manners, the advancement of literature, the preservation of their charter, the state of the currency, the payment of the public debt, and the sale and settle-

Effects of the Constitution.

Objects of attention after the war.

BOOK II. ment of the new lands. As they were highly sensible that the liberty, peace and prosperity of a people, were very dependent on good morals, and a general diffusion of knowledge, they gave their first and particular attention to these objects. A state of war is peculiarly unfriendly to religion. It dissipates the mind, diminishes the degree of instruction, removes great numbers almost wholly from it, connects them with the most dangerous company, and presents them with the worst examples. It hardens and emboldens men in sin; is productive of profaneness, intemperance, disregard to property, violence and all licentious living. Its baneful influence had been observed and lamented by the good people, during the war. In some places, measures had been adopted to prevent a greater degree of declension, and to ameliorate the morals of the people. As early as the year 1711, the North Association in the county of Hartford, passed several resolves for that purpose, and particularly recommended it to the several congregations within their limits, "That all such as had not yet owned the baptismal covenant, should be called upon to attend their duty in that case: That such as had heretofore owned it, should, at the same time, manifest their renewed consent thereto: and, that both the one and the other should enter into solemn engagements, that they would constantly attend the duties of GOD's worship in public, private and secret, not allowing themselves in the neglect of any of his holy ordinances: That they would shun carelessness, contempt of sacred things and sinful excuses: That they would carefully watch against all irreverence in the worship of GOD, and all profanation of his glorious and fearful name, by careless imprecations, rash swearing, or any other way in which it is or may be taken in vain: That they would strictly observe the Christian sabbath, one whole day in seven, seasonably beginning, and duly continuing the same; and therein watching against all worldly thoughts, words and works: and that they would endeavour carefully to discharge the several duties of their respective places and relations, as superiors, inferiors or equals. Particularly, that they would honor, submit to and obey those whom GOD had set over them, whether in families, churches, or commonwealth." Further, it was recommended that they should covenant, "That they would look well to their households, keep their children and servants in due subjection, instruct them in the principles of religion, and endeavour to restrain them from all profaneness and immorality: That, as much as in them lay, they would live peaceably with all men, careful-

War unfriendly to religion.

Recommendations for a reformation. Oct. 1711.

ly avoiding the unjustly giving or taking of offence: That they would be careful to maintain a chaste conversation, watching against all the incentives to uncleanness, especially against keeping vain and disorderly company: That they would mind their own business, and strictly observe the rules of righteousness in commerce and dealings one with another; heedfully watching against all violations of it, by deceit, oppression, and all unjust and dishonest dealing whatsoever: That they would speak the truth one with another, avoiding all lying, slandering, backbiting, reviling, and promise breaking." BOOK II.

IT was further recommended that they should covenant, "That they would mutually watch over one another, giving and receiving reproof as became christians: That they would in their several capacities, bear due witness against all profaneness and immorality; and that they would not withhold their testimony when it might be necessary for the conviction and punishment of offenders: That they would watch against the prevailing of a worldly and covetous spirit: against intemperance in the use of lawful things; particularly against excess in drinking: and that they would not allow themselves in frequenting either public or private drinking houses."* That they might be enabled faithfully to discharge these duties, they were exhorted diligently to seek divine assistance.

THIS recommendation was generally read in the several congregations within the district of that Association. It was published in the congregation of the second society in Hartford, and proposed to the consideration of the people, December 30, 1711. Great pains were taken to instruct them, and remove scandal wherever it might be found. The names of those who proposed to take the covenant upon them were made public. The way having been thus prepared, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed for that purpose, when one hundred persons appeared and owned the covenant. Other churches probably did something of the same nature; but how generally this was practised does not appear, as few of the churches, at that time, kept any record of their transactions. Many pastors and churches could not adopt the recommendation at large, as they were persuaded, that the owning of the covenant, as it has been generally called, was entirely anti-scriptural. Owning the covenant at Hartford, Feb. 4th, 1712.

No sooner was the war terminated, than the General Assembly, deeply affected with the apparent decline of christian morals, and desirous as far as possible to effect a reformation, at the May session, 1714, came to the following Resolution of the Assembly, May, 1714, respecting morals.

* Records of the second church in Hartford.

BOOK II. resolution, viz. "This Assembly taking into their serious "consideration, the many evident tokens that the glory is "departed from us: That the providences of GOD are "plainly telling us that our ways do not please him. And "knowing the obligations that we are under, not only for "the suppressing of all profaneness and immorality, that "so greatly threatens the ruin of the land, but also to en- "courage piety and virtue, do pray the honourable the "Governour, to recommend to the Reverend Elders of the "General Association, at their next meeting, that they give "direction to each particular association throughout the "government, that the state of religion be strictly enquired "into, in every parish throughout this government; and "particularly how, and whether catechising be duly attend- "ed? And whether there be a suitable number of bibles "in the various families in the respective parishes; and "also if there be found, in any of our parishes, any that "neglect attendance upon the public worship on the LORD'S "day? To enquire what means have been used with such "persons to regain them to a compliance with their so ne- "cessary a duty; that thereby the worship of GOD be duly "encouraged, observed and attended, both in families and "parishes. And likewise, that there be a strict enquiry, "which, and what are the sins and evils that provoke the "just majesty of heaven, to walk contrary unto us in the ways "of his providence; that thereby all possible means may "be used for our healing and recovery from our degenera- "cy. And it is further recommended to the Reverend El- "ders of the General Association, that they send in to the "honourable, the Governour, what they find."*

Report of the General Association, Oct. 1715.

The pastors of the churches having made the enquiries which had been recommended by the Assembly, made their report at the October session, 1715. In this they represent, "That there was a great want of bibles: That there was a great neglect of attending on the public worship upon the Sabbath and at other seasons: That catechising was much neglected in several places: That there was a great deficiency in family government: and that there were various irregularities with respect to commutative justice. They complain particularly of tale bearing and defamation: of calumniating, and contempt of authority and order, both civil and ecclesiastical:" Of intemperance and several other vices.†

Resolutions of the Assembly to suppress vice.

THE legislature upon this report, resolved, "We are fearful that there hath been a great neglect of a due execution of those good laws already enacted, for the preventing

* Records of the Colony, vol. iv. folio, year 1714. † Folio vol, v. 1715.

of such decays in religion." It was therefore enacted, BOOK II.
"That all judges and justices of the peace in the respective
"counties, in this colony, be diligent and strict in putting in 1715.
"execution all the laws and acts of this Assembly, made
"for the suppressing or punishing all or any of the above
"mentioned immoralities, or irregularities: and that there-
"by the good ends proposed in such acts and laws may be
"attained. That the selectmen, constables and grand ju-
"rors in the respective towns in this colony shall, from
"time to time, strictly observe the following directions,
"To the due execution of the law of this colony intitled
"CHILDREN TO BE EDUCATED, in all and every the several
"parts and paragraphs of the said act. That the select-
"men make diligent enquiry of all householders within
"their respective towns, how they are stored with bibles;
"and if upon such inquiry any such householder be found
"without one bible, at least, that then the said selectmen
"shall warn the said householder forthwith to procure one
"bible at least, for the use and benefit of such family. And
"if the same be neglected, then said selectmen shall make
"return thereof to the next authority: and that all those
"families which are numerous, and whose circumstances
"will admit thereof, shall be supplied with a considerable
"number of bibles, according to the number of persons in
"such families: and that they see that all such families be
"furnished with a suitable number of orthodox catechisms,
"and other good books of practical godliness, viz. such as
"treat on, encourage and duly prepare for the right at-
"tendance on that great duty, the LORD'S supper.

"That the constables and grand jurors in the respective
"towns in this colony, shall make due search after, and pre-
"sentment make, of all breaches of the following laws of
"this colony.

1. "Of an act entitled, Children to be educated.
2. "Of the first paragraph of the law entitled Ecclesias-
"tical.
3. "Of the two last paragraphs of the law entitled an act
"for the better detecting and more effectual punishing of
"profaneness and immorality.
4. "Of an act for the better observation and keeping of
"the Lord's day.
5. "Of the law, — Title lying.
6. "Of the law against swearing.
7. "Of an act to prevent unseasonable meetings of young
"people on the evening after the sabbath day, and at other
"times.
8. "Of an act to prevent tippling and drunkenness.

BOOK II. 9. "Of an act to suppress unlicensed houses and for "regulating such as were licensed."*

1716. The Assembly ordered that these resolutions should be immediately printed, and that they should be published through the colony. It also directed that they should be read publicly in the several towns, at their annual meetings, before the choice of their town officers. It was also particularly recommended to all the towns to be very careful in the appointment of their officers, to choose men of known ability, integrity and resolution.

As literature and a general diffusion of christian knowledge were considered as highly important for the maintaining and advancing of religion, as well as for the liberty, dignity and happiness of the commonwealth, the collegiate school attracted the special attention, both of the legislature and clergy. Though generous donations had been made for its encouragement and support, yet the state of it was far from being flourishing or happy. The students were separated one from another. The senior class were at Milford, under the instruction of Mr. Andrew, the rector pro tempore, and the other classes at Saybrook, under the instruction of two tutors. In this scattered state, the principal part of the school were very little benefitted by the instructions and government of the rector, which were of great importance to its general order and advancement. The books were necessarily divided and exposed to be lost. The same general benefit could not, in this state, be derived from the library. At the same time the scholars were dissatisfied, both with the place and manner of their instruction. They judged that Saybrook was not sufficiently compact for their accommodation. Some of them were obliged to reside more than a mile from the place of their public exercises. They were no better pleased with their instruction and government, as they had no resident rector, and the tutors were often young and inexperienced. The students were not the only persons who complained. From the beginning, there had been a disagreement with respect to the place where the college should be fixed. Mens' opinions with respect to it were generally governed by their interest. They generally chose the place which would best accommodate themselves. This created warm parties in the colony, and even created a division among the trustees. Some were for continuing it at Saybrook, others were zealously engaged to remove it to Hartford or Weathersfield. A third party were not less engaged finally to fix it at New-Haven. In this state of things, num-

The unhappy state of the College.

Divisions in the colony and among the trustees respecting it.

* Colony Records, folio vol. v. October session, 1715.

bers of the students became clamorous, and openly manifested their disaffection and disrespect towards their tutors. This made it necessary for the trustees to meet and examine the reasons of their uneasiness and disorder. BOOK II.

They met at Saybrook, April 4th, 1716. When the scholars came before them, they complained of the insufficiency of their instruction and the inconveniences of the place, as their principal grievances. Especially, the scholars from Hartford, Weathersfield and the towns in that vicinity, alledged, that it was a hardship to oblige them to reside at Saybrook, when they could be as well instructed and much better accommodated near home. It has been the tradition, that most of these complaints had been suggested to them by others, with a view to foment a general uneasiness, and by these means effect the removal of the college. Trustees meet April 4th, 1716.

AFTER a long debate on the circumstances of the school, it appeared that the trustees were no better agreed than the students, and that some of them were governed by motives which they did not choose openly to avow. Some of them so strongly advocated the cause of the Hartford and Weathersfield scholars, that a majority of the trustees condescended to give a toleration to them, and others who were most uneasy, to go to such places of instruction, until commencement, as should best suit their inclinations. The consequence was, that the greatest part of them went to Weathersfield, and put themselves under the instruction of the Rev. Elisha Williams, pastor of the church in Newint. Some went to other places, and a number continued at Saybrook. But the small pox, soon after, breaking out in the town, these generally removed to East-Guilford, and were under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Hart and Mr. Russell, till the commencement. The college is broken up and scattered into several places.

As the collegiate school was in this broken state, and as the trustees were not agreed among themselves, in what place it should be fixed, the people, in different parts of the colony, began to subscribe considerable sums for the building of a college, that, by these means, they might induce the trustees to fix it according to their wishes. About 700 pounds sterling was subscribed for the establishment of it at New-Haven, 500 pounds for fixing it at Saybrook, and considerable sums, for the same purpose, at Hartford and Weathersfield. Subscriptions for the establishment of the College at some particular place.

AT the commencement, Sept. 12th, 1716, the trustees met, at Saybrook, and took into consideration the state and place of the collegiate school, but as they could not agree with respect to the place in which it should be established, Trustees meet at Saybrook, Sept. 12, 1716.

BOOK II. they adjourned, until the 17th of October, to meet at New-Haven.

Meet at New-Haven Oct. 17, 1716, and vote that the College shall be at that place.

THE trustees, for the first time, met at New-Haven, according to adjournment. There were present, the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Andrew, Timothy Woodbridge, Joseph Webb, Samuel Russel, Moses Noyes, John Davenport, Thomas Buckingham and Thomas Ruggles. They had now had further time and opportunity to consult the opinions and feelings of the people, to obtain the opinion of Governor Saltonstall, and of the General Assembly, and to know what subscriptions had been made for one place and another. Having obtained all the information on the subject which they judged necessary, they voted, "That considering the difficulties of continuing the collegiate school "at Saybrook, and that New-Haven is a convenient place "for it, for which the most liberal donations are given, the "the trustees agree to remove the said school from Say-"brook to New-Haven, and it is now settled at New-Ha-"ven accordingly."* Five of the trustees present, were in the vote; Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham, were for Weathersfield. Mr. Noyes declared, that he did not see the necessity of removing the school from Saybrook; but if it must be removed, his mind was to settle it at New-Haven.

THE trustees at this meeting, received 250 pounds sterling, which the General Assembly had granted some years before, arising from the sale of the equivalent lands. They had before in the treasury about 125 pounds. These sums, with the large subscriptions which had been made for the building of the college at New-Haven, encouraged the trustees to vote that they would build a large, convenient college, and a rector's house at New-Haven: and they appointed a committee to accomplish the work.

They voted, That the Rev. Mr. Andrew should continue rector, pro tempore, until a fixed rector could be obtained. They also appointed two tutors; and gave orders that all the students, belonging to the school, should repair to New-Haven for instruction and government. At the same time, they appointed Mr. Stephen Buckingham of Norwalk, one of the trustees. The scholars who had been studying at East-Guilford, came to New-Haven, according to the direction of the trustees; but none came from Weathersfield. Such was their obstinacy, and such the countenance and support which others gave them, that they continued their studies there until the next commencement. The trustees sent the record of their doings at this meeting, to the Rev.

* President Clap's History of Yale College, p. 18.

Mr. James Noyes of Stonington, who on the 19th of December, signed it, and declared his hearty concurrence with every vote. BOOK II.

THE trustees met again at New-Haven, the next April. At this meeting, seven trustees, the Rev. Messrs. James Noyes, Samuel Andrew, Samuel Russel, Joseph Webb, John Davenport, Thomas Ruggles and Stephen Buckingham, were present. The acts which had been passed at the preceding meeting, at this were read, voted and subscribed by all the members present, except Mr. Stephen Buckingham, who on the account of his relatives and friends at Saybrook, judged it expedient not to act. Trustees meet April 5th, 1717.

WHILE the trustees in general, were fixed in their determination to establish the college at New-Haven, they met with a strong opposition from gentlemen in the northern and eastern parts of the colony. The people in general, were warmly engaged on one side or the other, which occasioned the affair several times to be taken up and warmly debated in the General Assembly. No act however, had as yet been passed relating to the subject. The trustees pursuing their own resolutions with firmness and constancy, held the commencement at New-Haven. Mr. Andrew moderated as rector pro tempore. Four senior sophisters came from Saybrook, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and numbers were admitted to the degree of Masters. The number of students was thirty one; of whom thirteen, the past year, had studied at New-Haven, fourteen at Weathersfield, and four at Saybrook. Commencement at New-Haven. Sept. 11, 1717.

SOON after the commencement, the college house was raised at New-Haven. Nevertheless, Messrs. Woodbridge, Buckingham, and their respective parties, persisted in their opposition to the proceedings of the trustees. They, in the October session, presented a remonstrance to the Assembly, alledging, That the votes of the trustees to fix the college at New-Haven, in October 17th, 1716, and April 5th, 1717, were not legal. They insisted, That the major part of them were not in the votes, and that one was not qualified according to law: That in October, 1716, there were, at least, nine existing trustees, and that four of them only were in the vote: That Mr. Ruggles was chosen before he was forty years of age; and that the choice was therefore null: and that Mr. Noyes' consent to the votes so long after, and at such a distance, could avail nothing to their confirmation. In the acts of April, 1717, they affirmed that there were five trustees only out of ten. Oct. 8th, 1717. Remonstrance against the votes of the trustees.

THE trustees replied, That in October, 1716, there were but nine trustees: That a vacancy had been made by the Reply of trustees.

BOOK II. death of Mr. Pierpont, which had not been supplied; and that Mr. Mather of Windsor, had been bed rid many years,
1717. had resigned his ministry, and could not, in those circumstances, be considered as a trustee. They pleaded, that if Mr. Ruggles was not forty years of age at the time of his nomination, yet that at the time when the vote was passed, he had arrived to that age; and that the trustees, in conformity to their previous nomination, admitting him to sit and act, had associated him according to their charter. With respect to Mr. Noyes, they replied, that as they were not limited as to the manner of their acting, he, though absent, at the time of their meeting, might give his consent to said act, by subscribing it at home, some time after, as well as if he had been present. They therefore insisted, that there was a majority of six out of nine: and that in April, 1717, after the choice of Mr. Stephen Buckingham, there was a majority of six out of ten. They further insisted, that if Mr. Ruggles should not be reckoned at either of the meetings, nor Mr. Noyes, nor any other of the trustees when absent, that there was a majority of those present, which constituted a legal act.

Resolve of the upper house.

AFTER a full hearing, the upper house resolved, "That the objections against the vote of the trustees, were insufficient." The lower house, after a long debate, resolved nothing relative to the subject. This shows how deeply the colony felt itself interested in this affair, and how unhappily it was divided.

The trustees fix the college at New-Haven.

THE trustees, who were then convened at New-Haven, wishing to remove all occasion of objection for the future, passed a vote, in which they declared Mr. Ruggles to be a trustee, and associated him as such. They also passed a vote, predicated on several former acts, in which they finally fixed the college at New-Haven. To this, for the greater solemnity, seven of the trustees, James Noyes, Moses Noyes, Samuel Andrew, Samuel Russel, Joseph Webb, John Davenport and Thomas Ruggles, set their hands. The reasons assigned by the trustees for establishing the college at New-Haven, were, the difficulties of keeping it at Saybrook, arising partly from the uneasiness of the students, and partly from the continual attempts of numbers of gentlemen to remove it to Hartford. They judged that to be too far from the sea, and that it would, by no means, accommodate the Western and Southern colonies, in most of which, at that period, there were no colleges. They were also of the opinion, that New-Haven, on the account of its commodious situation, the salubrity and agreeableness of its air, and the cheapness of its com-

modities, was the best adapted to that purpose. Further, the largest donations had been made there, without which they could not defray the expense of building the college house. BOOK II.

In these circumstances, the General Assembly, desirous of strengthening the hands of the trustees, and of promoting the interests of the college, before the close of the sessions, in October, passed the following act: "That under the present circumstances of the collegiate school, the Reverend "Trustees be advised to proceed in that affair, and to finish the house which they have built in New-Haven for "the entertainment of the scholars belonging to the collegiate school." At the same time, the Assembly granted an hundred pounds to be distributed among the instructors of the college.* The Assembly advise them to proceed. Oct. 1717.

NOTWITHSTANDING it seemed as though the college was now established at New-Haven, both by the trustees and the General Assembly, there were gentlemen who continued fixed in the plan of establishing it at Weathersfield. They encouraged the students who had been instructed there the last year, who were about fourteen in number, to continue their studies still in the same place. At the session in May following, the house of representatives voted, "to desire "the trustees to consent that the commencement should be "held alternately at Weathersfield and New-Haven, till the "place of the school be fully determined." The upper house were of the opinion, that the place of the "school was fully determined already by the indisputable votes of the trustees, and the subsequent advice of the Assembly thereupon; and therefore they did not concur. Governour Saltonstall was supposed always to favour the establishment of the college at New-Haven, and his influence might be one reason, that the upper house acted more readily and firmly for it than the house of representatives. He was possessed of a considerable landed interest in the eastern part of the town, which some imagined was a motive, as it would increase the value of his lands. May, 1718.

ABOUT this time, the college at New-Haven received a number of large and generous donations; which at this period, when the college was struggling under so many difficulties, were peculiarly acceptable. Governour Yale, who in 1714, had sent over 40 volumes in Mr. Dummer's collection, sent, to the college, the last year, 300 volumes more. It was computed that both parcels were worth an hundred pounds sterling. This year, 1718, he sent over goods to the amount of two hundred pounds sterling, prime cost, Donations to the college.

* Records of Connecticut, folio vol. v. Oct. 1717.

BOOK II. with the king's picture and arms. He gave intimations, that he would still add. Three years after, he sent the value of an hundred pounds more. Mr. Dummer, at the same time, sent seventy six volumes of books, twenty of which were folios. The whole were estimated at 30 pounds sterling. Governour Saltonstall and Jahaleel Benton, Esq. of Newport, each of them made to the college a present of fifty pounds sterling. By these and several other large donations, the school experienced a happy alteration. The college which had been erected the last October, was now so far finished as to be fit for the reception and accommodation of all the students. It was an hundred and seventy feet in length, and twenty two feet in breadth. It was three stories high, and made a very handsome appearance. It contained nearly fifty studies in large chambers. It was furnished with a convenient hall, library and kitchen. The cost of it was about a thousand pounds sterling.

1718.

Commencement at New-Haven, Sept. 12, 1718.

ON the 12th of September, there was a splendid commencement at New-Haven. Exclusive of the trustees, there were present, the honourable Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq. Governor of Connecticut, the honourable William Taylor, Esq. as representing Governor Yale, the honourable Nathan Gould, Esq. deputy Governor, several of the Assistants and Judges of the circuit, a large body of the clergy, and numerous spectators.

The college named in honor to Gov. Yale.

THE trustees impressed with a sense of Governor Yale's great generosity, called the collegiate school YALE COLLEGE, and entered a memorial of it upon record in the words following: "GENEROSISSIMA, honoratissimi Domini ELIHU YALE Armigeri, donatione, vigilantes scholæ academicæ, in splendido Novi Portus Connecticutensis oppido constitutæ, Curatores, ædificium collegiale inceptum erectumque perficere capaces redditi, honorem tali tantoque Mæcenati patronoque debitum animo gratissimo meditantes, memoriamque tanti beneficii in hanc præcipue coloniam collati, in omne ævum modo optimo perducere studiosi: Nos Curatores, negotii tanti in commune præsertim hujus provinciæ populi bonum momenti cura honorati, *omothumadon* consentimus, statuimus, et ordinamus, nostras ædes academicas patroni munificentissimi, nomine appellari, atque YALENSE COLLEGIUM nominari: ut hæc provincia diuternum viri adeo generosi, qui, tanta benevolentia tantaque nobilitate, in commodum illorum maximum propriamque incolarum et in præsenti et futuris sæculis utilitatem consuluit, monumentum retineat et conservet."

It may be rendered in English in the following manner, viz.

THE trustees of the Collegiate school, constituted in the

splendid town of New-Haven, in Connecticut, being enabled by the most generous donation of the Honorable ELIHU YALE, Esq. to finish the college house already begun and erected, gratefully considering the honor due to such and so great a Benefactor and Patron, and being desirous, in the best manner, to perpetuate to all ages, the memory of so great a benefit, conferred chiefly on this colony: We the trustees having the honor of being intrusted with an affair of so great importance to the common good of the people, especially of this province, do with one consent agree, determine and ordain that our College House shall be called by the name of its munificent Patron, and shall be named YALE COLLEGE: That this Province may keep and preserve a lasting monument of such a generous Gentleman, who by so great benevolence and generosity, has provided for their greatest good, and the peculiar advantage of the inhabitants, both in the present and future ages. BOOK II. 1718.

ON the morning of the commencement, this testimonial of generosity and gratitude was published with solemn pomp, in the college hall, both in Latin and English. The procession then moved to the meeting house, and attended the public exercises of the day. In addition to the usual exercises at the commencement, the Rev. John Davenport, one of the trustees, delivered a florid oration in celebration of the generosity of Governor Yale, and its happy influence on their infant school. The honorable Gov. Saltonstall, was pleased to crown the public exercises with an elegant Latin Oration, in which he expatiated upon the happy state of the college, as fixed at New-Haven, and endowed with so many noble benefactions. He particularly celebrated the generosity of Governor Yale, with peculiar respect and honor. Transactions at commencement.

At this commencement eight young gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and a number were admitted to the degree of Masters.

ON the same day on which the commencement was holden with so much celebrity at New-Haven, a dissatisfied party held a kind of commencement at Weathersfield, in the presence of a large number of spectators. Five scholars, who were originally of the same class with those who now received their degrees at New-Haven, performed public exercises. Mr. Woodbridge moderated, and he with Mr. Buckingham, and other ministers present, signed certificates, expressing their opinion, that they were worthy of the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Mr. Woodbridge, in a formal manner, gave them these certificates in the meet- Commencement at Weathersfield.

BOOK I. ing house; and this was commonly taken and represented as giving their degrees.

1718. Letters of thanks to benefactors.

SOON after the commencement, the trustees sent a complaisant letter of thanks to Governor Yale, expressing the deep sense which they had of his generosity, and certifying him of all the transactions at the commencement. They also sent a letter of thanks to their great friend and benefactor, Jeremiah Dummer, Esq. for his late donation of books; they also forwarded another to General Nicholson, for his donation of books in Mr. Dummer's collection.

Remarks on the transactions at Weathersfield.

THE conduct of the two trustees, Woodbridge and Buckingham, in holding a commencement and giving degrees at Weathersfield, could be considered in no other point of light, than that of a great misdemeanour, and highly reprehensible. It was a direct violation of the acts of the trustees and the resolutions of the General Assembly, totally inconsistent with their duty as trustees, and calculated in its whole tendency, to keep up division and disorder in the college and in the colony. The scholars, by withdrawing themselves from the government and instruction of the college, had little claim to its honors. This transaction, indeed was such, in the whole view of it, as at once strikingly to exhibit the weakness and fallibility of wise and good men, and how greatly they may fall in an hour of temptation. But whatever was the criminality of this transaction, or whatever opinions the trustees or legislature might form concerning it, such were the divisions in the colony, such the heat and agitation of men's spirits, that it was judged expedient to let it pass without public reprehension, and to adopt the most condescending and conciliatory measures. Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham, were men of important characters, and their influence in the colony was very considerable.

IT was the desire of the legislature and trustees, as far as possible to conciliate their friendship towards the college, and towards themselves, and to quiet the minds of their party.

Oct. 9, 1718. Resolutions of the Assembly.

WHEN the General Assembly came together, in October, they therefore passed the following resolutions, to compose the difficulties which had arisen on account of the establishment of the college at New-Haven, and to effect a good agreement among the trustees, and in the colony in general.

1. "That the annual salary allowed out of the public treasury to the collegiate school, for the year past, shall be distributed to the tutors at New-Haven, Weathers-

field and Saybrook, in proportion to the scholars under their tuition." BOOK II.

2. "That the scholars who performed their exercises at Weathersfield, shall have their degrees at New-Haven, without further examination; and that all scholars entered at the school in Weathersfield, shall be admitted to the same standing in the school at New-Haven." 1718.

3. "That there shall be 500 pounds allowed for the building of a State House at Hartford, which money shall be procured by the sale of land belonging to this colony, and shall be put into the hands of such committee as the Assembly shall appoint for that use: and it is ordered, that the scholars at Weathersfield, shall come down to New-Haven."

4. "That 50 pounds be procured by the sale of such lands as above said, and given to the town of Saybrook, for the use of the school in said town."

5. "That the Governor and council, at the desire of the trustees of said college, shall give such orders as they shall think proper, for the removing of the books, belonging to the said college, left at Saybrook, to the library provided for the placing of them at New-Haven."

6. "That the several particulars above mentioned, that relate to the said college, be recommended by the Governor and Council, to the trustees of the said school, for their observation: and that said college be carried on, promoted and encouraged at New-Haven, and all due care taken for its flourishing."*

THE trustees came fully into the measures recommended by the General Assembly. They ordered, "that if any of those five scholars should produce to the rector, a testimony under the hands of any two of the trustees, of their having been approved as qualified for a degree, the rector, upon easy and reasonable terms, should give them a Diploma in the usual form, and that their names should be inserted in the class as they were at first placed."† This was finally accomplished, and the consequences *were happy*. Vote of the trustees.

UPON the previous desire of the trustees, the Governor and Council met at Saybrook, in December following, and granted a warrant to the sheriff, authorising him to deliver the books to the trustees: But notwithstanding the pacific measures which the legislature had adopted, there was opposition to the removal of them. The sheriff when he came to the house where they had been kept, found it filled and surrounded with men, determined to resist him. He, with The books removed from Saybrook, to New-Haven.

* Records of Connecticut, vol. v. Oct. 1718.
† President Clap's History of Yale College, p. 27, 28.

Book II. his attendants, nevertheless forcibly entered the house, and delivered the books according to his orders, and they were
1718. conveyed to New-Haven: but such was the resistance and confusion attending the transaction, that about two hundred and fifty of the most valuable books and several important papers, were conveyed away by persons unknown, and no discovery could ever be made of them.

The opposition subsides.

AFTER this unhappy struggle, the heat of men's spirits began to subside, and a general harmony was gradually introduced among the trustees, and in the colony. Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham, became entirely friendly to the college at New-Haven, and exerted themselves to promote its interests. The trustees, some time after, as a testimony of their esteem of Mr. Woodbridge, appointed him rector pro tempore, and in 1723, he moderated and gave the degrees.

The reputation and numbers of the college increase.

THE college, thus fixed at New-Haven, enriched with benefactions, and accommodated with a large and beautiful house, began to flourish, and was much more to be noticed in the learned world, than it had been in its former obscure and scattered condition. The number of students increased to about forty. These were under the tuition and government of two tutors; and as the college was now in the vicinity of Milford, was more frequently visited, and more under the eye of Mr. Andrew, than it had ever before been. It however, yet laboured under many inconveniences. In that state of disorder which had been in the colony, and especially among the students of the college, they had very much lost a spirit of subordination, and contracted such disorderly and vicious habits, as could not, at once, be wholly suppressed. The college greatly needed a resident rector, by whose wisdom and experience, and a more uniform and energetic government, those irregularities might be eradicated, and better morals, and a greater degree of order and studiousness be introduced.

March, 1719. Mr. Cutler chosen Rector.

THE trustees wishing to remove all inconveniences and to put the college under the best advantages, convened the next year in March, and made choice of the Rev. Timothy Cutler of Stratford, to be the resident rector until their next meeting. He came almost directly to New-Haven, and entered on the instruction and government of the college. When the trustees met at the next commencement, they
September 1720. voted, "That Mr. Cutler's service hitherto, in the place of a Rector, was to their good satisfaction, and therefore they desired him to continue in it."

WHILE the trustees were attempting to put the college upon the best establishment, the legislature had enacted for

their encouragement, that 300 pounds worth of new lands should be sold, and that 40 pounds annually should be paid to the instructors for the term of seven years. BOOK II. 1722.

To make compensation to the people of Stratford, for the removal of their minister, the trustees agreed to give them Mr. Cutler's house and home lot, which they purchased for 84 pounds sterling. To accommodate Mr. Cutler and his family, at New-Haven, they built the rector's house, which, with the lands on which it was erected, cost them 260 pounds sterling.

RECTOR CUTLER was popular, acceptable to the legislature and the clergy, and the students were quiet under his instructions and government. The college appeared now to be firmly established, and in a flourishing and happy state. But, from a quarter entirely unexpected, it suffered a sudden and great change. At the commencement, it was discovered, that the rector, and Mr. Brown, one of the tutors, had embraced episcopacy, and that they and two of the neighbouring ministers, Mr. Johnson of West-Haven, and Mr. Wetmore of North-Haven, had agreed to renounce the communion of the churches in Connecticut, and to take a voyage to England and receive episcopal ordination. Scarcely any thing could have been more surprising to the trustees, or the people in general, as they had no suspicions that the rector was inclining to episcopacy, as there was no episcopalian minister fixed in the colony, and as very few of the laity were inclined to that persuasion. Rector Cutler embraces Episcopacy.

GOVERNOR SALTONSTALL was a great man, and well versed in the episcopal controversy, and the tradition has been, that he judged it of such general importance, in the then circumstances of the colony, that the point should be well understood, that he publicly disputed it with Mr. Cutler, at the commencement, and that he was judged by the clergy and spectators in general, to have been superior to him as to argument, and gave them much satisfaction relative to the subject. It was supposed that several other gentlemen of considerable character among the clergy, were in the scheme of declaring for episcopacy, and of carrying over the people of Connecticut in general, to that persuasion. But as they had been more private in their measures, and had made no open profession of episcopacy, when they saw the consequences with respect to the rector and the other ministers, that the people would not hear them, but dismissed them from their service, they were glad to conceal their former purposes, and to continue in their respective places. Governor Saltonstall disputes him.

BOOK II. THE trustees at the commencement, passed no resolve relative to the rector, but gave themselves time to know the
1722. the general opinion of the people, and to consult the legislature on the subject. But, meeting in October, while the Assembly were in session at New-Haven, they came to the following resolutions; "That the trustees, in faithfulness to
Oct. 17th, 1722. "the trust reposed in them, do excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler "from all further services as rector of Yale College: That "the trustees accept of the resignation which Mr. Brown "hath made as tutor." Voted, "That all such persons as "shall hereafter be elected to the office of rector or tutor in "this college, shall before they are accepted therein, before "the trustees, declare their assent to the confession of faith "owned and assented to by the elders and messengers of "the churches in this colony of Connecticut, assembled by "delegation at Saybrook, September 9, 1708: and con- "firmed by act of the General Assembly: and shall par- "ticularly give satisfaction to them, of the soundness of "their faith, in opposition to Arminian and prelatical cor- "ruptions, or of any other of dangerous consequence to "the purity and peace of our churches: But if it cannot "be before the trustees, it shall be in the power of any two "trustees, with the rector, to examine a tutor, with respect "to the confession and soundness of his faith, in opposi- "tion to such corruptions." They also voted, "That up- "on just ground of suspicion of the rector's or tutor's in- "clination to Arminian or prelatic principles, a meeting of "the trustees shall be called, as soon as may be, to exam- "ine into the case."

MR. CUTLER and Mr. Brown, having been thus dismissed from their services at the college; and Mr. Johnson about the same time, having been dismissed from his pastoral relation, soon after went to England, with a view to receive episcopal ordination. They all received holy orders. While they were in England, they visited the universities, and were received by the vice chancellor of each and the heads of houses with peculiar marks of esteem. Mr. Cutler had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred upon him, and Mr. Johnson that of Master of Arts in both universities.* Dr. Cutler returned in the character of a mis-
1724. sionary, from the society to the episcopal church in Boston. Mr. Johnson, upon his return, about the year 1724, became the fixed missionary of the church at Stratford. Mr. Brown died soon after he had received orders. Mr. Wetmore about this time, made a voyage to England, received episcopal ordination, and was fixed as a missionary at

* Dr. Humphrey's history of propagating the gospel in foreign parts.

Rye, in the province of New-York. He enjoyed a long ministry, and died at Rye, 1760. These were the first of the clergy who declared for episcopacy in Connecticut, and were very much the fathers of the episcopal church in Connecticut and in New-England. BOOK II.

Death of Governor Yale.

WHILE these things were transacting, Governor Yale, the great benefactor of the college, died in England, July 8th, 1721. The governor was the son of Thomas Yale, Esq. and was born at New-Haven, April 5th, 1648. His father was of an ancient and wealthy family in Wales, which for many generations, inherited the manor of Plas Grannow, and several other Messuages near the city of Wrexham, of the yearly value of 500 pounds. But for the sake of religion, he came into America, in 1638, and was one of the first and principal settlers of New-Haven. At about ten years of age, he sent his son to England, where he completed his education. At about thirty, he went to the East Indies, where he resided nearly twenty years. He acquired a great estate in that country, was made governor of fort St. George, and married an Indian lady of fortune, relict of governor Hinmers, his predecessor in the government. By her he had three daughters, Catherine, Anne, and Ursula. After his return to London, he was chosen governor of the East India company. His eldest daughter married Dudley North, Esq. commonly called Lord North; his second married James Cavendish, uncle to the duke of Devonshire. Ursula died unmarried. The governor continued his friendship and generosity towards the college to the close of his life. A short time before his death, he wrote his will, in which it is said, that, in addition to his other donations, he gave 500 pounds to Yale College. Afterwards judging it most expedient to execute that part of his will himself, he packed up goods to the amount of 500 pounds, ready to be sent; but before they were shipped, he took a journey into Wales, and died at Wrexham, at or near the seat of his ancestors. The goods consequently were never sent. Governor Saltonstall took great pains to obtain a probate for the will; but found it impracticable. Governor Yale, by means of his birth and connections at New-Haven, became acquainted with Governor Saltonstall, Mr. Pierpont, and the state of the college, which was the occasion of his generous and repeated donations. He has been celebrated as a gentleman, not only abundant in wealth, but in generosity and good humour. His name and memory will be perpetuated with honour and gratitude in Yale College.

THE controversy relative to the removal of the college,

BOOK II. had occasioned various questions relative to its charter, which induced the General Assembly to make an additional and explanatory act. In this it was declared, "That "any trustee might resign his office when he should see "cause: That seven trustees convened at any meeting, "properly warned, should be a quorum; and have power "to act by a majority then present; and to appoint a clerk "to register their acts; That a minister of thirty years of "age, might be chosen a trustee: and that the rector "should be a trustee ex officio." For a time, there was some hesitation with regard to the reception of this act; but it was finally accepted, and the trustees acted in conformity to it, until the grant of the second charter in 1745.

Act of the Assembly relative to the college.

AFTER the removal of Mr. Cutler, the trustees agreed that each of them would reside at the college, by turns, for the term of about a month, at a time, with the authority of a rector: This form of government continued nearly four years. But at the commencements in 1724, 1725 and 1726, Mr. Andrew moderated and gave the degrees.

By this time it was found, by experience, that the college could not be instructed and governed in the best manner by monthly rectors. No person in so short a time, could acquaint himself with the genius and character of the scholars, nor obtain any considerable experience with respect to the best mode of instruction and government. A person who instructed by turns, and for so short a time only, could not be so ready a teacher as one who made it his constant employment. It was not possible, under such a constant change of teachers, that the instruction and government should be so uniform, and energetic, as when under the steady conduct of one superintendant. The trustees therefore found themselves under a pressing necessity of obtaining a rector who should fix his residence at the college, and make the instruction and government of it his constant employment.

Mr. Williams chosen rector, 1725.

ON the 29th of September, 1725, they made choice of the Rev. Elisha Williams, minister at Newington, in Weathersfield, to be the rector of the college. He accepted the appointment, but the circumstances of his removal, were not settled until the next commencement. In September, 1726, Mr. Williams was installed. In the presence of the trustees, he gave his consent to the confession of faith and articles of discipline, agreed upon by the churches of this colony in 1708. After this he made an oration in the college hall. When he had concluded this, the trustees, coming in succession, saluted him as rector of the college.

Installed 1726.

TO compensate the people of Newington for the removal

of their minister, the General Assembly granted them an hundred pounds; and, it seems, for several years released them from their country tax. BOOK II. 1726.

No sooner was Mr. Williams established in his office, than he began effectually to suppress vice and disorder among the students. He introduced and established a number of good customs. A taste for study, and for useful and polite literature increased, and the college flourished and was happy under his administration.

WHILE the college was thus endowed and settled, special attention was given to the instruction of the people in general; schools were encouraged, their number increased, and their state ameliorated. The inhabitants increased, new societies were constantly making, and new churches forming. To encourage the new towns and parishes, and that all the inhabitants might fully enjoy the gospel and its ordinances, the legislature, for a certain time released them from public taxes, and enabled them to tax all the lands within their respective limits, in such a manner, and for so long a time, as they should judge necessary for their assistance, while they were settling ministers, and building houses for public worship among them.

BUT though the churches were multiplying and generally enjoying peace, yet sectaries were creeping in, and began to make their appearance in the colony. Episcopacy made some advances, and in several instances there was a separation from the standing churches. The Rogerenes and a few Baptists made their appearance among the inhabitants; meetings were held in private houses, and laymen undertook to administer the sacraments. This occasioned the following act of the General Assembly, at their sessions in May, 1723.

An act to prevent disorders in the worship of God.

"WHEREAS notwithstanding the liberty allowed, by law, "both to ministers and people, to worship GOD according "to their own consciences, there are some persons who, "without qualifying themselves as the law directs, for the "enjoyment of such liberty, presume to form themselves "into separate meetings, and neglect to attend on any "public worship of GOD on the LORD's day, under colour "of gathering themselves together in private houses, for "preaching and other parts of divine worship; and where-"as some persons without the least pretence, or colour of "being ordained in any form whatsoever ministers of the "gospel, have nevertheless presumed to gather together in "a tumultuous manner, and take upon them to administer "the sacrament of baptism, to the great abuse and pro-"fanation of that holy ordinance:

BOOK II. "Be it therefore enacted by the governor, and council. "and representatives, in general court assembled, and by "the authority of the same, That whatsoever persons shall "presume, on the Lord's day, to neglect the public wor- "ship of GOD in some lawful congregation, and form them- "selves into separate companies in private houses, being "convicted thereof before any assistant or justice of the "peace, shall each of them, for every such offence, forfeit "the sum of twenty shillings.

"And it is further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, "that whatsoever person, not being a lawfully allowed "minister of the gospel, shall presume to profane the "holy sacraments, by administering, or making a show of "administering them to any person or persons whatsoever, "and being thereof convicted before the county court, in "such county where such offence shall be committed, shall "incur the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, "and suffer corporal punishment, by whipping, not ex- "ceeding thirty stripes for each offence."†

The existing laws of the colony made provision for the relief of persons soberly dissenting from the mode of worship established in it, upon application made to the legislature. Besides it cannot be denied, that for persons unordained and entirely unauthorized to administer the sacraments, and especially in a tumultuous manner, must be a high profanation of the holy ordinances, and a very great misdemeanor. Nevertheless this act, it is believed, has generally been considered as inconsistent with the rights of conscience, and that toleration which ought to be exercised towards christians of all denominations. The Quakers, Rogerenes,* Baptists, and other separates, have made

† Records of the State of Connecticut, Vol. V. May, 1723.

* The Rogerenes were a sort of Quakers, who had their origin and name from one John Rogers, of New-London. He was a man of unbounded ambition, and wished to be something more than common men. One Case and one Banks, two lewd men, called singing Quakers, coming thro' the colony singing and dancing, accompanied with a number of women to assist them in their musical exercises; and especially to proclaim how their lips dropped with myrrh and honey, fell in company with John, and at once made a convert of him to their religion. He, in a high degree imbibed their spirit, and ever retained it. Notwithstanding, it was not long after, before he commenced a seventh day Baptist. After maintaining the opinion of this sect for a short time, he returned again to Quakerism. To gratify his pride, and that he might appear as the head of a peculiar sect, he differed in several points from the Quakers. Particularly he maintained that there were three ordinances of religious use, baptism, the Lord's supper, and imposition of hands. To make himself more eminent, as the head of a new sect, he commenced preacher of his peculiar scheme, and without any kind of ordination, administered baptism to his followers. The madness, immodesty, and tumultuous conduct of Rogers and those who followed him, at this day, is hardly conceivable. It seemed to be-

great complaints of this and some other similar laws, by which, perhaps, in some few instances, they have been subject to penalties which they ought not to have endured. But in general, the punishments inflicted, and the sufferings of which the sectaries boasted, as endured for CHRIST's and conscience sake, were for gross immoralities, breaches of the peace, and high misdemeaners against the laws of GOD and men. Numbers of the sectaries of that day were the most wild and violent enthusiasts. They had deeply imbibed the spirit of George Fox, and the Munster Baptists, and gave incalculable trouble both to the church and commonwealth. BOOK II.

their study and delight to violate the sabbath, insult magistrates and ministers, and to trample on all law and authority, human and divine. They would come, on the Lord's day, into the most public assemblies nearly or quite naked, and in the time of public worship, behave in a wild and tumultuous manner, crying out, and charging the most venerable ministers with lies and false doctrine. They would labour upon the Lord's day, drive carts by places of public worship, and from town to town, apparently on purpose to disturb Christians and Christian assemblies. They seemed to take pains to violate the laws in the presence of officers, that they might be complained of, and have an opportunity to insult the laws, the courts, and all civil authority.

A particular instance of their conduct on a certain occasion, when Rogers was indicted for a high misdemeanor, may serve as a specimen of their spirit and conduct in general. The crime for which he was indicted, and the manner of his own and his followers' conduct, will appear from the following extract from Pratt's Historical Account of Quakerism.

"It was his manner to rush into the assembly on the Lord's day, in the "time of God's worship, in a very boisterous way, and to charge the min- "ister with lies and false doctrine; and to scream, shout, stamp, &c. by "which he offered insufferable molestations to the worship and people of "God. And this was his manner in the court also, when he pleased, or "had a mind to make himself sport, and he would laugh at it when he had "done until his sides shook.

"I saw him once brought to court for such a disturbance, committed on "the sabbath. He had contrived the matter so as to be just without the "door when he was called to answer; upon which he rushed into court "with a prodigious noise; his features and gestures expressed more fury "than I ever saw in a distracted person of any sort, and I soberly think, "that if a legion of devils had pushed him in headlong, his entrance had "not been more horrid and ghastly, nor have seemed more preternatural.

"When he came to the bar, he demanded of the court what their busi- "ness was with him? The indictment was ordered to be read. To this "he pleaded not guilty, after a new mode; for as the clerk read, some- "times at the end of a sentence, and sometimes at the beginning, he would "cry out, *That's a cursed lie;* and anon, *That's a devilish lie;* till at "length a number of his followers, of both sexes, tuned their pipes, and "screamed, roared, shouted and stamped to that degree of noise, that it "was imposeible to hear the clerk read."

He professed to be a most holy man, guided in all his conversation by the Holy Ghost, so that, for the course of twenty years, he had lived without the commission of one sin. Yet he was almost constantly committing such gross offences. He was divorced from an amiable wife for fornication and supposed beastiality. The latter he often confessed out of court. When he had occasion, he took to his bed a maid whom he had purchased, and after she had borne him two children, he put her away. He suffered a

CHAPTER II.

The discovery and opening of mines. Laws and encouragements in behalf of the miners, and of those who were engaged in carrying on the business of mining.

BOOK II. 1712. MANY of the adventurers to North-America, were strongly possessed with an idea of the riches of North, as well as of South-America. They conceived that its mountains and hills abounded with precious metals and minerals; and that however rich the soil might be, yet that the bowels of the earth would afford them much greater wealth. The rich mines and golden sands of the South, with the natural love of gold, mightily cherished these ideas. Much pains were therefore bestowed on various parts of the country, to discover these sources of wealth.

Discovery of mines. About the year 1712, two mines were found in Connecticut. One in the town of Simsbury, and the other in the then undivided lands in Wallingford. They were called copper mines, but it was conceived that the copper contained a mixture of a more precious kind. Upon opening the mines, the gentlemen principally concerned in them, made application to the legislature for encouragements for their works, and for the enacting of laws enabling them to prosecute their undertaking in the mining business to greater effect, and with more equal justice among themselves. They represented it as an object worthy of the attention of the legislature, and that by means of the mines great advantages might be derived to the colony. William Patridge, Esq. of Newbury, and Jonathan Belcher, of Boston, were

May 1712. An act relative to them. principally concerned in opening the mine at Simsbury; and upon their petition, the legislature, for their encouragement, granted that all the miners, operators and laborers, be exempt from military duties for the term of four years. On the petition of the original proprietors of the lands in Wallingford, it was enacted, that the heirs of the original proprietor should have an equal share in the mine already discovered, and in all other mines which should be hereafter discovered in said lands.

long imprisonment, upon a strong suspicion that he was an accomplice in burning the meeting-house at New-London. He once sat upon the gallows upon a conviction of blasphemy. For these and the like instances, he and his followers suffered the penalties of the law; but for his religion, neither he nor his followers suffered any thing, any further than it led them to such misdemeanors as are punishable by the laws of all Christian nations.

After a trial of about six years, it was found by experience, that the undertakers in the business of the mine could not prosecute it to any considerable advantage, without the assistance of law. Notwithstanding any agreements which they could make among themselves, there were such deficiencies among the undertakers and proprietors, as to their portion of labour and expense, and such disorder and animosities among them, and that want of system, which was absolutely necessary to enable them to prosecute the business to any considerable private or public advantage. The legislature therefore to remedy these evils, and to enable them to prosecute their designs in a more systematic and righteous manner, enacted as follows:

"Forasmuch as the copper mines in this colony, by the orderly and effectual management of them, may, in time to come, be of great use and advantage, not only to the immediate proprietors and undertakers therein, but also to this and the neighbouring provinces in general, although at present they be of small advantage to any body, and a fruitless expense of money to the proprietors and undertakers: Therefore to remedy the same, and for the more orderly and effectual management of the said copper mines, and to encourage, countenance and gratify the undertakers therein, Be it enacted by the governor, council and representatives, in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that when and so often as there is and shall be any copper mine, or mines, discovered in any town in this colony, it shall be in the power of any three of the proprietors of any such mine, by a notification under their hands, set upon the sign-post of the town where the said copper mine is, on the 25th day of March yearly, to appoint a meeting of the proprietors of said mine, to be held within the said town, on the third Tuesday in April then next following; when and where the proprietors of the said mine, that have the immediate interest of the same in possession, or the major part of them, which shall be then and there assembled, (which majority shall arise by the major part of interest,) shall have power to choose a clerk, to be sworn by the next justice of the peace, to enter the acts, votes, deeds and agreements of the said proprietors, and of all other persons concerned in the management of said mine, of and about said mine, and the management thereof, which clerk shall continue in said office during the pleasure of said proprietors; and that by and with the consent of the said clerk, and with such other notification as the said clerk shall in his discretion think proper, besides what is above mentioned, a special meeting of the proprietors may be Oct. 1718.

BOOK II. appointed and held, at any other time and place, as emergent occasions, by their discretion, may require.

Oct. 1718. And furthermore, that the said proprietors in any of their meetings aforesaid, or the major part of them, to be accounted as aforesaid, by vote shall have power to make all such reasonable votes, agreements and orders, as they shall think most conducive and profitable to the whole, for their management of the said affair of the copper mine, for the common good of all the said proprietors. Particularly, to direct the work that shall be done, the proportion of money to be levied, the men that shall be employed, the times, the places, and all the circumstances that shall be requisite to determine concerning the same: As also all and every other matter and thing proper to be done by the proprietors, as occasion may discover for the improvement of the said copper mine, to the best advantage of the said proprietors, as well as of the public weal.

Moreover also, that the said proprietors, in any of their meetings aforesaid, or the major part of them, to be accounted as aforesaid, shall, by their vote, have power to make such rules, orders, and by-laws, as they shall judge necessary for the better management and ordering of the said copper mine or mines, partners, proprietors, undertakers, and all other things and persons touching the premises, annexing penalties to the same, not exceeding forty shillings for any one offence; to be recovered before the commissioners hereafter to be appointed for said copper mine. Provided, that none of the said rules, or orders, which shall be contrary to the laws of this colony, shall be of any force or value: As also to appoint a committee, or committees, trustees or agents, for the doing or managing of any matter or thing in behalf of the said proprietors, any ways touching or concerning the premises, or any of them whatsoever or wheresoever. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any of the proprietors of the said mine, in the possession, or undertakers in the management of the same, for the time being, shall at any time neglect or refuse to improve or carry on his or their part and proportion in the management of any such copper mine, according to the rules and orders thereof made, had and agreed upon, as aforesaid, then it shall be in the power of the said proprietors, or the major part of them, to be accounted as aforesaid, by themselves in their meeting, or by their standing committee, to this end empowered, to agree with any other, or others of the said proprietors, or upon their refusal with any other of his majesty's good subjects, when they shall see cause, to enter upon and improve any

part or portion of the said copper mine, and all the things touching the same, belonging to the person so neglecting, the space of one year, then next coming, and to the next annual meeting in April, and thence forward from year to year until from the profits thereof, shall be repaid fourfold, all the charge or expense he or they shall be at, in managing and carrying on said part. The same rule shall be attended to in the case of orphans, whose guardians shall refuse or neglect to improve or carry on their wards' parts or proportion as aforesaid of the copper mine aforesaid. BOOK II. Oct. 1718.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for the proprietors of any such mine, to take out from the General Court of this colony, from time to time, as they have occasion, or shall desire it, a commission under the seal of this colony, to such three commissioners as this court shall from time to time appoint, to continue during pleasure, impowering said commissioners, or any two of them, from time to time, to appoint and swear their clerk, and at such times and places as they shall think meet, to appoint by their direction according to law, to hear and determine all such controversies, quarrels and suits that may arise and happen between the proprietors, undertakers, partners, miners, refiners, labourers aforesaid, or their servants or any of them, or between any of them or any other persons, any ways touching or concerning the said copper mine, or any of the rights, proprietors, agreements, covenants, votes, rates, orders, penalties, matters or things, concerning or any ways relating to the management and improvement of the said copper mine, as aforesaid. And all sheriffs and other inferior officers are hereby required to give their attendance upon the said commissioners, to execute and fulfil their precepts and writs, and yield all the obedience to their lawful commands, as unto others his majesty's courts within this colony. And the fees of the commissioners and officers shall be the same as is by law allowed in the county courts. Provided nevertheless, that it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons entering special bail, with sufficient sureties, before the said court of commissioners, to appeal to the governor and council, in the next General Assembly, for a final issue of any of the quarrels, controversies or suits aforesaid, when the property of the said mine shall be in question, or where the matter or thing in demand shall exceed the value of five pounds; in which case the execution shall be suspended until the matter is issued, and that in such case also, such fees shall be paid as in the superior court. Provided also, that said copper mines and all persons and things

BOOK II. touching the same, shall be under such regulation, order and direction, as this court, from time to time shall judge Oct. 1718. further needful for the management thereof, for the best advantage, as well of the colony in general, as of the proprietors and undertakers in particular. And further, this court doth appoint Matthew Allyn, Joseph Talcott, Esquires, and Mr. John Hooker, to be commissioners, as aforesaid, for the company of the miners at Simsbury copper mines: and John Hamblin, James Wadsworth, Esquires, and Capt. John Hall, to be commissioners as aforesaid, to be commissioners for the company of miners at Wallingford copper mines, to continue during the pleasure of this court. And the proprietors and undertakers respectively, may at their request have the said commissions made out under the seal of this colony, signed by the governor and secretary. This act to continue two years and no longer."

May 11th, 1721. At the expiration of this law, May 11th, 1721, further application was made to the Assembly relative to the mine at Simsbury. It seems that by this time, the principal undertakers had been changed, and that Andrew Fresman and Charles Cornelia at New-York, had become the principal gentlemen for prosecuting the mining business. Upon their application, the legislature passed an act empowering commissioners to divide the copper mines at Simsbury, among the several lessees, their assigns, or attorneys, and for directing and regulating the management of the said mines, the mills and works belonging to the several undertakers, and for the more easily determining controversies which might happen between the lessees and their assigns, and between the lessees and any of them, or the workmen, miners or labourers employed in the management of said mine.

Further provision for the advantageous management of the mines.

The act appointed Matthew Allyn, Esq. Col. William Whiting, Aaron Cook and Capt. Samuel Mather, commissioners, to hear, judge and determine all and every of those affairs. If the lessees, their assigns or attorneys did not in twenty one days from the rising of the Assembly, divide the parts and shares in the said mines to each lessee or his assign, then said commissioners, after giving due notice, appointing time and place, and fully hearing the parties on the premises, were directed to make the division.

If any differences arose concerning the repairing of the mills or tools, the commissioners were authorised to hear and determine all controversies of that kind; and to order such repairs as they should judge necessary for the benefit of the whole; and the necessary expense was to be paid

according to the proportion of their respective shares. If controversies should arise in any other matters relating to the mines or any persons concerned in them, the commissioners were authorised to hear, judge and determine them. If any were in arrearage and neglected payment, they were authorised to issue executions and to cause payments to be seasonably and effectually made. They appointed a clerk and directed every thing which they judged might be for the advantage of the parties immediately concerned and for the public good. BOOK II. 1721.

The legislature gave all the encouragement to undertakers and proprietors in the mines which they well could, by legal provisions, and it seems expected that they would have been of considerable public emolument. But it is believed, that neither the undertakers, nor proprietors, nor the colony were ever very greatly benefitted by them. The mine at Simsbury was dug until the veins of copper ceased. A prodigious cavity was made, which has since become the famous prison, called Newgate. This has been of much greater advantage to the state than all the copper dug out of it. The mine at Wallingford was supposed to be the richest. It is imagined, that in that there was a mixture of silver. But it seems that the miners were prevented from digging there on the account of the great quantity of water which, after they had proceeded some depth, constantly flowed in upon them. It was opened, a few years since ; but the water prevented the miners from digging, and as they could find no way to draw it off, they gave over all further attempts.

Though mines of gold, silver, precious metals and minerals have been esteemed of great value, and sought after with great pains and expectations, yet they are by no means so enriching as is generally imagined. The rich mines of the South, were men to be hired to dig, refine and go through the various operations necessary to produce gold and silver coins, at the wages commonly given in this country, would not bear the expense. President Clap, who well understood the history of this business, and was an accurate computer of expenses, observed, that if the king of Spain were to give his workmen in the mining and refining business, the moderate wages of sixpence sterling a day, it would break him. It was because the business was principally done by slaves and convicts to whom he gave no wages, and whom he but miserably clothed and fed, that he made such profits by them. Mines of coarser metals than those of gold and silver, are often the most profitable, because they are much more abundant in the Observations.

Book II. ores which they contain, and they are prepared for use with far less expense. For these reasons, mines of copper, or lead, may yield, as great, or greater profits than those of gold and silver.

The riches of this country, however, lie near its surface, or in its soil. The skilful laborious husbandman, will derive greater profits from a good farm than he would obtain from a rich mine. Therefore, such are the profits and advantages of husbandry, as will keep labour high, and the present state of the country will prevent, any very great profits from mines or manufactories. Until the country shall be more completely settled, and the purchase of lands becomes more difficult, it is apprehended that neither of these will be very profitable.

CHAPTER III.

The importance and benefits of a stable currency. The attention of the legislature to this subject. The manner of the emission of bills of credit; of the payment of the public debt, and of provision for the defence of the colony and his majesty's service. Answer to their Lordships' Letters. Depreciation of the currency.

1714. A STABLE currency is very essential to the civil and moral interests of all communities. It is the only foundation upon which the principles of commutative justice can be firmly fixed, and the property and rights of a community, be, in any tolerable manner, secured. It is a happy guard on the morals of a people, as it removes numerous temptations to injustice, and puts it out of the power of speculators and dishonest men to do that injustice to others, which, in many instances, are practised daily, where the currency is in a state of constant fluctuation. It secures to the public, a greater proportion of time and labour, which otherwise would be spent in speculating, drinking, gambling, and in other vices highly injurious to the civil and religious interests of a commonwealth. A redundancy of money and a depreciating currency are a fruitful source of these evils. A depreciating currency is a public fraud, as it is a constant tax on the sober industrious part of the community, for which they receive no benefit, but suffer much injury. It defrauds all men who live

The importance of a stable currency.

upon salaries, of a part of their just dues. It in various ways injures the creditor, and is a temptation to every debtor to defraud, by paying the creditor less than his just dues, and by keeping him out of his money as long as he possibly can. By this means many industrious, honest men, fair traders, and useful members of society are ruined, and their property goes into the hands of speculators and dishonest men, who are of little honor or advantage to the community. It is in a great variety of ways a source of oppression, of publick and private injustice, and highly injurious to the morals of a people. Every legislator therefore, who wishes to maintain public and private justice, and to preserve the morals of the people, will be particularly solicitous to have a fixed currency. BOOK II. 1714.

Of the importance of this the legislature, at this time, appear to have been deeply apprehensive. They acted with peculiar caution relative to the emission of bills of credit, and the establishment of funds for their seasonable redemption. The Assembly, in October, 1713, had enacted, that 20,000 pounds in bills of credit, should be emitted: but as the war was terminated, and as the debts contracted by it, had been in a considerable degree discharged by the taxes which had been collected; and as they would be still further discharged by others which had been levied, it was determined to emit the twenty thousand pounds in parts, and at different periods. At the same time it was determined to be calling in, and burning the old emissions; so that they might prevent a redundancy of bills, and by these means guard against their depreciation. When the legislature met, in May, 1714, it was enacted, that the treasurer should issue two thousand pounds only of the said bills, and a fund was made for their redemption in 1724. In May 1718, the legislature ordered that nine hundred and fifty eight pounds should be emitted as another part of the twenty thousand pounds. In the session in October, one thousand and two hundred pounds more were put into circulation. These small emissions, which had little exceeded the quantity of bills called in, within the same term, had no ill effect upon the currency. The bills which had been emitted, at five per cent, from the year 1709 to the present time, had suffered no depreciation. In the scarcity of money, they had facilitated trade, served the convenience of the inhabitants, and been of general utility. The Assembly therefore enacted, That the bills of credit of this colony, should be allowed as a just payment of all debts, except those in which the contract had been made for money, or articles particularly specified, until the year 1727.

May 1714.

May 1718.

State of the currency, Oct. 1718.

Act of the Assembly respecting it.

BOOK II. To preserve the bills from depreciation, the Assembly levied four pence on the pound, for the calling in of six
1719. thousand pounds of bills which had been emitted in June, 1711. Two pence on the pound was levied in May, and the other half in October. As preparations for the defence of the country against the Indians, and the necessity of sending men to keep garrison on the frontiers, had increased the expenses of the colony, it was enacted, at the
Oct. 1722. session in October, 1722, That four thousand pounds in bills of credit should be emitted. In consequence of this, the Assembly ordered two thousand pounds to be issued in
May 1725. May, for the discharge of the public debt. In May, 1725, the other two thousand pounds were issued. Funds were provided at the same time, for the redemption of the bills. As many of the outstanding bills had been in circulation a number of years, and were either torn or defaced, a new emission of four thousand pounds was granted, in October 1728, for the purpose of calling the old bills into the treasury and burning them.

May 1729. In May 1729, six thousand pounds more were emitted for the same purpose. Sometimes new emissions were ordered for the purpose of exchanging them for the same amount of a former emission. For the saving of expense, new emissions were sometimes impressed with the same plates which had been used in former ones. This was the case, when torn and defaced bills were replaced. The Assembly also, at several times, when large sums had been brought into the treasury, by taxes, gave orders for the reissuing of these sums in part, or in whole. In this economical manner, did the legislature conduct the affair of their bills of credit. Small sums were emitted from time to time, and others of equal amount were called in and put out of circulation. The amount in circulation was nearly the same, or if it exceeded, it was not beyond the increase of the people, and of the business and trade of the colony. There was therefore no considerable depreciation of the bills
Oct. 1733. Emission and loaning of bills of credit. in circulation. In 1733, the colony and its trade were considerably increased and it was conceived that a greater number of bills might be put into circulation without injuring their credit. The legislature therefore ordered twenty thousand pounds to be emitted. By act of the Assembly, the bills were to be redeemed at the rate of twenty shillings to every ounce of silver, Troy weight. It was enacted by the Assembly, That a considerable part of the bills should be loaned, at six per cent, and for double the amount of the bills in land security: and that each county in the colony, should have such a proportion of it as was equal to their

respective lists. It was designed that all the people might have an equal benefit by the bills.

Provision against counterfeit bills, Oct. 1735.

Until about the year 1735, the colony had been so happy, that no attempts had appeared to have been made for the counterfeiting of its currency. But about this time there arose a set of villains, who counterfeited the five pounds, the forty, and the ten shillings bills. Numbers of these bills appeared to be circulating, in various parts of the colony. The legislature, to prevent the mischief which the circulation of counterfeit bills might effect, enacted, That twenty-five thousand pounds should be immediately emitted, with a different stamp, and exchanged for the old bills which had been counterfeited.

The war with Spain occasions a new emission of bills of credit, May 1740.

War having been proclaimed against Spain in October 1739, and letters having been received from his majesty, requiring the assistance of the colony, in an expedition against the Spanish West Indies, the Assembly, in their session in May, passed a resolve to the following effect: That whereas the expenses of this government were likely to be very great, by reason of the expedition directed by his majesty against the Spanish West Indies, and those necessary preparations for the defence of our borders, sea coasts and navigation, and as the medium of exchange is exceedingly scarce, bearing but a small proportion to the demand which there is for it, therefore be it enacted, That thirty thousand pounds, in suitable bills, shall be emitted. On the face of the bill it was said, By a law of the colony of Connecticut, this shall pass current within the same, for twenty shillings in value, equal to silver, at eight shillings per ounce, Troy weight sterling, in all payments and at the treasury. The Assembly enacted, That eight thousand pounds of this emission, should be issued for the payment of the public debt; and that the remaining twenty two thousand pounds should be loaned to freeholders and inhabitants of the colony. It was also enacted, That the eight thousand pounds should be redeemed in five years, by five equal payments, annually, until the whole should be redeemed.

July 8th

As the government had engaged to provide transports for the troops to be raised in the colony, and to victual them, until they should arrive in the West Indies, it was resolved, at a special Assembly, that fifteen thousand pounds more should be emitted in bills of credit: That five thousand pounds should be retained in the treasury for the redemption of old outstanding bills which had been torn and defaced, and that the other ten thousand pounds should be issued by the treasurer. At the same time a

BOOK II. tax of ten thousand pounds was levied on the grand list of the colony, for the payment of the whole within ten years.

1740. About this time letters were received from the Lords commissioners of trade and plantations, requiring an account of the tenor and amount of the bills emitted, by the Assembly; and its opinion on the best mode of sinking them. Their Lordships also faulted them, for making the emission of thirty thousand pounds a lawful tender, as, in their opinion, it was contrary to the act of the sixth of Queen Anne, ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in the several plantations. The answer of the legislature to their Lordships' letters, will evince that before the emissions occasioned by the war with Spain, the colony had but a small amount of bills in circulation. They represent that the bills outstanding, which had been issued to defray the expenses of the government, were nearly or quite sunk, by the taxes of the years 1738 and 1739: That of the bills loaned before the commencement of the war with Spain, three thousand pounds had been drawn in for interest in the year 1740, and that the whole would be discharged by the year 1742: That the emission of four thousand pounds Old Tenor, and of eight thousand pounds in bills of the New Tenor, in May last, and ten thousand pounds in July following, was for the sole purpose of enabling them to comply with his majesty's instructions respecting the expedition against the Spanish West Indies, and for the necessary defence of the colony. They affirmed that without these emissions it was impossible for them to have answered his majesty's expectations, or to have provided for the common defence. With respect to the twenty two thousand pounds in New Tenor, which had been loaned, they represented, that it had been emitted and loaned to supply the want of a medium of exchange, and that one half of it would be paid in within four, and the other within eight years: That the bills which would be discharged in the year 1742, and the twenty two thousand pounds, were the only bills ever loaned by the colony. With reference to the act of May, for the emission of thirty thousand pounds, in bills of the New Tenor, they answered, that the clause making it obligatory on all persons to receive said bills, in all payments, was added with an honest intent, to prevent their depreciation. They pleaded further, that they had been encouraged to do it from the example of the neighboring government of New-York, and from the information which they had received of its good effect, in preventing the discount of their bills of credit.

Special Assembly Nov. 26th, 1740.

In relation to the inconsistency of that act with the act of Queen Anne, they pleaded, That they had not the least apprehension of it, and that they had never received the least insinuation of his majesty's pleasure, nor of that of the house of commons on that subject: And that, on the first intimation of his majesty's pleasure, they had repealed that clause in the act which made the bills a lawful tender. They concluded by observing, That by the laws which were there transmitted, and by the returns they made, their Lordships would be certified of the tenor and amount of the bills which had been emitted: and that they persuaded themselves, that their Lordships, in view of the whole matter, would not be of the opinion, that they had made large and frequent emissions of paper currency, as had been represented: That the sums they had emitted, reduced to sterling, or compared with the emissions of some of the other colonies, would appear but small. The legislature gave their Lordships assurance, that special attention should be given to his majesty's intentions, and to the opinion of the house of commons. BOOK II. 1740. Nov. 26th.

From these statements, it appears that there had been no redundancy of a circulating medium in the colony, and consequently that there had been little or no depreciation of the bills of credit before the Spanish war in 1740. It appears that then as small a number of bills was emitted as would comport with his majesty's requisitions, and a proper defence of the colony. From this time the number of bills in circulation was constantly diminishing. In two years the first bills loaned were all paid into the treasury. The twenty two thousand pounds, was in four years to be one half reduced. The times for calling in a considerable amount of the outstanding bills had expired, and they had been sunk by the provisions made for that purpose by the year 1744, when the French war commenced. During this term of about four years, there was not a single emission. At this period, therefore, the bills of credit must have been rather in a state of appreciation than of discount. The credit of the bills appears to have been well supported until after the commencement of the war with France and the expedition against St. Louisburg. 1744.

CHAPTER IV.

The colony in fear of losing their Charter. Measures adopted to prevent it. Mr. Winthrop complains of the Colony. In an Appeal to his Majesty in Council in a case between him and Thomas Lynchmere, Esq. he obtained a sentence, in which a certain law of the colony, entitled an Act for the settlement of intestate estates, was rendered null and void. The colony declare, that they will not surrender their charter, and pray for the continuance of the act relative to intestate estates.

BOOK II. ALTHOUGH the colony had been able to maintain their charter privileges against the intrigues of Dudley, Cornbury and other enemies, in 1712, and 1713, yet the danger was not yet past. There were strong parties in England, and some in the colonies, who were unfriendly to the charter governments, especially to those of New-England. They were considered as too independent of the crown and government of England. A bill was therefore brought into parliament for a repeal of the charters which had been given to the colonies. Mr. Dummer, the agent for the colony, in a letter to the Governor, dated August 1715, had given information of the measures which
Oct. 1715. the ministry were pursuing, and had sent over a copy of the bill which was pending in the parliament relative to the charter governments. No sooner were the Assembly convened in October, than a committee was appointed to examine all papers and documents relative to that affair, and to make report what were the best measures for the legislature to adopt for the preservation of their charter. The arguments in vindication of their charter rights, and the instructions to former agents relative to them were so complete, that nothing new on that subject could be added. The committee therefore, after a full examination of the letters and instructions which had been sent to former agents, at different times, and especially on the 27th of October 1712, reported, That those were the best instructions which could be given in this case: and that those instructions and documents were sufficient to support all the articles in the case of the colony, a report of which had been printed by their agent. They gave it as their opinion, that those articles being substantiated, they might hope that Connecticut would be kept out of the bill. They further gave it as their opinion that it would be advisable

to encourage the agent and engage him to make the best defence in behalf of the colony, and to supply him with money sufficient to answer the extraordinary charges which it might occasion. BOOK II. 1715.

The Governour was desired to return the thanks of the legislature to Mr. Dummer, their agent, for his faithful care and great diligence on all occasions; and especially in this critical juncture, for the general good of this colony, and in the defence of their invaluable privileges: and to encourage him to employ his utmost endeavors to save the colony out of the bill pending in the house of commons. He was instructed to spare no cost which he should judge necessary for that purpose, and the strongest assurances were given him, that the colony would cheerfully reimburse him. Mr. Dummer exerted all his powers in defence of the charter governments; and by his plea, on that occasion, not only did singular service to his country, but great honor to himself, both in Europe and America. The charter was preserved, and the fears of the colony with respect to the loss of their charter rights, for a number of years subsided.

The colony however, was put to great expense, and found peculiar difficulties, at this time, in making payments in England. Governor Saltonstall therefore generously offered to give the colony credit there to such an amount as was necessary. The Assembly accepted his proposal, and returned him thanks for his generosity.

The colony were again brought into great fear and trouble with respect to the loss of their charter privileges, and the repealing of their laws relative to all testamentary matters. A number of circumstances united to awaken their concern. The agreement between his majesty and seven of the Lords proprietors of the Carolinas, that they should resign their titles to that country, and the jurisdiction of it to his majesty, and an act of parliament enabling his majesty to purchase the lands belonging to those colonies, and establishing the government between his majesty and them, clearly manifested a desire in his majesty and the parliament to bring the colonies into a state of more entire dependence on the crown and parliament, and to have them more immediately under their government. The opposition which the Province of Massachusetts had made to their Governors, Shute and Burnet, and the obstinate refusal to vote them a permanent salary, according to the express requisition of his majesty, were considered, by Connecticut, as having an unfriendly aspect upon the charter governments. This controversy had been heard by his

BOOK II. majesty in council, and after a full hearing of all which could be pleaded in their vindication, the conduct of the province had been condemned, and the Governors had been justified. His majesty had been advised to lay the affair before the parliament. The province of Massachusetts had lost one charter before, and it was very much expected that they would now lose a second, and that it would have an ill effect on the other colonies.

Reasons for fearing the loss of the charter.

Another ground of fear was this, that it had been proposed to the colony to resign their charter. In addition to these circumstances, John Winthrop, Esq. son of the last Governor Winthrop, had become disaffected towards the government, and had made a voyage to England with complaints against the colony. He had conceived the idea that his family had been injured, and that his ancestors had not been rewarded according to the public services which they had rendered to the colony. He imagined that there were monies due to him, which the colony did not consider as due, and were unwilling to pay. He had been engaged in a long controversy with Thomas Lynchmere, Esq. a brother in law of his, relative to their paternal inheritance. The court of probate, as he imagined, had made an unjust and illegal settlement of the estate in favor of his sister, Mrs. Lynchmere; he therefore, after going through a course of law in the courts of this colony, in which he was unable to obtain redress, appealed to his majesty. Upon the hearing of this case, between the parties in England, in which Connecticut did not view itself as particularly concerned, and in which it was not heard, the law of the colony respecting intestate estates was repealed. It was judged repugnant to the laws of England, as not securing the lands to male heirs, and admitting daughters to a share in the paternal estate, which the English law did not warrant. These circumstances threw the colony into a state of great fear and alarm. They not only feared the loss of their charter, but that all former settlements relative to intestate estates would be set aside, and that not only families, but the whole commonwealth would be brought into a state of great trouble, animosity and confusion; and that the laws of England relative to such estates, would be established in this colony.

By the answer of the legislature, and their instructions to their agents, it appears that they were in great fear, and almost in a state of despondency relative to the preservation of their former rights and privileges. On the reception of a letter from their agent, Jeremiah Dummer, Esq. certifying, that a certain law of the colony, entitled "An

July 3d, 1728.

act for the settlement of intestate estates, was rendered null and void;" a special Assembly was called and a committee chosen, consisting of the deputy governor, Jonathan Law, Esq. Roger Wolcott, James Wadsworth and Hezekiah Wyllys, Esquires, to search the records of the courts and files, and to take out all such copies of acts and records as they should judge necessary to transmit to their agent. They were also to assist the governor in draughting instructions to him, both with respect to the complaints of Mr. Winthrop against the colony, and relative to the law respecting intestate estates. BOOK II. 1723.

The legislature viewed the consequences of annulling the law relative to intestate estates as so terrible, that they determined to spare no pains or expense to prevent it. They resolved to employ another agent, Jonathan Belcher, Esquire, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, to assist agent Dummer in his defence of the colony, and in pleading for the continuance of the law respecting intestate estates. The agents were instructed to apply themselves to his majesty king George the second, in behalf of the corporation of this colony, praying his majesty, that the said law might be continued, in its full force, and that intestate estates might be divided as had been usual, for a long course of years: that it had been allowed in all preceding reigns from the first settlement of the colony: That in this country it was reasonable and useful, tending to a more general settlement of the country: That the abrogation of it would be an occasion of numerous law suits, of great expense to individuals and to the colony; would disturb the peace of families, in many instances do injustice, and injure the general peace and good order of the colony: and that the continuance of it would tend to its general growth, peace and welfare. But notwithstanding the exertions of the legislature and the agents, the aspect of affairs became still more unfavourable. The Assembly the next year were still more alarmed with respect to the loss of their charter, and appear to have been nearly in a state of despondency with respect to his majesty's continuing the law relating to intestate estates.

Instructions to the agents, July 3d, 1728.

Reasons for continuing the law relative to intestate estates.

The Governor was desired, in the name of the General Assembly, to write to the agents Dummer and Belcher, that they were unwilling to surrender their charter: for they accounted it the choicest part of their inheritance, and that they should not upon any terms be persuaded to part with it; and that they would therefore avoid all occasion of hazarding it. He was particularly to represent to them, that they were greatly concerned respecting the conduct of the

Oct. 9th, 1729. Instructions to the agents.

BOOK II. Assembly of Massachusetts, fearing that it would have an ill influence on their affairs if it should be brought into the
1729. parliament. Therefore to instruct the agents to use their utmost caution that they should not be, in the least degree, involved with the Massachusetts, when their affairs should be brought into parliament. The Governor was further to instruct the agents, that if upon mature consideration they should judge that the charter would be endangered by their going into parliament, that then they should suspend the affair for the present, and until they should have further instructions from the Assembly. But if the agents should be of the opinion, that the colony might with safety petition the parliament to continue their ancient law, that then they should pray for the same: or if they should judge that the parliament would be more easily induced to enact that the descent of their lands should be to the sons only; to the eldest a double portion, and to the younger single shares, then that this should be matter of the petition. But if nothing further could be obtained than a confirmation of what their courts of probate had already done, that they should pray for that only. This they judged must be left to the fidelity and prudence of their agents.*

The agents conducted the affairs of the colony with such wisdom and success that the charter was preserved and the colony were allowed to proceed in their former practice with respect to intestate estates. The agents were the next year both dismissed from the service of the colony. Mr. Dummer was dismissed on account of his ill state of health, which obliged him to retire into the country. The colony returned him their thanks, for his many good services. Mr. Belcher, on the death of governor Burnet, was appointed Governor of Massachusetts, and arrived at Boston, the seat of his government, the beginning of August 1730.

May 1730. At the session of the Assembly in May 1730, it was expected that governor Belcher would assume his government before the session of the next Assembly, and Roger Wolcott and James Wadsworth, Esquires, were appointed a committee to wait on his Excellency on the first notice of his arrival at Boston, and in the name and behalf of the Assembly, to congratulate him on his safe arrival at his seat of government; and to render the thanks of the Assembly to him, for his great care and pains in his agency in behalf of the colony. They were also particularly to enquire of him relative to the state of their affairs at the court of Great Britain.

* Records of the Colony, volume 8 under the years 1728 and 1729.

At the session in October, Francis Wilkes, Esq. of the city of London, was appointed agent for the colony. BOOK II.

The favourable turn which their affairs had taken in the court of Great Britain, relieved the general anxiety relative to the charter, and the dividing of inheritances, and gave peace and joy to the people.

CHAPTER V.

War with the Eastern Indians. Attempts to quiet them by treaty. The attack and plunder of Canso. A treaty with them is promised, but prevented by the measures of the house. Letter of the Indians to the governor. Death of Toxus. A new Sachem, and change of affairs. Attempt on Norridgewock. The Indians revenge the insult, captivate a number of the English and burn Brunswick. War is proclaimed against them. Governors Shute and Burnet apply to Connecticut for assistance in the war. The enemy surprise Canso and other harbors, and take a number of fishing vessels. Elliot's and Robinson's success in attacking them. Remarkable deliverance of the captives. Attack on Arowsick Island. Westbrook's and Harman's expedition. Attempts of the English to engage the six nations in the war against the Eastern Indians. They send delegates to Boston. Coleby's action with the enemy. Attack on Scarborough, Falmouth and other places. Resolutions of the legislature of Connecticut relative to the war. Men killed in various places. Captain Winslow and his men killed, shallops and schooner taken. The English take and destroy Norridgewock. Numbers of men surprised and killed in various places. Application is made again to Connecticut for assistance. The reasons why the legislature would not join in offensive war. Captain Lovell's fight. Peace is made. Observations.

Difficulties with the Indians.

THOUGH a profound peace had been settled between the two crowns of Great Britain and France, and it was hoped that in consequence of it there would have been a long peace between the Indians and the English colonies, yet within a few years, there appeared to be considerable uneasiness and complaints among the Eastern Indians. They had always been under French influence, and by them instigated to war against the English. Espe-

BOOK II. cially, father Ralle, a French jesuit, who was minister to the Indians at Norridgewock, where he had gathered a church, had great influence over them, and constantly employed it in making them discontented, and in stirring them up to insult and annoy the English settlers. He was a man of great art and intrigue, and insinuated to the Indians in that part of the country, that the English had encroached on their lands; that they had obtained them unjustly; that the English traders among them, defrauded them, and that by vending strong liquors among them they debauched their morals, and prevented the good work he was carrying on among them. It was therefore judged expedient to treat with them to remove all matters of uneasiness, and to conciliate and confirm their friendship with the English. It was designed also, if possible, to draw them off from the Roman catholic to the protestant religion. For these purposes, governor Shute, the summer after his arrival at the seat of government, in Massachusetts, met the Indians at Arowsick Island, accompanied by a number of the council of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, and other gentlemen.

Treaty with them, August 1717.

The governor opened the conference by presenting the Indians with a bible in English and Indian. He acquainted them that this contained the religion of the English. He recommended to them Mr. Baxter, a minister, who went with them as a missionary, who, he represented to them, would explain the bible and instruct them in the principles and duties of religion. They readily replied, "That they loved their own ministers, and as to the bible they wished to be excused from keeping it: That God had given them teaching, and that if they should go from that they should displease God."

The Governor then proceeded to hear their complaints. They complained of encroachments upon their lands, and that so many forts were built. They alledged that, in a treaty at Canso, they understood that no more forts should be erected. They said they should be pleased with king George if no forts were built in the Eastern country. They acknowledged the title of the English to the lands on the west side of Kennebeck river; but said they were sure that they had sold nothing on the east side of it. The Governor produced one of the original deeds given by their sachems. He assured them that the English would not part with an inch of land which belonged to them.

The Indians were so offended at this that they rose immediately, went to their canoes, apparently with great resentment, and passed to their head quarters upon another

island. They left behind them an English flag, which the Governor had given them. In the evening several of them returned, with a letter from Ralle to the Governor, acquainting him that the French king did not allow that in any treaty he had given away the lands of the Indians to the English, and that he would protect the Indians against the English encroachments. The Governor acquainted them that he highly resented the insolence of the jesuit in intermeddling in the business. The Governor concluded that the treaty was at an end, and determined to return in the morning. But the old men were afraid of war. They were unwilling to leave their villages and accommodations at Norridgewock and Penobscot, and encamp in the woods; or what was worse, depend on the French, who, when it would serve their interest, would flatter and cajole them; but they said, treated them as dogs, when they had no immediate occasion for their services. These considerations induced them in the morning to send two messengers to the Governor, acknowledging that they had been rude and unmannerly in their yesterday's conference, and earnestly requesting to see him again. He assured them that he would see them upon no other terms than their renouncing their pretentions to the lands which belonged to the English. The messengers promised that this should be done; and in evidence of their desires to treat, expressed their wishes that the English colours which they had slighted might be returned. The Indians came again to the treaty, chose a new speaker, and expressed their willingness that the English should settle where their predecessors had. They confessed that some of their inconsiderate young men had violated the treaty made at Portsmouth in 1713. But they said they desired to live in peace, and to be supplied with such articles in trade, as were necessary and convenient for them. The governor assured them, that as the English would not part with their land, so they would not take any of the Indians' lands: That the forts were not built for their injury, but for the protection both of the English and themselves: They renewed the treaty of 1713, and the conference ended. BOOK II. 1717.

Notwithstanding this renewal of the former treaty, the Indians were not quiet, but often insulting and menacing the inhabitants of the Eastern frontiers. They kept the frontiers in such a state of fear and alarm, that very little progress had been made in their settlement for about seven years after the general pacification. Within about three years after the renewal of the treaty at Arowsick, the natives became so troublesome, that most of the frontier set-

Book II. tlements which had been made after the peace, were deserted, and a new war with them was daily expected. The
1717. governor was for pacific measures. He wished that presents might be made them, and that trading houses might be erected to supply them with all such things as were necessary and convenient. But such were the contentions between him and the house of representatives, that they prevented the measures which might otherwise have been adopted for the peace of the country. The house were so overheated with their controversy with him, that they seem to have done nothing coolly; but they obstinately thwarted him in all his measures, however wise and pacific. The Indians therefore, under the influence of the French, and the frauds and impositions of the private English traders, became more and more exasperated, insolent and daring.

Canso surprised, Aug. 7th, 1720. A party of them in 1720 fell upon Canso, within the province of Nova-Scotia, and killed three or four of the inhabitants, and plundered the settlement. They surprised the English in their beds and stripped them of every thing they could find. A number of Frenchmen, from Cape Breton, were in confederacy with them. They claimed the lands, and said they would carry off whatever they found upon them. The Frenchmen came the next night in their vessels and carried off the plunder. Among other articles, they carried off about two thousand quintals of fish. A sloop arriving the next day, the Captain offered his service to pursue them and make reprisals. He was soon furnished with men and with two or three small vessels. They overtook the French, and brought in six or seven small vessels which all had English property on board. But the English were supposed to sustain a loss of twenty thousand pounds in the currency of that day, which was nearly as good as lawful money. Canso, in the summer was peopled in a great measure from Massachusetts, so that much of the damage was done to them. Complaints were made to the French governor at Louisburg; but he excused himself from intermeddling with Indian affairs. He alledged that they were not French subjects, and no redress could be obtained.

The surprising of Canso alarmed the people in the Eastern part of Massachusetts, and Colonel Wanton was dispatched with a party of soldiers for the defence of that part of the country. But the Indians continued their insults, killing the cattle of the inhabitants, and threatening the lives of the owners. But as the governor was yet, if possible, for preserving the peace of the country, he,

with the advice of his council, gave orders to Colonel Wanton to acquaint the Indians that commissioners should be appointed to treat with them. The Indians appeared pleased with the proposal of a treaty, and agreed to attend. But before the time appointed for the treaty, the General Court were convoked. The house, when they came together, resolved, that an hundred and fifty men, with suitable officers, should forthwith be ordered to march to Norridgewock, and compel the Indians who should be there, or in those parts, to make full satisfaction to the English for the damages which they had done, by killing their swine and sheep, or by stealing provisions and clothing, or by injuries which they had otherwise done them. They also resolved that the sheriff of the county of York should have a warrant for seizing Ralle, the jesuit, and bring him to Boston. If he could not be found, the Indians were to be commanded to bring him in, and resign him to the sheriff. If the Indians should refuse a compliance with these demands, the commanding officer was directed to take the most effectual measures to apprehend the Indians who should refuse and bring them to Boston. BOOK II. 1720.

Governor Shute considered this, in effect, a declaration of war, and an invasion of his prerogative as commander in chief, and as a measure which would prevent the treaty on which he had agreed with the Indians. He foresaw that a new war would certainly be the consequence. He was therefore totally opposed to the resolution. The council also, as they wished for peace, refused to concur with the house.

This conduct of the house prevented the treaty. The Indians continued their insults, but yet there was no open war.

The next year about two hundred Indians, with two French jesuits, under French colors, came to Georgetown, on Arowsick Island, and left a letter for the governor, containing heavy charges against the English. It complained of them for unjustly invading their property, and taking away from them the country which God had given them. Mr. Ralle, their spiritual father, was their patron also in these affairs. But either from a consciousness that they had conveyed the lands to the English, or from a desire of peace, perhaps under the influence of both, they seemed averse to war. But through the influence of Mr. Ralle and other Frenchmen, they would seem at turns to be filled with a high degree of resentment; and would appear on the very point of waging war, and yet they would cool down again and seem as though they would be quiet, Aug. 1721. Letter to the Governor.

BOOK II. 1721. In this state of affairs, Toxus, sachem of the Norridgewocks, died. The old men who were averse to the war, pitched upon Ouikoniroumenit, to supply his place, who had always been of the pacific party. In consequence of this choice and the influence of the old men, hostages were sent to Boston, as sureties for their good behaviour and for the payment of the damages which the Indians had done.

French attempt to excite the Indians to war.

Nothing could have been more disagreeable to father Ralle than these measures. He immediately wrote letters to the governor of Canada, acquainting him with the disagreeable measures adopted by the Norridgewocks. The governor was alarmed at these proceedings of the Indians at Norridgewock, and with father Ralle spared no pains to rouse them to war. Vaudreuille disapproved of the choice which they had made of their sachem, and of their sending hostages to the English. He represented that they had betrayed the interest of their tribe, and that the utmost care should be taken to prevent so great a misfortune as the submission of the Norridgewocks to the English. He went immediately, on the reception of the news of the change among the Norridgewocks, for Montreal, St. Francois and Besancour, and prevailed with the Indians in those several places vigorously to support their brethren at Norridgewock, and to send messengers to let the English know, that if they continued their injuries, they should not have to contend with the Norridgewocks alone. He and the intendant wrote a letter to father Le Chase, a jesuit, to take a journey to Norridgewock, and Penobscot, to engage the Indians in those parts to be firm, and to support the cause in which they were engaged. They gave notice that it was determined to supply them with ammunition.* Massachusetts made heavy complaints of the French governor for instigating the Indians to war in a time of profound peace, between the two crowns, and for supporting them in their warfare. But he was able to justify himself to his master.

Ralle was considered by the English as an infamous villain. His intrepid courage, his fervent zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, and for the interests of his sovereign, were the principal causes of the prejudices of the Indians. He contemned and often insulted the English. The French governor Vaudreuille, and Charlevoix, the French historian, seem to suppose, that the English settlers were mere intruders, and that the English nation were guilty of great injustice in dispossessing the aborigines of their country. But in this they were under a great mistake.

* Gov. Hutchinson, II vol. p. 262, 263.

The first settlers of Plymouth and Massachusetts made conscience of paying the Indians to their satisfaction for all parts of the territory which they settled, unless it were such as had been depopulated, deserted and left without a claimer. BOOK II. 1721.

The English charged the Indians with perfidy and breach of the most solemn engagements. The jesuit denied it and justified the Indians. He pretended that the Indians had been under duress in their treaties, and that the bargains made with them for their lands were unjust.

In this state of affairs the General Court came together, and resolved that three hundred men should be sent to the head-quarters of the Indians, and that proclamation should be made, commanding them, on pain of being prosecuted with the utmost severity, to deliver up the jesuits and the other heads and fomenters of their rebellion, and to make satisfaction for the damage they had done: and that if they refused to comply, as many of their principal men as the commanding officer should judge necessary, should be seized, together with Ralle, or any other jesuit, and sent to Boston; and that if any opposition should be made, force should be opposed to force. The council concurred, and the governor was persuaded to give his consent. Judge Sewall scrupled the lawfulness of the resolution, and entered his protest against it. August 28.

The governor, though he had consented to the resolution, yet as the hostages were still in the hands of the legislature, and as he wished to preserve the peace of the country, gave no orders for raising the men. But the hostages not long after making their escape from the castle where they had been kept, he considered war then as inevitable, and gave orders for raising the men. The hostages were taken and sent back, and the orders were countermanded. The governor had promised the Indians that trading houses should be erected, that smiths and armourers should be sent down at the expense of the province, and that they should be supplied with clothes, provisions and other necessary articles, in exchange for their furs and skins. Though this seems to have been a pacific and judicious measure, yet as the house would not approve of it, and the general court, on whom he depended to enable him to fulfil his engagements, would not assist him, nothing of that nature could be done.

When the General Court met again in November, the house expressed their dissatisfaction, that the governor had not carried into execution, the resolution of the whole court, with respect to the Indians, and resolved, That the General Court, Nov. 1721.

BOOK II. government had sufficient reason for prosecuting them for their many breaches of covenant. The council, after some explanations of the resolution, concurred. The consequence was the sending of a party of men to Norridgewock. The Indians it seems, had been apprised of their coming, and had taken care of their spiritual father, and fled with him into the woods. No Indians were to be found, and the party effected nothing more than plundering father Ralle of a number of his books and papers.

This insult on one of the chief towns of the Indians, and the plundering of their beloved father Ralle, they did not suffer to remain long unrevenged. They did no mischief for several months, but were meditating revenge, and preparing to give the blow. The next year, they went with about sixty men in twenty canoes into Merry Meeting Bay, and took nine families prisoners; but they left no marks of their usual rage and barbarity. Some of the prisoners they released immediately and others soon after. They were careful however to retain a sufficient number to make sure the return of their hostages.

Prisoners taken at Merry Meeting Bay. June 1722.

Another party made an attack upon a fishing vessel from Ipswich, as she lay in one of the Eastern harbours; but as the fishermen were armed, they defended themselves. They killed two or three of the party, and the rest retreated.

About the same time the collector of the customs at Annapolis Royal, Mr. Newton, with John Adams, son to one of the council for Nova-Scotia, as they were going thence with Captain Blin, went ashore at one of the Passimaquodies, and were all taken prisoners, with a number of other passengers, by a party of French and Indians. The people who were left on board the sloop cut the cables and made their escape to Boston.

Another party of Indians burned a sloop at St. Georges river. They took a number of prisoners, and attempted to surprise the fort.

Intelligence of these hostilities came to Boston while the General Court were in session; but instead of that rage for war which had so remarkably appeared in the house before, under far less provocations, nothing more was proposed than sending the hostages, which the Indians had given, back to the Eastward, to be set at liberty upon the restoration of the English captives; and sending a message to the Norridgewocks, demanding the reasons of their conduct, the restoration of captives and satisfaction for damages.

The friends of the English, who had been captivated,

were importunate with the government to take effectual measures for their restoration. With a view to this, it is probable that a declaration of war was so long delayed. While the General Court were sitting, or soon after, the Indians burnt Brunswick, a village between Casco bay and Kennebeck. Captain Harman, who was posted on the frontiers, with part of his forces pursued them, killed a number, and took fifteen of their guns. On the arrival of this news at Boston, the governor immediately, by the advice of his council, published a declaration of war.

BOOK II. 1722.

Declaration of war July 25th, 1722.

The General Court had been prorogued until August. When it came together the governor represented the necessity of laying aside all animosities, private piques and self interest, that there might be an unanimous and vigorous prosecution of the weighty affairs which were before them. He particularly remarked, that he feared if his hands and the council's were not left at greater liberty than they had lately been, affairs would be carried on with little or no spirit. The house approved of the governor's proclamation of war, and promised all necessary and cheerful assistance. It was determined that three hundred men should be selected and sent on an expedition to Penobscot, and that the rest of the troops should be stationed at different posts on the frontiers. But notwithstanding the arrangements which had been made, the enemy found means to surprise several parts of the country and to do much damage.

Aug. 8th.

The neighboring Indians, especially the old men among the Norridgewocks, were opposed to the war; the Penobscots were still more so; and even after it commenced, expressed their desires of an accommodation. But, as has been observed, Ralle and the French urged them to it, and with difficulty persuaded them to engage. The Indians at St. Francois, on the borders of Canada, the St. Johns and the Cape Sable Indians, being at a greater distance, did not fear the destruction of their villages. They therefore, under the influence of the French, were fierce for war; and joining with the Norridgewocks and Penobscots, made the war general.

In July they surprised Canso, and other harbors in the vicinity, and took about seventeen fishing vessels, belonging to Massachusetts. Governor Phillips, who was occasionally there, caused two sloops to be manned, partly with volunteer sailors, from merchant vessels which were there loading with fish, and sent them, under the command of John Elliot of Boston, and John Robinson of Cape Ann, in quest of the enemy. As Elliot was ranging the

July.

BOOK II. coast, he discovered seven vessels in the harbor called Winnepaug; on which, he concealed all his men except four or five and made towards them. When he came near one of the vessels, which had about forty Indians on board, they, in full expectation of another prize, roared out, strike, English dogs, and come aboard, for you are all prisoners. Elliot answered, I will make all the haste I can. The Indians perceiving that they made no attempts to escape, soon began to suspect a surprise, and cut their cable with a design to run ashore and make their escape. Elliot immediately boarding them prevented their purpose, and after a brave resistance, for about half an hour. they began to leap into the hold for safety. Here the hand grenades which Elliot threw among them, made such destruction, that those who were not killed, leaped into the water, where they were a fair mark for the English. Five only of the whole number made their escape. Seven vessels, with several hundred quintals of fish, and fifteen captives, were recovered from the enemy. They had sent many of the prisoners away, and had killed nine in cold blood. The Nova-Scotia Indians had the character of being more savage and cruel than the other tribes.

1722.

Elliot was badly wounded in the action, one of his men was killed and several wounded.

Robinson did not return unsuccessful. He retook two vessels, and killed a number of the enemy. The other vessels the Indians had carried far up the bay above the harbor of Malagash, so that they were out of his reach. The enemy were so numerous, that he had not a sufficient number of men to land and drive them off.

This was an unfortunate affair to the Indians. The loss of so many men filled them with the utmost rage; and they determined to revenge themselves on the poor fishermen whom they had made prisoners. About twenty of these were yet in their hands. These they destined to be sacrificed to the manes of their slaughtered fellows. The fires it seems were kindling, the powowing and other ceremonies of destruction were performing at Malagash, when Captain Blin appeared in a sloop, off the harbor, and made a signal, or sent in a token, which had been agreed upon, between him and the Indians, when he was their prisoner, to be his protection. Three Indians came on board his vessel, and an agreement was made for the ransom both of the captives and vessels. The ransom was paid, and the vessels and captives delivered to him. This was a most providential and signal deliverance of the captives from an untimely and barbarous death.

Captain Blin, on his return to Boston, took three or four of the Indians. Captain Southack, about the same time, took two canoes with three in each. One was killed and five were made prisoners. BOOK II. 1722.

Meanwhile the enemy were not idle. In September, four or five hundred of them, made an attack on the inhabitants and fort upon Arowsick Island. They were discovered by the soldiers of the garrison at some distance, so that the inhabitants had time to secure part of their effects and to make their escape to the fort. The enemy began their attack immediately upon the fort. This was defended by forty soldiers under Captains Temple and Penhallow. They made so gallant a defence, that the enemy after killing one man drew off from the fort, and falling upon the cattle killed about fifty head. They then plundered and burnt the houses, about twenty six in number. The inhabitants saw with great distress, from the fort, the burning of their habitations, and bewailed their insufficiency of numbers, to prevent the mischief. Attack on Arowsick, Sept. 16th.

Captains Walton and Harman, who were posted on the frontiers, on the first alarm, made all possible dispatch to reinforce the garrison, and before night arrived with thirty men, in two whale boats. With this joint force, consisting of seventy men, they made an attempt to repel the enemy; but their numbers were so unequal, that in a bush fight behind trees, they found there was no chance of success, and they retreated to the fort. The enemy drew off in the night; and passing up Kennebeck river, they met the province sloop, and firing upon her, killed the master, Bartholomew Stretton. They proceeded to Richmond, and made an attack on the fort there, and thence went to Norridgewock, their head quarters.

The enemy concluded the mischief of this first year of the war, by killing a man at Berwick.

Before this, Colonel Walton had selected three hundred men for the expedition against Penobscot, and they had actually marched for the place of their destination: but on the appearance of such a formidable body of the enemy on the frontiers, he countermanded the troops, and sent immediately to the governor, acquainting him with what he had done. The council advised to keep the force on the frontiers for the defence of the inhabitants, and to suspend the expedition to Penobscot until winter. They judged that the winter would be a more seasonable opportunity for the enterprise. The expedition was therefore suspended.

As war had been proclaimed against the eastern Indians, and they had done so much mischief in the w[illegible]

BOOK II. Governor Shute, of Massachusetts, and Governor Burnet, of New-York, wrote letters to Governor Salstonstall, de-
1722. manding supplies of ammunition and men, or the command of a certain part of the militia, to assist in the war against the common enemy.

Oct. 11th. When the letters were laid before the assembly in the October session, it was resolved, That the insults of the eastern Indians, who were comparatively few in number, were not such an invasion of the frontiers as was understood by his majesty, to call for the assistance of all his majesty's subjects, in North America, from New-Hampshire to Virginia, and that on that account the colony excused itself from affording assistance in the war. At the same time, the assembly gave assurance to their excellencies, Shute and Burnet, that in time of general war and danger, they would be as ready as any of his majesty's subjects to comply with his requisitions. This was not the only objection of the assembly to engage in the war; they were not satisfied that it was lawful.

Nevertheless, the legislature, not knowing how far the mischief might spread, sent a detachment of about fifty men to keep garrison and scout in the county of Hampshire, and to cover that part of the country. Some soldiers were also posted in the frontier towns of this colony.

General court of Massachusetts, Nov. 15th, 1722. In November, the general court of Massachusetts came together. The court immediately entered on the affairs of the war. Among other measures, they appointed commissioners to treat with the six nations of Indians, who were in friendship with the English, and to engage them to use their influence with the eastern Indians, to persuade them to make satisfaction for the damages they had done, and to be at peace for the future. They were also to offer them certain premiums for all the scalps and captives of the enemy which they should bring in.

But they soon renewed their controversy with the governor; censured him for not carrying into execution the expedition against Penobscot, insisted that Colonel Walton should be recalled, because he had kept the whole of the troops on the frontiers, though he had done it by the express orders of the governor, by advice of his council. The house took it upon them to examine Colonel Walton, independently of the governor and council, and refused to vote any pay to Walton and other officers, and in short, to support the war, unless some of the officers in chief command were displaced and others appointed to command. They encroached on the prerogative of the governor as commander in chief. They so entirely coun-

teracted him in all his measures, and manifested such total disaffection to his person and government, that he left the court while it was in session, and embarked for England.* BOOK II. 1723.

The weight of government now fell on the deputy governor, Dummer. The house in various respects encroached on his prerogative, but for the good of the province, and, that proper provision might be made for a vigorous prosecution of the war, he for the present yielded to the necessity of the times. Colonel Westbrook was appointed to the chief command, in the room of Walton, who resigned. Two winter expeditions were determined on; one under the command of Colonel Westbrook, and the other under Captain Harman.

Expedition against Norridgewock, Feb. 6th, 1723.

The expedition under Captain Harman was first in readiness. On the 6th of February, he set out with about an hundred and twenty men for Norridgewock; but the rivers were so open and the grounds so full of water, that they could not proceed. Having advanced with much difficulty as far as the upper falls of Amascoggin, they divided into scouting parties and returned. In their whole route they discovered not an enemy.

Feb. 11th. Colonel Westbrook's expedition.

Five days after Captain Harman began his march, Colonel Westbrook set out, with two hundred and thirty men, in small vessels and whale boats, and ranged the coast as far as Mount Desart. Upon his return, he proceeded up Penobscot river, where, about thirty two miles above the anchoring ground for transports, he discovered the Indian village and castle. The castle was fortified with stockades, seventy feet in length, and fifty in breadth, encompassing twenty three well finished wigwams. Without the fort was a church sixty feet long and thirty wide, decently finished within and without. There was also a very convenient house for the minister; but all were deserted. Nothing more was effected than the burning of this little village. On the 20th of March the troops returned to St. George's.

No sooner was the spring well opened than the enemy commenced their operations. Small parties kept the frontiers in constant alarm and terror. Notwithstanding all the vigilance and exertions of the troops, they sometimes were successful.

In April they killed and captivated eight persons at Scar-

* The extraordinary conduct of the house towards Governor Shute, may be found faithfully represented, and the difficulty and danger in which it involved the Province, in Governor Hutchinson's History, Vol. II. from page 216 to page 300.

BOOK II. borough and Falmouth. Among the dead was one Chubb, a sergeant of the fort, whom the Indians supposing to be
1723. Captain Harman, fifteen of them took aim at him at the same time, and lodged eleven bullets in his body. This was a means of the preservation of the lives of others, though fatal to him, as more made their escape to the fort, than otherwise would have done. The next month they killed two men near Berwick, one at Wells, and two between York and Wells.

In June they made an attack on Roger Dearing's garrison at Scarborough, killed his wife, and two other persons, and made captives of three of his children. Soon after
July. they visited Saco. Five of them attacked one Dominicus Jordan, one of the principal proprietors of the town, in his field; but as he kept his gun constantly presented at them without firing, they were afraid to come very near him, and he made his escape to the fort, after having received three wounds by them. On the 14th they surprised Captain Watkins on Durel's Island, and killed him, and
Aug. 13th. three or four of his family. In August, a party of about a dozen of the Indians, killed two men at Northfield, and the next day they surprised a father with four of his sons, as they were making hay in a meadow at Rutland. The father made his escape, but the sons fell a prey to the enemy. At the same time, Mr. Willard, the minister of the town, fell in with the party and was killed. He was armed, and before he fell, killed one and wounded another. Towards the end of the month, they killed a man at Cocheco, and killed or captivated another at Arundel. While these misfortunes were happening on the frontiers, the General Court of Massachusetts came together, and in consequence of the measures which had been adopted, in sending commissioners to the Six Nations, sixty-three Indians
Aug. 21st. went to Boston, while the court were in session. A formal
Treaty with the Indians of the Six Nations. treaty was held with them, and a large sum was drawn from the government in valuable presents; but it was all to no purpose. The delegates were too cautious to involve their principals in the war. All that they would do relative to it, was to give liberty to any of their young men who should desire it, to go out with any parties of English who should be engaged in the military service. Two young Mohawks only offered their service, and were sent on to the eastward, to join the troops on the frontiers. Having arrived at the fort at Richmond, on Kennebeck river, Captain Heath, who commanded, ordered his ensign, Coleby, and three of the garrison, to go out with them on a scouting party up the river. After they had travelled

about three miles, they judged, from the smell of fire, that a party of the enemy must be near. The Mohawks refused to proceed any further, until they were reinforced. They sent back their boat for as many men as she could carry. Thirteen were sent. Soon after they had formed a junction with the other party, about thirty of the enemy appeared. A smart skirmish commenced, but the enemy were beaten and fled to their canoes, leaving their packs behind them. They carried off two of their number, either dead, or so wounded as to be unable to walk. Coleby, who commanded the party, was killed, and two others wounded. The two Mohawks appeared to have had enough of the service, and as they could not be prevailed on to tarry longer, were sent back to Boston. BOOK II.

Meanwhile the enemy continued their depredations. In October, seventy of the enemy attacked the block-house at Northfield, and killed or wounded four or five of the English. Fifty Connecticut soldiers, who had kept garrison there through the summer, had been drawn off the day before. It is not improbable that the enemy had obtained the knowledge of this circumstance, and that it emboldened them to make the attack. Colonel Stoddard marched immediately from Northampton, with fifty men, to reinforce the garrison. The same month one Cogswell, with a boat's crew, was surprised by the enemy. Oct. 11, 1723.

At the beginning of winter, about sixty of them laid siege to the fort at Muscungus, or St. Georges. They surprised two of the garrison, from whom they obtained information, that the fort was in a weak and miserable condition, which encouraged them to commence and press the siege. But the chief officer, Kennedy, was a bold and resolute man, and he kept his ground until Colonel Westbrook arrived with a sufficient force to put the besiegers to flight. Dec. 25th, 1723.

The English kept parties constantly marching backwards and forwards on the frontiers, but they discovered no enemy. They were careful to avoid them. Captain Moulton, with a party of men, marched to Norridgewock, and brought off some books and papers of the jesuit Ralle, by which they discovered that the French were the instigators of the Indians to the war. The enemy had all made their escape, so that not one was to be seen. He came off without destroying the houses or the church. He was no only a brave, but discreet man, and probably judged that such an instance of moderation, might induce the enemy to treat the English in the same manner.

The continuance of the war with Massachusetts, and the attack of so large a body of the Indians upon Northfield,

BOOK II. seems to have called the attention of the legislature of Connecticut to a more particular enquiry into the state of the war. When the assembly came together, in October, they passed a number of resolves to the following effect: That the governor should correspond with the governor of Massachusetts Bay, and endeavour to know how said war commenced; what were the real, or pretended causes of it; and particularly, what was the result of the late treaty with the Maquas, or western Indians, and what effects might be expected from it?—What plans they had formed for the prosecution of the war? That a proper regard might be had to them by the scouting parties, which should be employed for the security of the frontiers. It was further resolved, as the opinion of the assembly, That if there was danger of the enemies' falling in a body upon any of the western frontier towns in this colony, or in the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts province, the most proper method of covering them, would be to support the advanced posts of Deerfield and Northfield with such a garrison, that good marching parties might be kept out, both westward to Ousatunnuck, and eastward to Manandunck. That the scouts employed by this colony, shall, if it may be consistent, be partly of our friendly Indians, who shall have encouragement to enter into the service.

Resolutions of the General Assembly of Connecticut relative to the war, Oct. 1723.

Provision was made, that during the time of danger, there should be a committee of war, in and about Hartford, which might be easily convened, and afford assistance on the most sudden attack of the enemy: and they were furnished with such commissions and instructions, by the governor, as enabled them, on any emergency, to send out such a number of troops, immediately, as should be necessary to repel the enemy attacking any of the towns on the frontiers of this colony, or in the county of Hampshire, in the province of Massachusetts.

Directions were also given, that if the governor and council, on acquainting themselves with the state of the war, and on corresponding with the Governor of Massachusetts, should judge that the safety of the frontiers required it, they might join with Massachusetts in keeping the posts at Deerfield and Northfield, or either of them, and in keeping out scouts and good marching parties, north, east, and west, to cover the frontiers, and to make discoveries. They were empowered to impress sixty men, and no more, unless an extraordinary attack should be made, by a large body of the enemy. They might also add the same number of Indians.

The province of Massachusetts sustained a considerable

loss of lives and property in this second year of the war; but they were more unfortunate the next, especially in the former part of it. In March the enemy killed sergeant Smith, at the fort of Cape Porpoise. In April one Mitchell was killed at Black Point, and two of his sons were taken. About the same time, three men were killed at a sawmill, on Kennebeck river. The next month the enemy killed one Thompson at Berwick; one of his children they captivated, another they scalped and left for dead; but it soon revived and was carried home alive. They killed elder Knock, at Lamprey river, and George Chapley and a young woman at Oyster river, as they were going home from public worship. At Kingston they captivated one man and three boys. BOOK II. March 23d, 1724. May.

In the beginning of June, a scout of thirty men from Oyster river, were attacked before they left the houses. Two of them were instantly shot down. The rest ran so furiously upon the Indians, that they fled, leaving their packs and one of their number, who was killed in the skirmish. At Hatfield one Englishman was killed and two taken prisoners. Another, with a friendly Indian and their horses, was killed between Northfield and Deerfield.

About the same time an unfortunate affair took place with respect to captain Josiah Winslow, and part of the garrison belonging to the fort at St. Georges river. There went seventeen men from the fort in two whale boats. The Indians, it seems, discovered them, and waited the most convenient time and place to attack them: as they were returning, the day after they went out, they found themselves suddenly surrounded with thirty canoes, whose complement must have been an hundred Indians. They attempted to land, but were intercepted, and nothing remained but to sell their lives as dearly as possible. They made a gallant defence, but every Englishman was killed. Three Indians who were of the number only returned to the fort to relate the melancholy news. This was a heavy loss. Captain Winslow was a fine young officer, of honorable descent, and had but just finished his studies at college. His father was one of the council. His grandfather and great-grandfather had been governors of Plymouth colony. He had a mind formed for usefulness, and his death was much lamented. June 1st.

Animated with this success, the enemy made a still greater attempt by water. They took two shallops at the Isles of Shoals, and afterwards they took several other fishing vessels, in different harbors. Among the rest, they took possession of a large schooner, with two swivel

BOOK II. guns. They manned her and cruised along shore. It was judged that a small force would be sufficient to conquer 1724. these raw sailors. The lieut. governor commissioned doctor Jackson of the Province of Maine, in a small schooner, with twenty men, and Sylvanus Lakeman of Ipswich, in a shallop with sixteen men, to go in quest of them. They soon came up with them; but the enemy were too strong for them. They returned with their rigging much damaged with the swivel guns, and Jackson and several of his men were wounded. The only account they could give of the enemy was, that they were gone into Penobscot. Other attempts were made to recover the vessels and bring them in; but all were unsuccessful. The enemy took eleven vessels, with forty five men, twenty two of whom they killed, and carried twenty three into captivity.

Aug. 3d. They killed a man at Groton, and lost one of their own number. In August they killed three men, wounded another, and took one prisoner at Rutland. About the same time four of them attacked a small house at Oxford, which had been erected under a hill. The house was de-

6th. fended only by one courageous woman. She loaded two muskets and two pistols; one for each of them. They finally made a breach in the roof, and as one of them was entering, she put a charge through his belly. This finished the attack; the others took their dead companion, and

16th. retreated. About ten days after, they killed a man at Berwick, wounded another, and carried a third into captivity. On the 26th, they killed one and wounded another at Northampton. The next day they surprised the house of one John Hanson, a quaker, at Dover, and carried off his wife, maid and six children. Hanson was absent, at a meeting of the friends.

Discouraged with the ineffectual attempts to intercept the enemy, by scouting parties marching on the back of the frontiers, another expedition was resolved upon, to surprise them at their head quarters, or principal village, Norridgewock.

Four companies, consisting in the whole of two hundred and eight men, under the command of captains Harman, Moulton and Bourne, were ordered up the river Kennebeck for that purpose. Three Mohawks were engaged to go out on the expedition.

The troops left Richmond fort, on the Kennebeck river, the 19th of August; the 20th, they arrived at Taconick, where they left their whale boats, under a guard of forty men, out of the two hundred and eight. On the 21st, they

commenced their march, by land, for Norridgewock. The same evening they discovered, and fired on two women, the wife and daughter of the famous and well known warrior Bomazeen. His daughter was killed, and his wife was made prisoner. By her they obtained a full account of the state of Norridgewock. On the 23d, a little after noon, they came near the village. As it was supposed that part of the Indians might be in their corn fields, which were at some distance from the village, it was judged best to divide the army. Captain Harman, who was commander in chief, took eighty four men and marched to the corn-fields, and Captain Moulton with the same number marched directly to the village. This, about three of the clock, opened suddenly upon them. There was not an Indian to be seen; they were all in their wigwams. The English were ordered to advance as softly as possible, and to keep a profound silence. At length an Indian came out from one of the wigwams, and looking round, discovered the English close upon him. He gave the war whoop and ran in for his gun. The whole village took the alarm; and about sixty warriors ran to meet the English, while the old men, women and children fled for their lives. Moulton, instead of suffering his men to fire at random through the wigwams, charged them, on pain of death, not to fire a gun till they had received the fire of the Indians. He judged they would fire in a panick and overshoot them. So it happened; not a man was hurt. The English discharged in their turn and made great slaughter. The English kept their ranks; the Indians fired a second time, and fled towards the river. Some jumped into their canoes, but as their paddles had been left in the wigwams, they made their escape but slowly; others jumped into the river and swam; some of the tallest were able to ford it. Some of the English furnished themselves with paddles, and took to the canoes which the Indians had left; others waded into the river, and so pressed upon them, that they were soon driven from all their canoes and from the river. They were shot in the water, and on the opposite shore, as they were making their escape into the woods. It was imagined by the English, that not more than fifty of the whole village made their escape.

BOOK II. 1724.

The destruction of Norridgewock, Aug. 23d, 1724.

Having put the enemy to flight, the English returned to the village, where they found the jesuit Ralle, firing on a number of our men, who had not been in pursuit of the enemy. He had in the wigwam an English boy, about fourteen years of age, who had been taken about six months before. This boy he had shot through the thigh,

BOOK II. and afterwards stabbed in the body; but by the care of surgeons, he recovered.* Moulton had given orders not 1724. to kill the jesuit, but as by his firing from the wigwam, one of the English had been wounded, one lieutenant Jaques broke open the door and shot him through the head. Jaques excused himself to his commanding officer, alledging that Ralle was loading his gun when he entered the wigwam, and declared that he would neither give nor take quarter. Moulton allowed that some answer was given which provoked Jaques, but he doubted whether it was the same which was reported. He ever expressed his disapprobation of the action. Mog, a famous Indian chief and warrior, was found shut up in another wigwam, from which he fired and killed one of the three Mohawks. This so enraged his brother, that he broke down the door and shot him dead. The English in their rage, followed and killed his wife and two helpless children. It is painful to relate the inhumanity of war, and the unnecessary shedding of blood which is the mere fruit of revenge, or at least of a great want of benevolent feeling.

Having cleared the village of the enemy, the troops fell to plundering and destroying the wigwams. The plunder of an Indian village afforded no considerable booty. As it was near harvest, there was but little corn; a few blankets, kettles and guns, with about three barrels of powder, was all they could find to bring off, except the plate of the church, which they judged to be no sacrilege to bring away. They expressed some zeal against idolatry in breaking the crucifixes and other imagery which they found.

Harman and his party, who went to the corn fields, did not come up till nearly night, when the action was over. The whole army lodged in the wigwams that night, under a guard of forty men. The next morning they counted twenty seven dead bodies, and they had one woman and three children prisoners. Among the dead were Bomazeen, Mog, Job, Carabeset, Wissememet, and Bomazeen's son in law, all noted warriors. As the troops were anxious for their men and whale boats, they marched early for Taconick. Christian, one of the Mohawks, was sent back, or went of his own accord, after they had begun their march, and set fire to the wigwams and to the church, and then rejoined the company. On the 27th, they returned to the fort at Richmond.

This was a heavy blow to the enemy: more than one

* Governor Hutchinson says; "I find this act of cruelty in the account given by Harman upon oath." Hist. vol. II. p. 312.

half of their fighting men were killed or wounded, and most of their principal warriors. Charlevoix says, "Although more than two thousand shot had been fired upon them, yet there were no more than thirty killed and fourteen wounded." He paints the cruelty and profaneness of the English in very strong colours; especially in killing and mangling father Ralle, the jesuit, and in breaking the images, the latter of which he terms profaning the adorable body of Jesus Christ. BOOK II. 1724.

The English, encouraged by their success at Norridgewock, engaged in several other enterprizes. Colonel Westbrook marched with three hundred men across the country from Kennebeck to Penobscot, with a view to surprize the enemy in that quarter. But the only advantage of the expedition was the exploration of the condition of that part of the country, which before was but little known.

Other parties were ordered up Amaseconti, and Amarescoggin, and a second attempt was made on Norridgewock, but no Indians were to be found in those places. The old men, women and children had been removed, and the warriors were lurking in secret places, and watching every opportunity to alarm and harass the frontiers.

In September, a party of English, consisting of fourteen men, went out from Dunstable in search of two men who were missing. About thirty Indians lay in wait for them, and shot down six and took three prisoners. A second went out and lost two of their number. The western frontier was better guarded. Though often alarmed, little damage was done. At the eastward much loss had been sustained both in men and in vessels. No advantages had been derived by the war. The people of Massachusetts found it a much more serious business than their house of representatives, or they themselves, had imagined.

Colonel Stoddard's application to the General Assembly of Connecticut, Oct. 1724, and the assembly's answer.

At the session in October, colonel Stoddard was sent to Connecticut, earnestly soliciting, that the General Assembly would unite with Massachusetts in offensive operations against the enemy. The legislature however could not be persuaded to do any thing more than they had done. They agreed that they would defend their own frontiers, and those of the county of Hampshire.

They observed, that they were not satisfied with respect to the justice of the war: that though governor Saltonstall had been to Boston, and at the desire, and upon a resolution of the assembly, had taken much pains to inform himself of the grounds of it, they had not been satisfied; nor had they now obtained satisfaction from the representations of colonel Stoddard. They further observed, That the

BOOK II. government of Massachusetts had not consulted them, but proclaimed and began the war without their consent, or 1725. even given them notice. They wished the government of Massachusetts would coolly and seriously consider the grounds of the war, lest much innocent blood should be shed. At the same time they professed their esteem and friendship for their brethren of Massachusetts, and that if they had full satisfaction relative to the reasons of the war, they should be ready to engage in it with greater alacrity and spirit. What effect this answer of the assembly had on the general court and people of Massachusetts is not known; but it is probable that it was very considerable, as they soon after gave intimations of their willingness to be at peace with the Indians.

The government of Massachusetts, to promote enterprize and encourage volunteers, raised the premium for Indian scalps and prisoners to an hundred pounds for each. This induced one John Lovell, to raise a company of volunteers on purpose to hunt the Indians, and bring in their scalps. On his first scout he got one scalp and one prisoner, which he brought into Boston on the 5th of January, 1725. He took them more than forty miles above the lake of Winnepesiaukee. On a second enterprize, he discovered ten Indians round a fire, all asleep. He ordered part of his company to fire on them as they lay, and the other part to fire on them as they rose. Three were killed by the first fire, and the other seven as they rose. On the 3d of March the ten scalps were brought to Boston. Animated by these repeated successes, he made a third attempt with a company of thirty three men. On the 8th of May, they discovered an Indian on a point of land which joined to a great pond or lake. They were suspicious that he was set there to draw them into a snare, and that there might be many Indians at no great distance. They therefore laid down their packs, that they might be prepared for action. They then marched nearly two miles round the pond, to kill or take the Indian whom they had discovered. At length, when the English came within gun shot, he fired and wounded Lovell and one of his men with large shot. He was immediately shot and scalped. In the mean time, a party of about eighty Indians seized the packs of the English, and, at a place convenient for their purpose, waited for their return. When they returned, the enemy rose with the Indian yell, fired and ran upon them with their hatchets, in great fury. Lovell, to secure his rear, retreated to the pond, and the English, though their number was so unequal, continued the action five or

six hours, until night. Captain Lovell, his lieutenant, Farwell, and ensign Robbins, were mortally wounded early in the action, and five more were afterwards killed. Sixteen escaped unhurt, and returned, but they were obliged to leave eight of their wounded companions in the woods, without provisions and without a surgeon. One of them was Mr. Fry, their chaplain, of Andover, who had behaved with great bravery, had killed and scalped one Indian in the heat of the action, but finally perished for want of relief. Two of the eight afterwards got into the English settlements. Fifteen in the whole were lost, and eighteen saved. This unfortunate affair discouraged all scalping parties for the future. BOOK II.

From this time the war languished, and nothing material was transacted. The English and Indians were both weary of it, and wished for peace. After the death of Ralle, the Indians were at liberty to follow their own inclinations. The Penobscots began war with the greatest reluctance, and were now considered as most inclined to peace. To discover their feelings, an Indian hostage was suffered to go home near the close of the winter of 1724, with a captive, on their parole. They came back to the fort at St. Georges on the 6th of February, accompanied with two others of the tribe. They related, that at a meeting of the Penobscots, it was agreed to make proposals of peace. One of the Indians, who was a sachem, was sent back with the other Indian, to bring a deputation of several other chiefs, for the purpose of concluding a peace. In consequence of these measures, some time in June, preliminaries of peace were settled, and a cessation of arms was agreed upon. Soon after, four delegates came to Boston and signed a treaty of peace.

The next year, this peace was more publicly ratified at Falmouth, in Casco bay. Lieutenant governor Dummer, of Massachusetts, with several gentlemen of the council, John Wentworth, Esq. lieutenant governor of New-Hampshire, and Paul Mascerene, Esq. one of the council, and a commissioner of the government of Nova-Scotia, were parties in this treaty.

Thus, after much loss of blood and treasure, both to the English and the Indians, and without the least advantage to either, ended this unhappy war. The province of Massachusetts had their frontiers ravaged for a great extent, lost between one and two hundred brave men, and had many wounded and taken prisoners, with eleven vessels, besides all the trouble and expense which they had incurred.

BOOK II. It was some thousands of pounds damage to Connecticut. Besides maintaining soldiers at their own out posts, about fifty or sixty were sent every year, during the war, into the county of Hampshire, to cover and defend that part of the country.* These were paid by Connecticut. The whole colony was put into a state of warlike defence, but suffered no loss of lives.

The treaty which was made with the Indians at Falmouth, has been greatly applauded as the best treaty ever made with the Indians in that part of the country. From that time, there was a long and profound peace with them. But this cannot be attributed at all to any peculiar excellence in the treaty, but entirely to other circumstances. The treaty was nothing different in any thing important from former treaties. They had felt the ruinous consequences of war; the Indians were left more to their own inclinations, and were less under jesuitical and French influence. The province of Massachusetts treated them with more policy and friendship. The Indians had long been desirous of trading houses, to supply them with necessaries, and take off their furs and skins. Governor Shute promised them that this should be done for them, but, as has been observed, the general court would make no provision for it, at that time. But now provision was made, and trading houses were erected at St. George's, Kennebeck and Saco rivers. The Indians soon found that they could purchase goods on better terms at these houses, than they could of the French, or even of the private English traders among them. This broke up their trade with the French and with the private traders, by whom they were imposed upon, defrauded and provoked. Had these measures been adopted before, as governor Shute had proposed, it would doubtless have prevented the war.

* Governor Hutchinson observes, "Justice should be done to the government of Connecticut; they generally, at the request of Massachusetts, sent forces every year during the summer, in this and former wars, and paid their wages, the provisions being furnished by this government." Vol. II. p. 304. Connecticut gave the men three pounds per month.

CHAPTER VI.

Grants and settlements of the lands in the colony which had not been granted and settled before the year 1713; *principally in the counties of Windham and Litchfield. A more particular account of the settlement of the towns of Lebanon and New-Milford, than had been given in the first volume of this history. Settlement of the towns of Ashford, Tolland, Bolton, Stafford, and Litchfield. County of Windham formed. Somers and Willington settled. Incorporation of East-Haddam. Extraordinary noises formerly heard in that town. Settlement and incorporation of Union. Controversy between the government and the towns of Hartford and Windsor, relative to the lands within the county of Litchfield, and the disorders and troubles created by it, in the colony. Agreement between the government and the said towns. The lands in controversy divided into townships and measured. Orders for the sale of those of them belonging to the colony, at auction, at different times and places. The money arising from the sale to constitute a permanent fund, for the benefit of schools in the colony. New-Fairfield settled and incorporated. Description of the new townships; their progressive sale and settlement.*

THE township of Lebanon originally consisted of a number of parcels of land, purchased by different persons, and at different times, but finally united by particular agreements in one town. There were four proprieties, as they were called. That which has been called the first, was a purchase of five miles in length and three in width, extending from Windham line on the north-east part, south-westerly to the bounds of Hebron and Colchester. This purchase was made of Owanecho, sachem of the Mohegans. This grant bears date in 1698, and is called the five mile purchase. The second propriety, as it has been called, was a tract of five miles in length and one in width, lying south of the five mile purchase and adjoining to it. This is called the Fitch and Mason, or mile purchase. It was a grant made by the aforesaid Owanecho to the Rev. Mr. Fitch and the famous Major John Mason. This grant was made in 1695, and the tract originally belonged to the town of Norwich.

The third propriety was termed the Clark and Dewy purchase, from the names of the first owners and settlers.

BOOK II. This tract was obtained in the year 1706. This adjoined the five mile purchase on the northerly side, extending from the Windham bounds on the easterly part, to Hebron on the westerly; and from the said five mile purchase, southerly, to the Mansfield and Coventry bounds on the north side. It was of a triangular form, leaving a small gore between the five mile and Windham bounds. The greatest length of the hypothenuse of the triangle was about eight miles, and the greatest breadth or perpendicular at the Hebron line was nearly six miles, forming a very acute angle at the north-eastern extremity.

The fourth propriety, the small gore already mentioned, lying between the five mile and the Clark and Dewy purchase, was called the Whiting purchase. This was about half a mile in length, and from ten to two hundred rods in width. This was annexed to the town of Lebanon about the year 1715. This completed the original dimensions of the town.

These several parcels were united, by agreements between the settlers, about the year 1700. The settlers on the one mile propriety, wished, for the convenience of public worship and ecclesiastical purposes, to be joined to those of the five mile purchase, and an agreement was made on this condition, that the meeting-house should be placed in the centre line of the two tracts north and south.

The inhabitants of the northern tracts united with the southern, in beginning a town with them. A certain part of the inhabitants of the northern purchase, called the village, lying north of five mile purchase, upon their desire, were admitted to associate in their public worship with the first society, until they should be able to support the gospel among themselves, upon this express stipulation, that they would make no attempt to disturb the then established place of public worship.

New-Milford, which is the second town in the county of Litchfield, and was the chief seat of the Indian kingdom, in that part of the colony, also merits a more particular description than was given of it in the first volume. Upon the petition of the people of Milford, in May, 1702, the General Assembly granted them liberty to purchase a township at Wyantenock,* and directed them to make a report of their doings to the assembly. The next March they made an extensive purchase of the natives. In October,
1704. 1704, the legislature enacted, that the tract purchased by the people of Milford, should be a township, by the name

* This is the spelling on the Records; but it is spelt, Oweantonoge, more generally.

of New-Milford; and that it should be settled in five years. The town plot to be fixed by a committee appointed by the assembly.† The town is situate on both sides of the Housatonick,‡ or Stratford river. The river enters it at the north-west corner, and running a meandering course of about twenty miles, goes out at the south-east corner. The longest straight line of the town, from north-west to south-east, is about eighteen miles. Its original limits were much more extensive than its present boundaries. Two considerable defalcations have been made from the original township. One at the south end, west of the river, which forms a part of the town of Brookfield; and another on the north-east corner, which is now part of the town of Washington, comprising a large part of the society of New-Preston. About two miles below the centre of the town, is a fall in the river, which the Indians called Metichawon; the English, the Great Falls. These stopped the progress of the large fish, and made it formerly one of the best fishing places for shad, herring, &c. in the colony. But by reason of seines and embarrassments below, it is now made of little importance for fishing. Book II. 1704.

This township was the principal seat of the Indians in the county of Litchfield. The seat of the chief sachem was near the Great Falls. His name was Wehononague, a man of uncommon powers of mind, sober and regular in his life, who took much pains to suppress the vices of the Indians. When the English were first acquainted with him, he was supposed to command about two hundred warriors. The whole number of Indians might be one thousand. The other clans of Indians in the county, at Pomparague, (Woodbury;) Bantom, (Litchfield;) Piscatacook, (Kent;) Weatauge, (Salisbury;) and the adjacent parts, were supposed to be in the strictest league of friendship with the Indians at Wyantenock, otherwise Oweantopoge. The palace of the chief sachem, where he commonly resided, was near the Great Falls. The tradition is, that it was constructed of barks, with the smooth side inwards, on which were pictures of all known species of beasts, birds, fishes and insects; drawn by an artist sent to him by a friendly prince, from a great distance.

There was no white man settled in the township until 1707. This year John Noble, from Westfield, began the settlement. Sometime after he was joined by John Bostwick, from Stratford. But the settlement was retarded and went on slowly, by reason of a dispute relative to the

† Records of the colony. ‡ Sometimes spelt Ousatonic.

BOOK II. title. One John Read laid claim to a considerable tract, by virtue of a purchase which he had made of the natives: and the better to support his title, he now moved on to the land and took formal possession. This was the occasion of a tedious law suit, and much discouraged the settlers under the company's title. In 1712, there were but twelve families in the town; but the next year a considerable number joined them, and the town was incorporated.

The first minister was the Rev. Daniel Boardman, ordained, November 21st, 1716. Finding Wehononague, the Indian sachem, to be a discreet and friendly man, he took much pains to instruct him, and from the character he gave of him, it appears that he professed repentance for his sins and faith in Christ, and died a christian. In a letter to a particular gentleman, he calls him, "That "distinguished sachem, whose great abilities and eminent "virtues, joined with his extensive dominion, rendered him "the most potent prince of that or any other day in this "colony: and his name ought to be recorded by the faith-"ful historian as much as that of any crowned head since "his was laid in the dust."

These Indians, about the years 1742 and 1743, were visited by the Moravian missionaries, under count Zinzindorf. These missionaries tarried with them several years, and appeared to be very religious, peaceable, inoffensive men. At this time there appeared to be almost a perfect reformation among those Indians. Almost their whole discourse, when among the English, was upon religious subjects. Nearly an hundred and twenty were baptized, principally at Piscatacook, or Kent. They spent much of their time in religious worship, public and private. After some time, the missionaries prevailed with them to remove to Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. This change of climate proved fatal to many of them, especially the old people. The remnant of them, discouraged by sickness, returned to Piscatacook. They appeared to forget their religion, fell into intemperance and appeared to be wasting away.*

As the settlement of the lands granted by the royal charter was an object constantly kept in view by the legislature, and which they were anxiously engaged to effect, they selected convenient tracts of land and laid them out into townships, and gave all proper encouragements to adventurers who were willing to encounter the hardships and dangers of new settlements. As there was a good tract of

* Manuscripts of an aged worthy gentleman of New-Milford, compared with the Moravian printed account of missions.

land lying west of Pomfret, and north of Mansfield, adjoining Crystal Pond, they, in 1706, granted a township six miles square, by the name of Ashford. The settlement of the town, however, did not commence until 1710, when two families moved on to the lands. In about four years the inhabitants were so increased, that upon their petition, in 1714, the Assembly vested them with the privileges of a distinct town. Their first minister was the Rev. James Hale, ordained, November 26th, 1718. The Crystal pond, mentioned in the grant of the township, is at the north east corner of the town. It is about a mile in length, north and south, and half a mile in breadth. Why it was named the Crystal pond, is not known at this day; the conjecture however is, that it was derived from the clearness of the water, and the whiteness of the sand at the south end of the pond.

Ashford incorporated, 1714.

About the same time measures were adopted for the settlement of another township in the same vicinity. A number of gentlemen in Windsor, made a purchase of the native proprietors of a tract six miles square, lying north of Coventry, and east of the ancient boundaries of Windsor. In 1713, they appointed a committee who laid out a number of lots, and made grants to such as were willing to become purchasers. Upon the petition of the Windsor claimants, the Assembly, in 1715, incorporated them by the name of Tolland. It was bounded south on Coventry, east on Willamantic river, and is now bounded west partly on Bolton and partly on East-Windsor, or what is called Ellington. Its north boundary was also East-Windsor, or Ellington. Two families the same year began the settlement of the town. But the progress of the settlement was very slow. In 1720, the number of families was but twenty eight. About one half of the township, comprising the south part, was claimed by a number of gentlemen, who were legatees of Joshua Uncas, sachem of the Mohegan Indians. This proved to be a source of great difficulty and trouble; and, doubtless, very considerably retarded the settlement of the town. The legatees commenced suits at law against the settlers: and while the title of the land was in controversy, the legislature declined giving them a patent. The affair finally came to this issue. The proprietors holding under the Windsor claimants were obliged, at a dear rate, to purchase quitclaims of the legatees of Joshua. In consequence of this, the patent of the town was granted, by the governor and company, in 1728.

Tolland incorporated, 1715.

In the beginning of the year 1720, Mr. Stephen Steel, then a candidate for the ministry, began to preach in this

BOOK II. town, and after laboring about two years with the people, he was ordained, in February 1722, pastor of the church
1716. and congregation in Tolland. He continued in the ministry about thirty seven years. He was a worthy minister, greatly loved and revered by his people until his death.

Nearly at the same time, when the settlement of Tolland commenced, the governor and company sold the tract of land, since named Stafford. It was surveyed in 1718, and
Stafford settled, 1719. the next spring the settlement began. The principal settlers were twelve; two of them, Mr. Robert White and Mr. Matthew Thompson, were from Europe. The Warners, Samuel and John, were from Hadley; the Bloggets, Daniel and Josiah, were from Woburn; Cornelius Davis was from Haverhill, Daniel Colburn from Dedham, John Pasko from Enfield, Josiah Standish from Preston, Joseph Orcutt, from Weymouth, and Benjamin Rockwell, from Windsor. Mr. John Graham was their first pastor, called to the ministry January 17th, 1723, and soon after ordained.*

Description of Stafford Springs. This town is famous for the mineral springs which have been discovered in it; and for the remarkable cures which have been effected by their waters. The springs are two in number. That which was first discovered contains iron held in solution by the carbonic acid, or fixed air, natron or native alkali, a small portion of marine salt, and some earthy substances. The other, which was first used about seven or eight years since, is charged principally with the hydrogene gas of sulphur: it also contains a very minute portion of iron.† The spring first discovered, has been pronounced by chemists, to be one of the best of the chalybeate springs in the United States. The Indian natives made the first discovery of these mineral waters to the English inhabitants, and recommended them as beneficial in various complaints. For a number of years after the settlement of the town commenced, they annually resorted to the springs, drank the waters, and bathed in them. They represented to the English, that the waters made them feel lively. But it was not until about the year 1765, that these mineral waters came into general use and reputation. In the summer of that year, a Mr. Field, of East Windsor, who had for many months been afflicted with an obstinate cutaneous complaint, which had entirely resisted all previous applications, had recourse to the mineral waters of Stafford, and obtained a perfect cure.

* The May following.

† Professor Silliman examined these springs in 1810, and differs in opinion from Doctor Willard relative to them. He is positive that there is a very essential difference between the waters in the two springs.

He soon made public the wonderful relief which he had experienced by the use of these waters. In consequence of his publication, visitors soon began to flock to the springs from all quarters, and for almost all complaints. From that time to the present, there has been a greater or less resort annually, to these springs, for the benefit of their mineral waters. For the last four or five years, the annual resort has greatly increased. Within that term of time, the number of visitors has been from about six to nine hundred annually. The receipts from the hotel and the other boarding houses, amount, by estimation, yearly, to five or six thousand dollars. During the season for company, this resort forms a good market for the farmers in the vicinity, and is a very considerable emolument to the town. BOOK II. 1719.

The complaints in which these waters have been most beneficial, are, cutaneous affections generally; obstinate ulcers of almost every description; loss of appetite and indigestion; dropsies in the first stages; almost all cases of general debility; nervous head-aches, weakness of the eyes, and several kinds of fits. They have also been found very beneficial in various complaints peculiar to the fair sex. The waters have a strong ferruginous taste, and when first drank, frequently occasion nausea, even to puking. They also often operate as a cathartic; and, almost universally, as a diuretic. As a permanent tonic, these waters are estimated as superior to almost all others in America.

The springs are situated on the principal turnpike road from Hartford to Boston. The natural state of the country about the springs is pleasing, wild and romantic. Much has been done by art, to render the beauties of its situation still more attractive and captivating.

Stafford is not only famous for its mineral springs, but for the quantity and excellency of the iron which is annually manufactured by its inhabitants. In 1779, Mr. John Phelps, and company, built a blast furnace on a large scale, which annually produces from 80 to an 120 tons of hollow ware and other castings. Cannon, cannon shot, and a vast variety of patterns for manufactures, and other descriptions of machinery are cast at this furnace. In 1796, a new furnace was erected by Mr. Nathaniel Hyde, and company. The products of this furnace, have averaged about 90 or 92 tons annually. All the varieties of castings are done at this furnace, that of cannon excepted, which have been effected at the other. The price of hollow [illegible] in 1814, was 60 dollars per ton, and iron of solid [illegible] Iron manufactories.

Book II. per pound. The Stafford iron is of an excellent quality; it is esteemed softer and tougher than any other in New-
1719. England. It is preferred to any other, for the numerous cotton mills, and other machinery in the various parts of the country. The ore used in these furnaces is the low-land, or bog ore. This is obtainable in almost all parts of the town, and several of the neighboring towns. There are two forges in the town for the manufacturing of refined and bloomery iron. Two cotton mills have been erected within the town, a few years since, from which considerable advantages are expected.

Besides these sources of emolument, there is a fine quarry of white fire proof stone, in the northerly part of West Stafford, which has been exported to a great distance for furnace hearths. This has been a capital source of revenue to the proprietor.

The face of the country in Stafford is generally hilly, and in West Stafford it is mountainous: the land is rough and hard of cultivation, but the soil is strong, and repays the husbandman, with good interest: the land is generally excellent for grazing and orcharding, and the beef and cider of the town, are said to be of a superior quality: the air is pure and salubrious: the uneven face of the country, and the plenteousness of its waters, afford a number of excellent scites for mills and manufactories. In the immediate vicinity of the mineral springs, the two branches of the Willamantic, afford water sufficient for a manufacturing village, which, in a number of years, may not improbably be realized.

Bolton was as early a settlement as Stafford. It was granted, and to be laid out in fifty allotments. One was to be reserved for the first minister, and forty nine were to be settled; and each allotment was to be taxed forty five shillings annually, for four years, for the settlement and maintenance of a minister. The town is about nine miles and an half in length, from south to north, and three miles in breadth. It is bounded south by Hebron, on the east, partly by Coventry and partly by Tolland, north, partly by Tolland and partly by Ellington, and west, partly by East Windsor and East Hartford, and partly by Glastenbury. The first settlers were Pitkins, Talcotts, Loomises, Olcotts, Bissells, Bishops, Strongs and Darts, principally from the towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield. The settlement of the town began about the year 1616, or 1617,
Bolton incorporated 1720. but the first town meeting was not until 1720. In October, the same year, the town was incorporated. In May, 1725, the inhabitants obtained liberty of the General As-

sembly, to form a church. The first minister of the town was the Rev. Thomas White, ordained October 26th, 1725. BOOK II. 1721.

While these settlements were making in the north eastern part of the colony, a number of gentlemen from Hartford and Windsor, undertook the settlement of the town of Litchfield, in the north western part, on the lands claimed by the governor and company, and, in dispute between them and the towns of Hartford and Windsor. The township, in extent, was about ten miles east and west, and nine north and south. It is bounded east by Waterbury river, south by Plymouth, Watertown, Bethlem and Washington, west by Shepaug river, and north by Goshen and Torrington. A small number began the settlement in 1720. The next year, a considerable number moved on to the tract from Hartford and Windsor. A company also went on from Lebanon, and carried with them a Mr. Collins, who was a candidate for the ministry, to preach with them. The town was surveyed, and laid out in sixty four rights or allotments. Three of these were reserved for public uses. One was to be given to the first minister, to be his, and to descend to his heirs for ever. A second right was to be reserved for the use of the minister during his ministry. The third was reserved for the benefit of a school. Sixty one rights were sold at public vendue. Litchfield settled, 1721.

Mr. Timothy Collins, who went on with the company from Lebanon, was elected the first minister of the town; and was ordained June 19th, 1723.

As this was then a frontier town, and as mischief was in several instances done there, three houses were fortified with pickets, one on town hill, and one east and west of it, at a mile's distance or more. A garrison was kept there in time of danger, for the defence of the inhabitants.*

* In 1723, two Indians surprised and captivated one Jacob Griswold, as he was labouring in his field; bound him, and carried him into the wilderness about twenty miles. They then stopped and made a fire, and fastening him down, one of them laid himself down to rest, and the other watched him. Griswold, unnoticed by his keeper, disengaged himself from all the cords which had bound him, except the one which bound his elbows. When the Indian appeared to be awake, and to have his eye upon him, he lay as still as possible, but when he drowsed and had not his eye upon him, he employed all his art and vigor to set himself at liberty. At length he disengaged himself from the cord which fastened his arms, and perceiving that the Indians were asleep, he sprang, caught both their guns, and leaped into the woods. Their powder horns were hung upon their guns, so that he brought off both their arms and ammunition. He secreted himself by a rock until the morning appeared, and then steered for Litchfield, guided by a brook which he imagined would lead him to the town. The Indians pursued him; but when they approached him, he

Book II. "Be it therefore enacted by the
"and representatives, in general co
"the authority of the same, That wh
"presume, on the Lord's day, to n
"ship of God in some lawful congre
"selves into separate companies in
"convicted thereof before any assi
"peace, shall each of them, for eve
"the sum of twenty shillings.

"And it is further enacted, by t
"that whatsoever person, not bei
"minister of the gospel, shall pre
"holy sacraments, by administering
"administering them to any person
"and being thereof convicted befor
"such county where such offence sh
"incur the penalty of ten pounds
"and suffer corporal punishment,
"ceeding thirty stripes for each offe

The existing laws of the colony r
relief of persons soberly dissenting
ship established in it, upon applica
lature. Besides it cannot be denie
ordained and entirely unauthorized t
ments, and especially in a tumultuo
high profanation of the holy ordina
misdemeanor. Nevertheless this a
generally been considered as inconsi
conscience, and that toleration which
towards christians of all denomina
Rogerenes,* Baptists, and other s

† Records of the State of Connecticut, Vol.

* The Rogerenes were a sort of Quakers,
name from one John Rogers, of New-London.
ed ambition, and wished to be something mo
Case and one Banks, two lewd men, called si
the colony singing and dancing, accompanied
assist them in their musical exercises; and
their lips dropped with myrrh and honey, fell
at once made a convert of him to their religion.
bibed their spirit, and ever retained it. Notw
after, before he commenced a seventh day
the opinion of this sect for a short time, he retu
To gratify his pride, and that he might appe
sect, he differed in several points from the Quak
tained that there were three ordinances of
Lord's supper, and imposition of hands. To
as the head of a new sect, he commenced preac
and without any kind of ordination, administere
The madness, immodesty, and tumultuous co
who followed him, at this day, is hardly con

BOOK II. 1726. Nearly at the same time Willington was laid out, and settlements were made. At the session in May, 1720, it was sold, and granted, by the governor and company, for five hundred and ten pounds, to the following gentlemen; Roger Wolcott, Esq. of Windsor, John Burr, of Fairfield, John Riggs, of Derby, Samuel Gunn and George Clark of Milford, John Stone and Peter Pratt, of Hartford, and Ebenezer Fitch. A few families had settled on the lands before the sale of them. The town is about seven miles in length, from north to south, and about five in breadth. It is bounded north by Stafford, west on Willamantic river, which divides it from Tolland; on the south by Mansfield, and on the east by Ashford. The planters were from various parts of New-England, and they moved on to the lands, one after another, in a very scattering manner. In 1728, the town had such a number of inhabitants as to be able to settle a minister, and on the 20th of September, the Rev. Daniel Fuller, was ordained to the pastoral office over the church, and congregation.* The rateable inhabitants at the time of his ordination were no more than twenty seven.

Willington sold, May 12th, 1720.

The eastern part of the colony was now generally settled, and the number of towns was so increased, that the legislature, at the session in May, 1726, judged it expedient to form a new county in that quarter. It was enacted, That the towns of Windham, Lebanon, Plainfield, Canterbury, Mansfield, Coventry, Pomfret, Killingly, Ashford, Voluntown, and Mortlake,† should be a distinct county, of which it was ordained that Windham should be and continue to be the county or head town.

About the same time Somers, East-Haddam, and Union,

would lay down one gun and present the other, and they would draw back and hide themselves, and he made his escape to the town. A guard of thirty men was immediately dispatched to Litchfield, to keep garrison there. No further mischief was done in the town that year. But the next year, at the commencement of the summer, the Indians killed one Harris, as he was laboring in his field.

* So remarkable was the health of the town, that for fourteen years after Mr. Fuller's ordination, but one head of a family died out of it.

† Mortlake was a township of land originally granted by the legislature of Connecticut to one Mr. Blackwell, an English gentleman, supposed to have been a native of Mortlake, a village in Surry, in England, on the river Thames. Mr. Blackwell, for a considerable time, kept the possession of it, without making settlements upon it, as had been expected at the time of the grant. He afterwards made sale of it to Governor Belcher, of Massachusetts. But he also neglected the sale, and settlement, excepting in some few instances. The General Assembly therefore annulled the grant, and affixed the said tract to the town of Pomfret, to which it adjoined. It lies principally, if not wholly, in the parish of Brooklyn.

were settled, and soon after incorporated. Somers was the south-east part of the ancient town of Springfield, granted by the General Court of Massachusetts to Mr. Pynchon and his company. It was afterwards incorporated with the town of Enfield, and was part of the same ecclesiastical society, and so continued to be until about the year 1726, when it was made a distinct ecclesiastical society, by the General Court of Massachusetts, by the name of East-Enfield. The town of Enfield, when incorporated, extended from Connecticut river to Stafford, ten miles; and was more than six miles in breadth. When the line was run between Massachusetts and Connecticut, in 1713, a gore was cut off on the north-east corner, in the form of a triangle. The breadth of the gore at the east end, is about three quarters of a mile, and runs to a point, after extending to the west about five miles and an half. This is the breadth of the present town of Somers, at the north end. The length of the town is about six miles. The first person who moved on to this tract, was Benjamin Jones, of Welch extraction. He was from Enfield; and in 1706 moved on to the lands, where he resided in the summer, but moved back in the winter, and at other times when danger was apprehended. But no permanent settlement was made until 1713, when Edward Kibbe, James Pease, Timothy Root, and Robert Montgomery, with their families, joined with Jones, and made a durable settlement. Soon after, several other families became residents in the town. Their first pastor was the Rev. Samuel Allis, who was ordained on the 15th of March, 1727. At the time of his ordination, the society consisted of thirty families. In 1734, the General Court of Massachusetts incorporated the society, vesting it with all the privileges of other towns in the province, by the name of Somers. It is said to have been thus named at the request of governor Belcher, in honour of lord Somers, for whom he had a peculiar friendship and veneration.

Somers made an ecclesiastical society, 1726.

Somers incorporated, 1734.

The same year East-Haddam was made a distinct town. It was made a distinct society in October, 1700. The first minister was the Rev. Stephen Hosmer. He was graduated at Cambridge, 1699, and ordained May 3d, 1704. In 1713, the assembly granted the inhabitants liberty to tax themselves, apparently as a distinct town; but they were not incorporated, and completely vested with all town privileges, until May, 1734.

East-Haddam incorporated, 1734.

The Indian name of the town was Machemoodus, which, in English, is *the place of noises*; a name given with the utmost propriety to the place. The accounts given of the

BOOK II. noises and quakings there, are very remarkable. Were it not that the people are accustomed to them, they would 1734. occasion great alarm. The Rev. Mr. Hosmer, in a letter to Mr. Prince, of Boston, written August 13th, 1729, gives this account of them;—"As to the earthquakes, I "have something considerable and awful to tell you. "Earthquakes have been here, (and no where but in this "precinct, as can be discerned; that is, they seem to have "their centre, rise and origin among us,) as has been "observed for more than thirty years. I have been in- "formed, that in this place, before the English settlements, "there were great numbers of Indian inhabitants, and that "it was a place of extraordinary *Indian Pawaws*, or, in "short, that it was a place where the Indians drove a pro- "digious trade at worshipping the devil. Also I was in- "formed, that, many years past, an old Indian was asked, "What was the reason of the noises in this place? To "which he replied, that the Indian's God was very angry "because Englishmen's God was come here.

Account of the uncommon noises in East-Haddam.

"Now whether there be any thing diabolical in these "things, I know not; but this I know, that GOD ALMIGHTY "is to be seen and trembled at, in what has been often "heard among us. Whether it be fire or air distressed in "the subterraneous caverns of the earth, cannot be known; "for there is no eruption, no explosion perceptible, but "by sounds and tremors, which sometimes are very fearful "and dreadful. I have myself heard eight or ten sounds "successively, and imitating small arms, in the space of "five minutes. I have, I suppose, heard several hundreds "of them within twenty years; some more, some less ter- "rible. Sometimes we have heard them almost every day, "and great numbers of them in the space of a year. Often "times I have observed them to be coming down from the "north, imitating slow thunder, until the sound came near "or right under, and then there seemed to be a breaking "like the noise of a cannon shot, or severe thunder, which "shakes the houses, and all that is in them. They have "in a manner ceased, since the great earthquake. As I "remember, there have been but two heard since that time, "and those but moderate."

A worthy gentleman, about six years since, gave the following account of them. "The awful noises, of which "Mr. Hosmer gave an account, in his historical minutes; "and concerning which you desire further information, "continue to the present time. The effects they produce, "are various, as the intermediate degrees, between the "roar of a cannon and the noise of a pistol. The concus-

" sions of the earth, made at the same time, are as much diversified as the sounds in the air. The shock they give to a dwelling-house, is the same as the falling of logs on the floor. The smaller shocks produced no emotions of terror or fear in the minds of the inhabitants. They are spoken of as usual occurrences, and are called Moodus noises. But when they are so violent as to be felt in the adjacent towns, they are called earthquakes. During my residence here, which has been almost thirty-six years, I have invariably observed, after some of the most violent of these shocks, that an account has been published in the newspapers, of a small shock of an earthquake, at New-London and Hartford. Nor do I believe, in all that period, there has been any account published of an earthquake in Connecticut, which was not far more violent here than in any other place. By recurring to the newspapers, you will find, that an earthquake was noticed on the 18th May, 1791, about 10 o'clock, P. M. It was perceived as far distant as Boston and New-York. A few minutes after there was another shock, which was perceptible at the distance of seventy miles. Here, at that time, the concussion of the earth, and the roaring of the atmosphere, were most tremendous. Consternation and dread filled every house. Many chimnies were untopped and walls thrown down. It was a night much to be remembered; for besides the two shocks which were noticed at a distance, during the night there was here a succession of shocks, to the number of twenty, perhaps thirty: the effects of which, like all others, decreased, in every direction, in proportion to the distances. The next day, stones of several tons weight, were found removed from their places; and apertures in the earth, and fissures in immoveable rocks, ascertained the places where the explosions were made. Since that time, the noises and shocks have been less frequent than before; though not a year passeth over us, but some of them are perceptible."

Settlement and incorporation of Union.

The town of Union, which was the last settled in the north east part of the colony; and the next in the order of time, to those whose history has already been given, was sold for the benefit of Yale College. The lands are holden of the governor and company. It is bounded north on Sturbridge, Holland and South-Brimfield, in Massachusetts, or on the north line of the State; east on Woodstock, south on Ashford, and west on Stafford. It is five miles on the north line, four miles on the east, six miles and one hundred and eighty rods on the south, and four

BOOK II. miles and sixty rods on the west, containing 14,420 acres.

The settlement of the town began in 1727. The first and principal settlers were William McNail, John Lawson and James Sherrer, from Ireland. The progress of settlement appears to have been slow. The town was not incorporated until October, 1734. In 1738, the church here was formed, and the first minister, the Rev. Ebenezer Wyman, was ordained. He died in 1745, a young man, and was greatly lamented.

Incorporated, Oct. 1734.

New-Fairfield granted, settled and incorporated.

New-Fairfield is the next oldest town to Litchfield, in that county. At the session in October, 1707, the legislature granted to Nathan Gould, Peter Burr, Jonathan Wakeman, Jonathan Sturgis, John Barlow and others, of the town of Fairfield, a township of land bounded west on the colony line between Connecticut and New-York, south on Danbury, east on New-Milford, and north on lands of the colony, afterwards granted to the town of Kent. The tract extended northward fourteen miles from the north line of Danbury. Several circumstances retarded the settlement of the township for nearly thirty years. The Indians in that part of the colony were judged to be less friendly than usual, during the war, and there were reports of a designed attack of a large body of French and Indians from Canada, which alarmed the people. The war continued until 1713. The line between Connecticut and New-York, was not run until 1725, and it was not finally settled until 1731. The grant of Connecticut of the tract, called the Oblong, to New-York, as a compensation for lands settled on the Sound, disappointed the proprietors, and narrowed the township several miles, as to its western extent. All these circumstances united their influence to obstruct the settlement. This began on the south part, called the lower seven miles, probably, about the year 1730. On the 27th of April, the same year, there was a meeting of the proprietors, in which it was voted, That the tract of land called New-Fairfield, should be laid out in fifty two allotments: and that fifty two home lots should be laid out in said tract. It was also voted, That 400 acres should be laid out to each of the twelve original proprietors, or to their heirs and assigns. The allotment of the town, nevertheless, was not effected until 1737.

March 27th, 1730.

It was agreed that the town should be divided into two parts, called the lower and the upper seven miles. The allotment of the upper seven miles was not made until 1740. A tract of 100 acres was laid out in each part of the town, for the first minister.

May 8th, 1740, the town was incorporated. The first minister, in the lower seven miles, was the Rev. Benajah Case, who was ordained, November 9th, 1742. The first pastor in the upper seven miles, was the Rev. Thomas Lewis, ordained, March 23d, 1744.* BOOK II.

While people were effecting the settlement of these towns, there arose an unhappy controversy between the legislature and the towns of Hartford and Windsor. In the troublesome times of Sir Edmund Andrus's administration, to save the lands of the colony from his grasp, and prevent his enriching himself and his minions by the sale of them, the legislature, in a hasty manner, made a conveyance to the above named towns, January 26th, 1686, in the words following: "This court grants to the plantations "of Hartford and Windsor, those lands on the north of "Woodbury and Mattatuck, and on the west of Farming-"ton and Simsbury, to the Massachusetts line north; to "run west to Housatonick, or Stratford river; provided "it be not, or part of it, formerly granted to any particu-"lar person to make a plantation, or village."†

The design of this conveyance was that these towns should hold the lands thus granted, for the governor and company, until those times of danger and trouble should be past; but not as their property. They had never purchased nor given the least valuable consideration for them, and had no deeds nor patents of them. Nevertheless, by virtue of this grant, they laid claim to all the lands within the limits expressed. So tenacious were they of their claim, that, in contravention of the most express laws of the colony, they proceeded to locate and vend the lands in controversy.

The governor and company claimed the lands as fully as though no grant of any kind had been made to those towns. And as the town of Litchfield had been settled by the Hartford and Windsor people, and they persisted in their claim, and in locating and vending the land in con-

* In the upper or north seven miles, is a natural and artificial curiosity. There are two ponds, one fed by a small stream which runs into it, the other by springs, generally invisible. The latter is on a mountain, fifty feet above the other. The ponds are about three quarters of a mile distant from each other. To conduct the water of the upper pond into the lower, an aquedact has been constructed, by great labor and expense; at one place for nearly twenty, and at the other about sixteen rods. More than half these distances it is perforated through a solid rock. The aqueduct is twenty five feet below the outward surface of the water. The water drawn from these ponds, carries a grist mill with two runs of stones. The mill is over shot. The water strikes one wheel and carries one run, then collects and strikes a second, and carries another run.

† Records of the colony.

BOOK II. troversy, some of the principal delinquents it seems were arrested and punished by the superior court; some were committed to the common prison in Hartford. The people of Hartford and Windsor determined, nevertheless, to oppose the legislature, and by force of arms to liberate their neighbors. On the 11th October, 1722, the assembly having information, that a number of disorderly persons, in the county of Hartford, were about to appear in arms, in a riotous manner, against the authority of the government, and to oppose the execution of the laws, resolved, that colonel William Whiting, sheriff of the county of Hartford, be authorised to call out the whole militia of the county to his assistance; and the legislature enjoined it upon all the officers and privates, on the penalty of five pounds, to assist him as occasion should require, in suppressing all riot and disorder, and in guarding any delinquents who might be taken, and in committing them to confinement, until such time as they could be legally proceeded against, and punished.

Resolution, Oct. 11th, 1722, to prevent a riot.

Notwithstanding this precautionary act of the assembly, there was a riot at Hartford; the common gaol was broken open, and the delinquents were set at liberty; even while the assembly were in session. A further resolution was therefore passed, to the following effect: That as the common gaol in the county of Hartford, had, in the present session, been broken open, with a tumultuous and strong hand, and a number of persons, committed for the non-payment of certain charges, arising upon their prosecution before the county court, in and for the county of Hartford, were delivered out of the custody of the law, and many high misdemeanors and breaches of the peace, and other crimes were committed, the legislature, by a special act, authorized the judges of the superior court, or any three of them, by jury or otherwise, according to law, to enquire into, hear and determine all crimes committed in the transaction, and all things relating thereunto; and to award execution thereon according to law. The chief judge, or any of the three judges, or any assistant, was authorized to issue writs for apprehending, securing and bringing the rioters to justice; and for bringing every person before them whom they should judge proper to examine. It was also resolved, that every person who should be taken, should be bound to make his appearance before the court, and to his good behaviour, in a bond of one hundred pounds, or be committed to the common gaol. It was further resolved, that if jurors should be called to judge in the affair, they should be taken from such parts of

Riot at Hartford.

the county as should be judged to have been the least privy to the transaction, and in which there had been the fewest offenders. It was further enacted, that unless the persons who had made their escape, should, before the sixth of November, then next ensuing, pay the charges for which they were committed, or deliver themselves up to imprisonment, the sheriff should pursue, apprehend, and commit them. He was authorized, if it should be necessary, to call the militia of the whole county to his assistance.* BOOK II. 1722.

In consequence of this riot, the legislature made the act, empowering the sheriffs and constables to keep the king's peace; and the act for the prevention and punishment of riots and rioters.

Notwithstanding the firm and determinate measures the assembly had adopted, they had information, that in express violation of the law, certain persons were undertaking to lay out, and to dispose of the lands which lay north, east, and west of Litchfield, and west of Farmington and Simsbury, for their own use and benefit, and for such purposes as they pleased; and that they were actually engaged in the business. A committee was therefore appointed to inquire into the affair, and authorized to arrest any person or persons, who were thus trespassing, and to command all assistance which might be necessary for that purpose, and to bring them before the assembly.

At the same time, vigorous and effectual measures were taken to arrest and punish the rioters who had broken the common gaol. But they were so turbulent, and their party so strong, that it was with much difficulty and danger, they were arrested and brought before the court. Some of the magistrates were afraid to prosecute them even upon complaint. But those resolute men, colonel William Whiting and major Joseph Talcott, and others, whom they engaged to assist them, finally arrested and brought them before the court. But so extraordinary were their exertions, expense of time, and the dangers to which they had been exposed as to life and limbs, that the legislature judged that the common fees in such cases were by no means a proper compensation for their services. A committee was appointed to consider their expenses and dangers, and to make them a reasonable compensation.

The rioters were fined twenty pounds a man, beside costs, which were not less than about five pounds for each man. When they found that they must submit to the authority of the government, they preferred a petition to the

* Records of the colony.

BOOK II. assembly, praying for an abatement of their fines. The legislature made them some small abatement, but it cost 1722. them about twenty pounds a man.

These were indeed evil times. Men, with an uncommon obstinacy, resisted the laws, and trampled on the authority of the legislature. Though they had adopted such firm and spirited measures to prevent trespass, and preserve the lands in dispute for the benefit of the colony, yet a number of bold men, John Seymour, Samuel Catlin and William Baker, of Hartford, and Thomas More and Job Ellsworth of Windsor, ventured to lay out a whole township of the colony's land on the north of Litchfield,* and pretended to claim the land as their own.

When the assembly were convened in May, they ordered the king's attorney, for the county of New-Haven, to prosecute them and all such offenders, in the name of the governor and company, and to demand of them the penalties annexed to the laws.

This controversy had already occasioned a general ferment, and great animosities among the people, and there was danger that it might be attended with still more serious consequences. The Hartford and Windsor claimants found it to be a difficult business to contend with the governor and company. Governor Talcott, Matthew Al-
Oct. 10th, 1724. lyn and Roger Wolcott, Esquires, therefore preferred a petition to the General Assembly, praying that the difficulties relative to the ancient grant of the western lands to the towns of Hartford and Windsor might be amicably settled; and that a committee might be appointed in behalf of the assembly for that purpose. Upon this application, James Wadsworth, and John and Hezekiah Brainard, were appointed to examine the claims of Hartford and Windsor, to receive such propositions as should be made to them, and to report to the assembly; that the difficulties subsisting might be quieted. It was resolved that the charges of the committee should be defrayed by the petitioners.

The committee found it to be an affair of great labor and difficulty to examine the claims, and to obtain such concessions and propositions, as they judged reasonable, or as the assembly would accept. After laboring in the business nearly two years, they made their report. The legislature wishing to preserve the peace of the colony, and to settle the lands in controversy as expeditiously as might be, on the report of their committee, Resolved,
May 26th, 1726. That the lands in controversy, should be divided between the colony and the towns of Hartford and Windsor: that

* This appears to have been Goshen.

the colony should have the western, and Hartford and Windsor the eastern division. It was agreed that Litchfield should not come into the division, and also that the lands which the towns of Hartford and Windsor had conveyed away, particularly to Benjamin Fairweather, and to the town of New-Milford, should not be reckoned to it. The division having been made, some time after, between the colony and the proprietors in Hartford and Windsor, the governor and company, on the 22d of May, 1729, gave a patent of one half of said lands to them; and about three years after, May, 1732, an act was passed, empowering Matthew Allyn, Roger Wolcott, Samuel Mather, and other inhabitants in the town of Windsor, to make a partition of the moiety of the lands thus patented to the said towns; bounded north, on the line of Massachusetts; west, partly on lands belonging to the governor and company, and partly on the town of Litchfield; south, partly on the town of Waterbury, and partly on the town of Farmington; east, partly on the town of Farmington, and partly on the town of Simsbury, and partly on land belonging to the governor and company. One half of this tract was granted to Hartford. BOOK II. May 22d, 1729. May 1732.

The proprietors in Windsor, made a partition with the proprietors in Hartford by a deed, executed February 11th, 1732; in which partition, four smaller parcels, lying within this large tract, were deeded to the town of Windsor. The proprietors in this town, on the 7th of April, 1732, at a proprietor's meeting, made a division of the said four parcels of land among themselves, allotting out each of the said four parcels to a certain number of patentees or proprietors, to have, and to hold the same, in severalty to them, and their heirs for ever. These preparatory measures having been adopted by the proprietors, the General Assembly passed an act of incorporation, vesting them with all powers necessary for the disposing of said lands, and for securing them for ever to those who should purchase them: and particular parcels convenient for townships were particularly named. It was enacted, "That the first parcel of land mentioned in said instrument of partition, containing 20924 acres, and bounded partly on Litchfield, partly on land belonging to said patentees in Windsor, called the half township, east and north on land belonging to the grantees of Hartford, west on land belonging to the governor and company of Connecticut, is hereby named, and shall for ever hereafter be called and named Torrington: and Matthew Allyn, Roger Wolcott, Esquires, and the rest of the proprietors of Torrington, or

BOOK II. any five of them, are hereby enabled to call a meeting of said proprietors, to be held in the town of Windsor, by
1732. applying themselves, or any five of them, to some assistant, or justice of the peace, in the county of Hartford, for a warrant for calling such meeting; and such assistant, or justice of the peace, is hereby empowered to grant his warrant, expressing the time, place and business of such meeting, to one of the proprietors asking the same, requiring such proprietor to warn all the proprietors of Torrington of such their meeting, by setting up attested copies of such warrant, under the hand of the assistant, or justice of the peace, in three public places in the town of Windsor, at least ten days before such meeting." And it was further enacted, "That the said proprietors of Torrington, in their proprietors' meeting, assembled as aforesaid, by their major vote, to be computed according to their interest, shall be empowered, and they are hereby empowered to choose their proprietors' clerk, who shall take the following oath, viz. You, N. W. &c. And it is hereby enacted and declared, That the entering of any deed, mortgage or alienation of lands lying in Torrington, in the office of said proprietors' clerk, shall fully secure the same from being voided by any grant, deed or mortgage, from the grantor entered afterwards. And be it further enacted, That the said proprietors of Torrington, be empowered by their major vote as aforesaid, and they are hereby empowered, at their proprietors' meeting, to choose one or more agents, or attorneys, in their name and stead, to sue, prosecute and defend before any court or judge, and to final judgment and execution pursue, in any action or case, for maintaining or defending their title, or possession in the said lands; as also to make orders for the improvement, or division of their land; as also to lay taxes upon themselves, according to their interest, for the raising of such sum or sums of money as they shall judge needful, for the defraying of any suit or suits; as also to appoint rates and rate makers, and collectors of such taxes, who are hereby empowered to gather and collect the same; and shall be accountable for such rates to the proprietors' committee, or treasurer, under the same penalties, and as fully as the collectors of the town rates are empowered and obliged to: and the said proprietors, at their proprietors' meetings, are empowered to adjourn said meeting, to such time and place as they shall think proper, and to call after meetings in such manner as they shall order and agree. And all partitions of land, made according to their interest, by said proprietors, in their legal meetings, by their major vote as aforesaid, are hereby declared valid and lawful."

1732.

It was enacted, That the second parcel of land, mentioned in said instrument, containing 20531 acres, bounded eastwardly on the town of Simsbury, south and west on Hartford grantees, and partly on land belonging to Windsor grantees, should be named and forever afterwards be called Barkhampstead; and capt. Thomas Moore, and lieutenant Jonathan Elksworth, and the rest of the proprietors, were vested with the same powers and privileges as the proprietors of Torrington had been.

Barkhamstead named, and the proprietors incorporated, 1732.

With respect to the third parcel of land mentioned in the instrument, already noticed, containing 18199 acres, bounded northerly on the colony line, southerly on land belonging to the Hartford grantees, and partly on land belonging to the grantees of Windsor, westerly on land belonging to the governor and company of the colony of Connecticut, and easterly on land belonging to the patentees of Hartford; it was enacted, that it should for ever be called Colebrook, and the same powers and privileges were granted to captain Samuel Wheeler, and to Mr. Henry Wolcott, and the rest of the proprietors, which had been granted to the proprietors of the towns before mentioned.

Colebrook named, and the proprietors incorporated.

It was enacted, that the fourth parcel, named in the instrument aforesaid, containing 9560 acres, bounded, beginning north at the north east corner of Litchfield, in the forks of Waterbury river, thence running east eight degrees and thirty minutes south, 778 rods, to a heap of stones laid about a white oak tree; thence south six miles and forty rods to a heap of stones; thence west to Waterbury; thence northwardly to the river, to the first corner, that it should be for ever called Harwinton. The same powers and privileges were granted to Samuel Allen and Daniel Bissel, and the rest of the proprietors of Harwinton, which had been before given to the proprietors of Torrington.

Harwinton named, and the proprietors incorporated.

The Hartford patentees, the honorable Joseph Talcott, Esq. captain John Shelden, and others, on the 11th of February, 1732, made a partition of the large tract of land belonging to them into four lesser parcels. At a proprietors' meeting, lawfully holden on the 5th day of April, 1732, and continued by adjournment until the 27th day of September following, it was determined, by their votes, in what manner the aforesaid four parcels should be divided among them; which was completed by a deed of partition, dated September 25th, 1732. This was unanimously confirmed on the 27th aforesaid.

The Hartford patentees divide their lands.

The business having been thus prepared, the General Assembly, in the session in May, 1733, enacted,

BOOK II. 1733. That the first parcel named in the instrument of partition, containing by estimation 17654 acres, bounded south on Barkhampstead, and west on Colebrook, east, partly on Simsbury west line, and partly on land belonging to the governor and company of this colony, and north on the colony line, should for ever, hereafter, be called Hartland; and that the honorable Joseph Talcott, Esq. and captain Shelden, and the rest of the proprietors, should enjoy the same powers and privileges granted to the proprietors of the other townships, under the Windsor proprietors. It was further enacted, That the second parcel, called the middle west part, containing 20380 acres, bounded west on land belonging to the governor and company, east on Barkhampstead, north on Colebrook, and south on Torrington, should be for ever hereafter called Winchester. Captain Thomas Seymour, and captain Whiting, and the rest of the proprietors, were vested with the same powers and privileges as the proprietors of the other towns had been.

Hartland named, &c.

Winchester.

It was enacted, That the third parcel, called the south part, containing, by estimation, 23940 acres, bounded partly on land belonging to Harwinton, and partly on land deeded to the proprietors of Hartford, and partly on the town of Farmington, east on Simsbury west line, north on Barkhampstead, and west on Torrington, should for ever hereafter be called New-Hartford. Nathaniel Stanley, Esq. and captain Marsh, with others, were the proprietors, vested with the same powers already mentioned.

New-Hartford.

The fourth parcel, called the half township, containing, by estimation, 8,590 acres, bounded east on Farmington, south on land belonging to the Hartford patentees, west on land being the other part now called Harwinton, it was enacted, should for ever hereafter, in conjunction with the other part, be called Harwinton. The proprietors of this half township, were Hezekiah Wyllys, Esq. Joseph Skinner, and others, enjoying the same powers and privileges which had been granted to the proprietors of the other townships.

While the legislature had been making these provisions for the sale and settlement of the lands ceded, by agreement, to the towns of Hartford and Windsor, they had been devising measures for the sale and settlement of the seven townships belonging to the colony. A committee, which had been previously appointed to view those lands, and report concerning them, now made their report as followeth:

1. That an act be made and passed, at this assembly, granting all the monies which shall arise from the sale of the seven townships, which are now to be settled, to the towns in this colony which are now settled, to be divided to them, in proportion to the list of polls and rateable estate, in the year last past, to be secured and improved for ever to the use of the schools kept in the several towns, according to law. BOOK II. Report of the committee relative to the seven townships, May 10th, 1733.

2. That in order to the selling and settling of those townships, a committee should be chosen in each county, who should enter the names of all persons, who shall desire to be purchasers of said townships, and to settle the same, under such regulations as the assembly shall order, with the sum which each person shall offer to pay for a share in such township; there being fifty shares, besides three shares which shall be set apart, one for the first minister who shall be settled in the town; to be conveyed to him in fee; one to be sequestered for the use of the standing ministry for ever; and one for the use of the school, or schools, in said town, for ever.

Three or four years elapsed, before the assembly were able to locate and allot the townships, and adopt measures for their sale and settlement to advantage. But in the session in October, 1737, it was enacted, That the townships in the western lands, on both sides of the Housatonick river, should be divided into fifty-three rights, exclusive of the rights granted to college,* and all former grants made by the assembly. Two were appropriated to the ministry, and one to the schools, agreeably to the report of the committee; and the remaining fifty rights were to be sold at public vendue, to the highest bidder. But it was ordered, that they should be sold to his majesty's subjects of Connecticut, and to them only. Every purchaser was obliged to build and finish a house eighteen feet square, and to subdue and fence, at least, eight acres of land, in said town, within the term of three years after his purchase. No person was to have any benefit by virtue of his purchase, unless he should himself, or by his agent, pay all the taxes, and perform all the duties, required in the act of settlement. October 13th, 1737.

The legislature then proceeded to resolutions relative to the settlement of the several townships. It was resol-

* On the petition of the trustees of Yale College, the legislature had, in 1732, granted a tract of 300 acres, to be laid out in one entire piece, in each of the five townships on the east side of the Housatonick river, at a distance from the several town plots, and enacted, that when said tracts containing 1500 acres in the whole, should be laid out, a patent should be given under the seal of the colony, confirming the grant to the trustees of said college.

BOOK II. ved, That the township which joined upon the colony line, and upon Hartford and Windsor lands, should be sold at
1737. the court-house in Hartford, to the highest bidder, on the second Tuesday in April next, and to be continued by adjournment until the whole should be sold. The township adjoining to Litchfield north line, and eastward on Torrington, was to be sold in like manner, at New-Haven, on the first Tuesday in December next: The north-western township, bounded west by Housatonick river, was ordered to be sold in the same manner, at the court-house in New-London, on the first day of January, 1738. The middle township, bounded west on the Housatonick, was ordered to be sold in like manner, at the court-house in Fairfield, on the first Tuesday in February. It was ordered that the southern township, bounded west on the Housatonick, should be sold at Windham, on the first Tuesday in March; and the north-west township, on the west side of the river, should be sold at Hartford, on the third Tuesday in May.

At the session in May, the towns were named. That which was sold at Hartford, on the second Tuesday in April, was called Norfolk; that sold at New-Haven, Goshen; that at New-London, Canaan; that at Fairfield, Cornwall; and that sold at Windham, Kent; and that sold in May, at Hartford, was named Salisbury. The purchasers of the said townships were incorporated and empowered, in all respects as the proprietors of the townships set off to Hartford and Windsor, and they were all, by an act of the assembly, annexed to the county of Hartford.

As such a number of townships were offered for sale and settlement so nearly together, and as the purchasers were none but the inhabitants of Connecticut, it was many years before they could all be sold and settled. It does not appear that they were all sold at the particular times appointed for that purpose. The following is a true history of their sale and settlement. In several of them, settlements had been made antecedently to any acts of the legislature respecting them.

Settlement of Torrington, 1737.

Torrington, the second of the fourteen townships settled, was allotted to the Windsor proprietors, containing twenty thousand nine hundred and twenty-four acres. It was named at the session in May, 1732. The number of proprietors was one hundred and thirty-six. At their first meeting in Windsor, September 10th, 1733, they voted to make a first division of lots in Torrington; and that there should be one acre to the pound on the list of each proprietor. A committee was appointed to lay out this division.

A survey of the town was completed in 1734. On the 14th of March, 1737, the proprietors voted a second division of the lands, and to lay out one acre to the pound, on the list of each proprietor. About five years after, another division was voted. But this last division was not completed till about ten years afterwards. BOOK II. 1737.

Several young men laboured in the town in the summer of 1736, but there was no family in the town until 1737, when Ebenezer Lyman, from Durham, moved on to the township, with a young family, consisting of three persons only.* Towards the close of the year, Jonathan Coe, who was also from Durham, and had laboured in the town for two summers, married, and a second family now commenced. The principal settlers were from Windsor and Durham. The settlement of the town was very slow. In four years from the settlement of the first families, there was an addition of twelve only. When the first minister, the Rev. Nathaniel Roberts, was ordained, in the summer of 1741, there were fourteen families in the town. It was incorporated in 1744.

Harwinton, the first of the fourteen new townships which was settled, consisted of two half townships, one part belonging to the Hartford and the other to the Windsor proprietors; the eastern half belonging to the proprietors of Hartford, and the western to those of Windsor. The whole township contains about 18,150 acres. Its first settlers were from Hartford and Windsor. The five first were Messenger, Hopkins, Webster, Phelps, and Wilson. These were on the lands before the division and sale of them, in 1732. The settlement of the town is considered as having been made in 1731. It was incorporated in October, 1737. The first minister was the Rev. Andrew Bartholomew, ordained about the year 1736. Harwinton settled and incorporated.

About the same time Kent, another of the new townships, was settled. It was sold at auction, at the court-house, in Windham, on the first Tuesday in March, 1738. The settlement commenced the same year. The town was laid out in fifty-three shares. The principal settlers were from Colchester, Fairfield, and Norwalk. Payne, Washburn, Wright, Ransom, and Platt, were from Colchester; the Comstocks were from Fairfield; and the Slausons, Canfields, and Bassetts, were from Norwalk. The town was incorporated, and vested with the privileges of the other towns, at the session in October, 1739. The first minis- Kent settled and incorporated, 1739.

* Mrs. Lyman, the first woman who moved into the town, was alive in 1806, in the 89th year of her age. As this was then considered as a frontier town, a fortification was erected not far from the centre of the town.

BOOK II. ter was the Rev. Cyrus Marsh, ordained May 6th, 1741. The settlement of the town was rapid. In May, when Mr. Marsh was ordained, the church consisted of ten males only; but before the end of the year, there was an addition of fifty-three persons, male and female, principally by recommendations from other churches.

1738.

There is, in this town, convincing evidence, that it was a grand seat of the native inhabitants of this country, before the Indians, who more lately inhabited it, had any residence in it. There are arrow heads, stone pots, and a sort of knives, and various kinds of utensils, frequently found by the English, of such curious workmanship, as exceeds all the skill of any Indians, since the English came into this country, and became acquainted with them. These were not only found when the town was first settled, but they are still found on the sides of Housatonick river.

Indians in Kent.

The history of the Indians in the town when the settlement of it commenced, is well known. Mowehue, a sachem who a few years before had removed with his Indians from Newtown to New-Milford, about the year 1728, built him a hunting house at Scatacook, in the north west part of Kent, on the west bank of the Housatonick river. He invited the Indians at New-Milford, from the Oblong, in the province of New-York, and from various other places, to settle with him at Scatacook; and it appears that he was a man of so much art and popularity, among the Indians, that in about ten or eleven years, about the time when the town was settled, he could muster an hundred warriors. The whole number, probably, was about five or six hundred. These, like the other Indians in this state, and in most of the other states, have been greatly diminished. Their whole number, at this time, is not more than forty.

The Moravian missionaries visited these Indians about the time of the great religious concern in this country. They came first, in the year 1740, and visited the Indian village called Chekameka, in the Oblong, in the province of New-York. They, about the same time, came and preached to the Scatacook Indians, and in 1743, according to their account, the Scatacook sachem was baptized by them. In this place they formed a church, and had a flourishing congregation. They baptized an hundred and fifty of the Kent Indians. It is universally testified, that these missionaries were very inoffensive people; that they were well esteemed, and kindly treated by the people of the town while they tarried. They,

Missionaries from the Moravians.

however, complain of themselves as ill treated, persecuted, and imprisoned; but it could not be by the people of Connecticut. BOOK II. 1738.

What became of the Indians, who were first on the ground, before the English had any settlements there, is not known. When they moved away, or to what place, cannot be ascertained. The probability however is, that they were connected with Philips' Indians in the war against New-England; and that in the slaughter which the Connecticut troops made of the Indians, on the Housatonick, at the close of that war, numbers of them were slain, and that the rest were so alarmed, that they removed into Canada, as many other Indians did about the same time.

In this town, a large bed, or mine of iron ore, was discovered in the south part, about the time of its settlement. From this, twenty three forges are principally supplied with ore annually. There are six forges in Kent, which annually manufacture one hundred and fifty tons of iron for market, exclusive of what is used by the inhabitants of the town.

Goshen was settled nearly at the same time with Kent. The township was sold, at New-Haven, on the first Tuesday in December, 1737. It is nine miles in length, from north to south, and four and an half in breadth from east to west. Its boundaries are, Norfolk on the north, Torrington and Winchester on the east, Litchfield on the south, and Cornwall on the west. Its settlement commenced in 1738, or in 1739. The first inhabitants were principally from New-Haven, Wallingford and Farmington. It includes a considerable quantity of the highest lands in the state. In one part of the town, from the same spot may be seen, the Catskill mountains on the west of Hudson's river, and a very considerable extent of country east of Connecticut river, including a prospect of more than an hundred miles in the whole. There is this rare and peculiar circumstance, with respect to what is called the east street, in Goshen; that, the rain which falls on the front of the houses descends into the Housatonick river, and that which falls on the back side into the Waterbury river. Settlement and history of Goshen.

The elevation of the town, and its exemption from marshy grounds, renders it peculiarly healthy. It never has been visited with a general and mortal sickness, from the commencement of the settlement to the present time. Though a small proportion of the town is rough and mountainous, yet the lands are generally strong, and excellent for mowing and pasturage. Hence, large quantities of

BOOK II. beef, butter and cheese, are annually sent to market from this town.* The first minister in the town was the Rev. 1739. Stephen Heaton, from North-Haven. He was ordained in in 1740. A charter of incorporation was given in October, 1749.

Canaan settled and made a town.

The townships of Canaan and Sharon, were sold and settled nearly at the same time. Canaan was sold at auction, in New-London, on the first Tuesday in January, 1738. It is bounded, west by Salisbury, or Housatonick river, which is the dividing line between the two townships; north on the boundary line between Connecticut and Massachusetts; east on Norfolk, and south on Cornwall. The town is nine miles in length, and four miles and an half at one end, and five at the other. The settlement of the town began in June, the same year in which it was sold. The first inhabitants were, Daniel and Isaac Lawrence, John Franklin, and others, who joined them in the settlement about the same time. The town was incorporated in 1739. The first minister of the town was the Rev. Elisha Webster. He was ordained, October 1st, 1740.

Sharon settled and incorporated.

Sharon was settled in the years 1738 and 1739. In the spring of this year, between fourteen and twenty families, from Colchester and Lebanon, made settlements in the town. The next spring, a larger number, from New-Haven, joined them, so that the inhabitants soon became very considerable. The town was incorporated in October, 1739. Soon after the settlement of the town, (perhaps about 1740,) one Mr. Pratt, was called and settled for their first minister: but he continued in the ministry not more than four or five years.

Settlement and history of Salisbury.

Salisbury, another township belonging to the governor and company, was sold at Hartford, in 1737. It is bounded, on the north, upon the line between Connecticut and Massachusetts, seven miles and an half; on the west, by the dividing line between Connecticut and New-York, eight miles and three quarters; it is bounded south, seven miles on Sharon; east, on Canaan, or the Housatonick. It had been laid out into lots in 1732, about five years be-

* The quantity of cheese, manufactured in the town, and carried to market in 1801, was supposed to amount at least to 270,000 weight, making an income to the farmers of about 24,000 dollars. This is supposed to be nearly equal to all their income from other sources. In this town, there was a great abundance of the hard maple trees, and great quantities of maple sugar have been annually made by the inhabitants. In some years, the quantity manufactured has been estimated at 20,000 pounds. Of late years, owing to the diminution and decayed state of the trees, the quantity has been much less.

fore the public sale of it. A few persons made settlements upon part of the lands at an early period. About the year 1720, three families made settlements on that part of it called Weatog. There was a family of Duchers, another of Van Deursens, and one of Whites. The two former were Dutch people, but White was an Englishman. This little settlement gradually increased, and was the only one within the limits of the township, until about the year 1740. At that period, there were eleven English, and five Dutch families in the town. The next year it was incorporated, and made a distinct town. BOOK II. 1741. Incorporated, 1741.

When the settlement of the town commenced, there was a considerable number of Indians in the town. In 1740, there were seventy wigwams, all in a cluster, at Weatog, where the first inhabitants of the town planted themselves. These Indians were friendly and hospitable to the white people, and encouraged their settling among them. The town was called Weatog, and Housatonick, until it was named by the assembly, when it was called Salisbury, from a gentleman of that name, who was one of the principal planters of the town.*

This town is distinguished by the large and excellent iron ore bed which it contains. It was discovered and opened about the year 1730. It was found in the lands of one Bissel, and in those given by the colony for the benefit of Yale College. It comprises a tract of about one hundred acres. For sixty years past, there has annually been taken from this bed, two thousand tons of ore. It is rich, making from two and two and an half tons of ore, one ton of pig iron. About four tons will make a ton of bar iron. The metal is of the best quality. There is ore found in various other parts of the town. As early as the year 1740, a furnace was built at Ancram, about twelve miles a little north of west from the great ore bed. In 1762, one was erected by one Mr. Hazelton and others, in this town; and in 1770, it was rebuilt. The iron at this furnace is generally made into pigs, small ware, and pot ash kettles. Cannon have also been cast here, from four to thirty two pounders; especially, during the American revolutionary

* There is a very rare tradition concerning this Salisbury. That he removed into the state of New-York, some time after the settlement of the town, and having an unruly servant girl, who ran away from him, he pursued her, and having taken her, tied her to his horse, and rode in such a manner as to throw her down, and so worried and wounded her, that she died. In consequence of this abuse of the girl, he was tried for his life, and condemned to be hanged when he should arrive at the age of 100 years. In 1799, he arrived at that term of life, and then obtained a reprieve for a certain time.

BOOK II. war. Many were also cast afterwards, in the years 1797 and 1798. The two furnaces already mentioned, and a-
1741. bout fifteen forges in the vicinity, depend almost entirely on this great ore bed, for their ore. The furnace in Salisbury, is generally kept in blast from four to five months in a year, and manufuctures from eighteen to twenty tons per week. Another furnace was built in Salisbury, in 1805.

There is a pond whose surface contains about seven hundred acres of water. This supplies the furnace, a grist mill and a carding machine with water.* There are eight other ponds in the town; one is larger than that which supplies the furnace: the others are smaller. There are also a great number of creeks scattered over the town, which afford many excellent seats for every kind of works, which can be carried on by water. A gentleman of ingenuity observes, "The abundance of ore, the "quantity of wood, the variety of seats for water works, "afford a prospect, that at some future time, this town "may rival Sheffield and Birmingham, in the extensive-"ness of its iron manufactures." Besides these advantages, the town abounds with all kinds of grain, especially with wheat. It furnishes fine tracts of pasturage, and many excellent dairies are kept in the town. No one town, perhaps, produces a greater abundance of all the necessaries and comforts of life than this.†

The first minister of the town was the Rev. Jonathan Lee. He was ordained on the 23d of November, 1744. At the time of his ordination, there were not more than eighteen or twenty families in the town. The town at first was fortified in several places, and guards were kept on the sabbath.

Settlement and history of Cornwall.

Cornwall, the middle township on the Housatonick, sold by the colony, was laid out in fifty three allotments, or rights. It contained 23,654 acres, and was sold at Fairfield, on the first Tuesday in February, 1738. It was sold for fifty pounds per right. There was no per-

* This pond was called by the Indians, Wanseopomick. The remarkable falls in the river between this town and Canaan, have been noticed in the first volume of this history. These, it is supposed, are nearly equal to any thing of the kind in the United States, except the falls of Niagara.

† There is a tradition in this town, that many years before its settlement, a colonel Whiting pursued a body of Indians, as far as the north east part of the town, and there on the banks of the Housatonick, surprised and defeated them, with great slaughter. About seventy Indian graves are visible there unto this day. The name of the officer seems to have been mistaken. Major Talcott pursued the flying Indians at the close of Philip's war, and made considerable slaughter among them. This was in August or September, 1676. See the first volume of this history. It was reported that seventy Indians were killed. Major Talcott lost one man only.

manent settlement in the township, until the spring of the year, 1740, or 1741. The first inhabitants were from various parts of the colony. The Allens and Griffins were from Litchfield; the Fullers and Roberts' from Colchester; the Holloways were from Middlebury, in Massachusetts: but the greatest number, the Jewetts, Spauldings, Barrets, Squires' and others, were from Plainfield. There were a number of others from Norwalk, Tolland, and other towns. Such a number of inhabitants planted themselves in the town at once, that they were able to support the gospel from the commencement of the settlement. On the third Wednesday of August, 1741, the Rev. Solomon Palmer, was ordained to the pastoral office over them. He continued with them in peace, until March, 1754, when on the sabbath, to the great surprise of the people, he declared himself to be an Episcopalian in sentiment. He soon after went to England, and obtained orders. He was originally of Branford, and had his education at Yale College. 1741.

The face of the country is rough and mountainous, but no part of the town is barren. The mountains to the very tops are covered with lofty timber; the vales and sides of the mountains, are rich and productive; the waters excellent and abundant. It is supposed, that it has plenty of iron ore; some has been dug, but as no furnace has been erected in the town, and the other furnaces in the county are amply supplied from ore in their vicinity, little attention has hitherto been given it. There is in the town, a rich mine of black lead, in what is called mine mountain, near the Housatonick.

New-Hartford settled and incorporated.

The township of New-Hartford, was granted to the Hartford patentees. It is bounded west on Torrington; south, partly on Harwinton and partly on Farmington; east, on Simsbury, and north on Barkhampstead. It contains 23,940 acres. The settlement of the town commenced about the year 1733, and it appears soon after to have been incorporated. The first and principal planters were from Hartford. They were John, Cyprian and Zechariah Watson, Joseph Gillet, Noah Merril, deacon Martin Smith, Thomas Olcott, Stephen Kelsey, Matthew Gillet, John Andrus, Jonathan Marsh, Daniel Shepard, Samuel Douglass, Eleazer Goodwin and others. The first minister of the town, was the Rev. Jonathan Marsh, son of the Rev. Jonathan Marsh of Windsor, ordained the second Wednesday in October, 1739. He continued in the ministry between fifty four and fifty five years. As this was a frontier town, some fortifications were erected for the defence of the inhabitants.

Book II. Hartland was another township belonging to the Hartford patentees. It is bounded north on the dividing line between Connecticut and Massachusetts, south on Barkhampstead, east on Granby, and west on Colebrook. It contains, by estimation, 17,654 acres. The proprietors held their first meeting at Hartford, on the 10th of July, 1733. But the lands did not sell; and during the term of twenty years, there was no permanent settlement made on the lands, either by the proprietors themselves, or any other person. The first family that moved into the town, was John Kendal and his wife, in the spring of 1753. But the next year he moved away for fear of the Indians. The same year, deacon Thomas Giddings from Lyme, made a permanent settlement, with his family, in the township. The next year, 1755, two more families joined them. In 1757, four families more, from Lyme and East-Haddam, were added to the settlement. At this period, there were eight or nine families in the town. In 1760, several other families, from Lyme and East-Haddam, joined themselves to the former settlers. The settlement was very slow, so that it was about eight years from this time, before their numbers and estate were sufficient to support a minister. The first church in the town was gathered, consisting of seven males and four females, May 4th, 1768; and on the 18th of June following, the Rev. Sterling Graves, from East-Haddam, was ordained.

Hartland settled.

1757.

Norfolk sold and settled.

The town of Norfolk, which was the first town appointed to be sold for the colony, at Hartford, on the second Tuesday in April, 1738, was not sold until about sixteen years from that time; as such quantities of land were selling by the Hartford and Windsor people, and by the colony; and as some of the other townships were judged to be preferable to it, both as to soil, and as they were nearer to the old settlements. At the time it was first offered for sale, one bidder only was found for a part of the township. The assembly therefore suspended the sale of it for about two years. In May, 1750, it was enacted, that the rest of the township should be sold at Hartford, at public vendue, on the third Tuesday of December, then next ensuing; and that the vendue should be continued until the sale of it should be finished. This was not done till about four years from that time. The proprietors held their first meeting after the sale was completed, in December, 1754. The town is nine miles in length and nearly seven in breadth. It is bounded north, on the line between Connecticut and Massachusetts; east on Colebrook; south, partly on Winchester and partly on Goshen; and west, on

Canaan. At the time when the township was sold, there were twelve or fourteen persons on the lands, who became proprietors. The first inhabitants were from Hartford, Windsor, Simsbury, and Danbury. The town was incorporated in 1758. At this period the inhabitants consisted of twenty-seven families only. There were fifty proprietors, and it was a condition among the proprietors, that each proprietor should settle one family upon each right in five years. This so expedited the settlement, that, in about three years, they increased to seventy families. The first minister, the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins, was ordained in October, 1761.

BOOK II. 1758. Incorporated, 1758.

The township of Winchester belonged to the patentees of Hartford. It is bounded north on Colebrook, east on Barkhampstead, south on Torrington, and west on Goshen and Norfolk. It contains, by estimation, 20,380 acres. The township was laid out into distinct lots in 1758. In May, 1771, it was incorporated, and vested with the privileges of the other towns. The Rev. Joshua Knapp was ordained the first pastor of the church in the town, November 11th, 1772.

Winchester incorporated.

Barkhampstead was a township granted to the people of Windsor, and contains, by estimation, 20,530 acres. Its boundaries are Simsbury on the east, New-Hartford on the south, Winchester on the west, and Hartland on the north. The first person who made a permanent settlement in the town, was Pelatiah Allyn, from Windsor, about the year 1749. He remained the only person on the ground, for ten years or more. His plantation was toward the south part of the town, not far from the dividing line between that town and New-Hartford. As there were frequent alarms, on account of the Indians, he used, in times when danger was apprehended, to repair to a fortified post in the northern part of New-Hartford. He took special measures to guard himself against a surprise at his own house. The next man who made a settlement in the town, was Israel Jones, from Enfield, about the year 1759. There were very few residents in the town, until after the French war, in 1762. About this time, William Austin, from Suffield, and Amos Case, from Simsbury, became residents in the town; but the settlement was slow. The inhabitants were so few, that they were not called upon to do military duty until 1774. The town was incorporated in 1779. The Rev. Ozias Eells, the first minister in the town, was ordained January 24th, 1787.

Barkhampstead settled.

Colebrook was the north township granted to the town of Windsor. It is bounded north on the colony line, south

Colebrook settled.

BOOK II. on New-Hartford, west on Norfolk, and east on Hartland. It contains, by estimation, 18,199 acres. The first and principal settlers of the town, were Joseph Rockwell, Nathan Bass, and Samuel Rockwell, from East-Windsor; and Joseph Seymour, from Windsor. The settlement began in 1762. To the town, or first society, is added a mile square from the town of Winchester. The church in the town was gathered in the year 1795. On the 31st of December, in the same year, the first pastor, the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, was installed.

1762.

These were all the original towns in the colony. The other towns, of later date, have all been made, in whole or in part, out of the original ones. Thus, in about one hundred and thirty years, the whole tract comprised in Connecticut, east of the line of New-York, became settled, and a vast wilderness, which had not been sown, full of savage beasts, and wild and savage men, was turned into fields, orchards, and gardens; planted with Protestants, formed into distinct and regular churches; and through the whole tract, houses erected, at convenient distances, for the worship of God.

The county of Litchfield was settled in about seventy-five years from the commencement of the settlement of the county town, and the inhabitants of every town had called and settled a minister.

CHAPTER VII.

Separation at Guilford. Rev. Mr. Ruggles was ordained at Guilford, against a large minority, who were in opposition to him. The minority separate from the church and society. The legislature interpose, and attempt a reconciliation. The minority persist in their separation: Qualify themselves for a distinct ecclesiastical society, by conforming to the act of William and Mary. Resolutions of the Consociation of the County of New-Haven respecting them. They refuse to comply with said resolutions. In consequence of it, forty-six church members were suspended from the communion, by Mr. Ruggles and the first church in Guilford, from whom they had separated. Acts of the General Assembly, and councils, concerning them. Great pains were taken, and repeated attempts, for many years, were made to unite the parties, but were all unsuccessful.

NEARLY at the same time when the controversy between the colony and the towns of Hartford and

Windsor, relative to the western lands, commenced, and occasioned so much trouble, an unhappy affair, of an ecclesiastical nature, took place in Guilford, which was the occasion of much trouble and perplexity, both to the town and colony. Soon after the death of the first Mr. Thomas Ruggles, in 1728, the first church and society proceeded to invite his son, Mr. Thomas Ruggles, to preach with them, and finally gave him a call to settle with them in the work of the gospel ministry, and obtained his ordination, against a large and respectable minority, who had opposed him from the beginning. They alledged that he was not such a distinguishing, experimental, and animating preacher, as they desired; that they were not edified by him, and could not choose him as their minister. As the majority of the church and society had not regarded them in the call and ordination of their minister, and as they conscientiously judged that they could not be edified by his preaching, they separated themselves from the first church and society in Guilford, and set up the public worship of GOD among themselves. They invited a young gentleman, Mr. Edmund Ward, to preach for them, who had received an education at Yale College, been examined by the Association of New-Haven county, and approbated, as a suitable candidate for the gospel ministry. The separation was large, consisting of nearly fifty members of the church, besides many others who belonged to the society. The minor party rated more than three thousand pounds in the list. They considered themselves as well able to support the gospel ministry and the divine ordinances, among themselves, and earnestly desired to do it. They declared their disapprobation of the Saybrook Platform, and that they totally renounced it.

BOOK II. 1729.

Unhappy ordination at Guilford, March, 1728.

Separation at Guilford, 1729.

At the session of the General Assembly in May, they, therefore, presented their memorial to the legislature, praying to be made a distinct ecclesiastical society, with the same powers and privileges granted to other societies. The assembly rejected their petition, and resolved as follows: "This assembly, observing that the inhabitants of "Guilford have lately been at great expense in raising a "meeting-house, which stands conveniently, and has ca- "pacity to accommodate the whole society, as it now is, "are thereupon of opinion, that the peace, religion, wealth "and good order of the inhabitants, will be best promoted "in their keeping together in one society, if the present "misunderstandings among the people can be removed; "which good thing, it is hoped, may be attained by coun- "sel. It is therefore resolved, and this assembly do ap-

May, 1729.

Act of the General Assembly.

BOOK II. newed their application to the assembly, to release them from paying taxes to the first society, and to make them a distinct ecclesiastical society, according to the prayer of their petition on file. They pleaded, that they had qualified themselves, by act of parliament, and according to the statutes of the colony, to worship GOD agreeably to the dictates of their own consciences, and that it was the genuine meaning and design of those statutes to release the people, thus soberly dissenting from any legally established mode of worship, from all burdens and molestations from others, and was a privilege granted to all denominations of christians in the colony; to the professors of the church of England, to the baptists, and even to the quakers; and, that they hoped, they were not less deserving of the care of the legislature than those denominations. They pleaded, that the law, imposing taxes on those who conscientiously dissented from the established mode, was not of CHRIST, but of man, that the kingdom of the Messiah was not of this world, that it needed no human aid, and that they humbly conceived, that the civil magistrate had no right to legislate in matters of conscience, binding christians to any particular mode of worship. They alledged, that the bishop of Bangor preached a sermon in 1717, before his majesty king George the First, from John xviii. 36, in which he demonstrably proved, that as the kingdom of Christ was not of this world, he was king and sole legislator in his own kingdom, and that the civil magistrate hath no right to legislate in ecclesiastical matters, and that the sermon was so acceptable to his majesty, that he gave it his royal approbation.

1730.

Pleas of the minority before the General Assembly.

They also pleaded, that the law binding them to hear a minister whom they had not chosen, but had been imposed upon them by a majority, and who lorded it over them, was inconsistent with their charter rights. They urged, that the law, obliging them to hear and support a minister imposed upon them, was contrary to the laws of England.

Finally, they pleaded, that the law imposed upon them a burden which was never imposed on the necks of their fathers in the first settlement of this country, nor was there then any such burden imposed on their brethren in New-England, in New-York, in the Jersies, nor on their dissenting brethren in England. They urged, that in all those places there was no compulsion, or restraint, but full liberty for all denominations of protestants, to worship GOD, according to the dictates of their consciences. This liberty, they said, the fathers of this country enjoyed for more than thirty years from its first settlement without the least interruption.

The legislature, on this representation, released them from paying taxes to the first society; but declined making them an ecclesiastical society, and still persisted in measures to reconcile the parties. They appointed a number of gentlemen to meet for that purpose at Guilford, and hear the parties; but they did not meet. The major party, in the mean time, pretending that the assembly had only released a small number of the minority, whose names were mentioned in the memorial, proceeded to take their rates by execution. Indeed, the major part of the society, appeared to adopt all measures to vex and distress them, both in their civil and religious interests. They therefore petitioned the General Assembly, in October, to declare the meaning of their act in May, and to release all who had separated from Mr. Ruggles and the first society, or who should separate from them, and join them in supporting the gospel, from all taxes and molestation from the first society. 1730.

The legislature, fixed in their design of uniting the parties, were slow and reluctant in granting them any privileges which they asked; and, at this time, appointed a large council to meet at Guilford, to hear the parties and judge between them, and make report to the assembly at their session in May.

The Rev. Mr. Moss, of Derby, who had opposed the settlement of Mr. Ruggles from the beginning, judging it unadvisable to ordain a minister over a church, one third of whom were against him, and the opposition constantly increasing, soon after the rising of the assembly, wrote a letter to some of the principal ministers in Boston, stating the case of the Guilford people, and requesting their opinion with reference to it. He made the following statement: "That, in a little more than a month's time after the death of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Ruggles, of Guilford, that people applied to some of the neighboring ministers, of which he himself was one, for advice, about calling and settling a minister. That after some animadversions on the suddenness of the motion, being so soon after the death of their former pastor, and receiving their justifying replies upon it, they had advice to this purpose, viz. "To apply to Mr. Thomas Ruggles, Jun. son of the deceased, to supply his father's pulpit, as probationer for settlement in the work of the ministry; if, after trial, he should be approved, and could be settled there with a general view to peace, and according to gospel order and rule: and, if after trial made, he should not suit them, or they him, then to apply to Mr. Benjamin Pierpont, of New-Haven, as a pro- Letter of Mr. Moss, Nov. 20th, 1730.

BOOK II. 1730. bationer in like sort as above; and, if after trial, he should not suit for settlement, then to make application to said advisers for further advice." Upon this advice, the people applied to Mr. Ruggles, and he entered the pulpit as a probationer. At first, the opposing and uneasy party to his settlement were but twelve, but they were considerable men; chief men in the town and church; but in six months time, the uneasy and opposing party were increased to upwards of forty, and they making smart opposition to Mr. Ruggles his settlement; the other party being the major, and having the advantage of the law on their side, and fearing that advantage would not always be in their hands, pushed forward for the ordination, with all violence, and refused to hear the intreaties of their uneasy brethren, to delay the matter a while; until, at least, the general court could be applied to in this affair: but nothing of this kind could be obtained. This was perhaps in February; the beginning of Mr. Ruggles his preaching, as a probationer, being in July before. Though, before this denial of a delay, viz. in December, or January, they had, upon the request made by the uneasy party, voted in full society meeting, that they should have liberty to be a society ecclesiastical by themselves, if the general court would allow it; and to be freed from paying any rates or taxes, or parish charges with them, when the general court would allow of their being a society by themselves, or words to this purpose, as you will see by the grant inclosed, attested by the clerk.

"Now when this was done, this minor party went no more, or acted no more with their brethren, about settling Mr. Ruggles, either in society meetings or church meetings; but acted by themselves, and got a young man to preach to them in a private house, viz. Mr. Edmund Ward, brought up at Yale College in New-Haven, who had been examined by the ministers of the New-Haven association, and had obtained his recommendatory certificate from them, as a candidate for the ministry. Afterward, when this uneasy party were gone off, by the good will of their brethren, as they took it, the major part now fell to action, about Mr. Ruggles his settlement, and by their vote grant him four hundred pounds settlement, and one hundred pounds per annum settlement, and have since forced their uneasy brethren to pay part of it, having the civil law of the government on their side, notwithstanding their former vote, to set them off by themselves, (as you shall see anon in the proper place of it;) then they drive forward the ordination of Mr. Ruggles, which was in March,

1728–9, which was about ten months after the death of old Mr. Ruggles. BOOK II. 1730.

"When the time for ordination came, the council of elders and messengers assembled to carry on that affair, were upon the place before the ordination was attended. They sent for the uneasy party, i. e. those of them that were in full communion with the church. There appeared twenty nine men, all opposed to the ordination's going forward at that time; but six of the twenty nine, declared they were not so much against the man, simply considered, but thought it unseasonable to ordain him then, as there was such a feud and contention arisen among them. (The whole number of brethren, or communicants, at that time, being about eighty.) Then the matter was debated in council, whether the ordination should be then attended, or delayed. It was carried by vote to go forward, by a large majority among the ministry, and by a small majority among the messengers. But two ministers dissented out of nine, of which two dissenting, the minister of Derby was one, who was the eldest minister present, except one. Upon this, the minister of Derby refused to assist in the ordination; and gave his reasons for it, which were chiefly in these two points. 1st. It seemed to him to have no likely prospect of future peace in that place, nor likely to be for the interest of religion, or the flourishing state of CHRIST's kingdom for the future, in that place. "2d. Since the design was to settle a pastor over that church in whole, when above one third part of the church never chose him, and declared they were conscience bound in the matter, and could not choose him as their pastor. This seemed to that minister, to be setting up a lord over GOD's heritage, (at least in part) and, as he thought, looked too much toward that prelatical tyranny, from which our fathers fled; it being a yoke of bondage that they were not able to bear; and a breaking in upon the natural liberty which belongs to all churches and christians. However, the ordination went forward by the help of those that were for it. The uneasy part separated from their brethren, and would not sit with them at meeting, in the time of ordination; and when the church's vote was taken, to call Mr. Ruggles to the pastoral charge, they were separated, and acted not in that call. Yet this council suppose, or at least the greater part who acted in the call, take it so, that he is ordained pastor of that whole church of Guilford, and that all those that opposed his ordination, are as much bound to submit to him as their pastor, as any of them that acted in [redacted]ice.

BOOK II. 1730. "After the ordination, viz. in May following, the minor part, yet uneasy, petitioned the General Court, for leave to be a society by themselves, since things were thus, as above; and then their brethren opposed them with all vehemency, though they had voted them as above, if the said court would allow of it. The General Court referred it to their October session; and in the mean time, sent some ministers to endeavour a reconciliation of the differing parties; but they tried in vain. The thing was not attainable. When October came, the court considered the matter again; but did nothing for their help; but still appointed another committee of ministers to endeavor to bring both parties together. But they came not to the place, and used no endeavors for it. Then this distressed people saw the country seemed to be against them, through false rumors, which their enemies spread abroad with great industry, so that they had no hope of gaining any thing in this way; but remembering that we had a law which gives liberty to dissent from our established discipline, for any of another persuasion, which law refers to an act of parliament, made for dissenters, in the first year of king William and queen Mary, for the dissenters qualifying themselves at the quarter sessions, according to the direction of said statute, in order to take benefit thereby, and to set up a separate society for divine worship, &c.: these men also, being fully of the congregational persuasion, according to the true meaning of the platform, compiled at Cambridge, by the Synod, in the year 1648, which our established discipline is very wide of, in many essential things: they go to the county court at New-Haven, and declare their dissent from our established discipline, and their concurrence with the platform aforesaid, by which they obtained liberty, under the umbrage of said statute, and act of parliament, for a lawful assembly for divine worship, separate from those that are by our law established; and so exempted from our established rule of church discipline, and exempted from the penalties that our laws laid upon any that maintained separate meetings, in opposition to what is generally practised and allowed by law. Now they were secure in one point from the penalties of the law, but lay open to the law in another, viz. on the account of rates; for by our law, they must yet pay their rates to maintain Mr. Ruggles, and to raise his settlement money, which was four hundred pounds; and their brethren were so far of a persecuting spirit as that they have forced them to pay part of the settlement mon-

ey, and their part of the salary, until May last, when, upon a new petition to the General Court, they freed them from paying rates for the future; as you may see by a copy of their act inclosed. They have left their rights in the meeting-house, and have now built a good new meeting-house at their own charge. Yet after all, their brethren, and the neighboring ministers, and mostly through the colony, are warmly opposing their settlement in church order, according to the tenor of the said Cambridge platform, which is strictly congregational. And so they refuse to assist them in gathering a new church, and in ordaining their minister; and more than so, are greatly clamoring at and reproaching a few of us that think well of them, and are inclined to pity and help them. It would therefore be much to their advantage in the present juncture, to have advice and counsel from some of the Rev. ministers of Boston, whose names and characters are highly exalted among us, in Connecticut; and that upon very justifying reasons; so that countenancing the affair of their settlement in church order, and ordination of their minister, will very much abate the clamor of their adversaries, and be much of a shelter and security to some of us that probably may be called to assist them in that affair. Therefore it is requested, that several of you Rev. gentlemen, would please to resolve these cases hereafter stated, and send to us as soon as may be, the resolution, and in several of your hands,

BOOK II. 1730.

1. "Whether (if the narration above written be true) it is lawful for the said minor part at Guilford, to embody into church estate, and get their minister ordained as soon as they can?

2. "Whether it is lawful and expedient for such ministers and churches, as are willing, to assist that people in their embodying into church estate, and ordaining their minister?

"Your gratifying us and this poor people in this matter, will exceedingly oblige your friends and fellow laborers in the gospel of our LORD REDEEMER," &c.

This letter was signed by Mr. Moss, of Derby, and Mr. Mather, of Saybrook, and directed to the Rev. Peter Thatcher, and other ministers of Boston. With the letter, documents were sent, proving the facts stated. The answer to this letter is not to be found, but the probability is, that it was favorable to the minor party, and encouraged the ministers who favored them, to afford them their assistance, as it appears that early in the spring, they

BOOK II. were preparing to embody into church estate, and expected that Mr. Ward would soon be ordained over them.

1731. The legislature, however, with a view to unite the parties, in their session in October, appointed a large council to meet, at Guilford, and hear the parties. They were to attempt all proper measures to conciliate and bring them together, and, if possible, to settle the church and town in peace. They were chosen from the three counties of Hartford, New-Haven and New-London. The council consisted of the Rev. Messrs. Eliphalet Adams, Samuel Whitman, John Bulkley, Nathaniel Chauncey, Phinehas Fisk, Samuel Whittelsey, Jared Elliot, Joseph Noyes, Samuel Hall and Isaac Stiles, with their delegates. They met

March 10, 1731. at Guilford early in the spring; chose the following gentlemen, moderators and scribes, viz. Mr. Adams and Mr. Whitman, moderators; Mr. Bulkley and Mr. Fisk, scribes. The minor party had most positively and repeatedly renounced the Saybrook Platform, not only before the church, but repeatedly, by their agents, before the General Assembly. The council nevertheless cited them to appear before them; but they would not appear as a body, nor by their committee. Two or three of their leading men, as individuals, stated to them their grievances, and the grounds of their separation. Upon this, having heard the representations of the church, the council representing that they had fully heard the parties, came to the following result.

1. "That with relation to the settlement and ordination of the Rev. Mr. Ruggles in this place, and the conduct of the church in that affair, on representation made by the committee, above said, to this council, of the several steps of their procedure in that affair, we cannot but approve of them, and judge them very agreeable to such rules as in an affair of that nature they ought to regard and have their eyes upon.

2. "With respect to the reasons alledged in the narrative of the dissenting party, as grounds of their separation from the communion of the church, and what was offered by said Leete and Cruttenden, for vindication of themselves in that matter, we judge them insufficient, and that separation as sinful and justly offensive.

3. "That the dissenting brethren, their setting up a separate assembly for public worship without the countenance and liberty of the General Assembly, or approbation of neighboring churches, or the allowance of the settled minister of the place, and contrary to the advice of the association of the county, we judge to be disorderly

and sinful, and disallowed by the fifth article in the thir- BOOK II.
teenth chapter of the Cambridge platform of the year 1649: 1731.
Also, that some of them, their pretended qualifying them- March 10.
selves according to a law in our book of the statutes, made for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of public worship and ministry established by the laws of this government, was an abuse of that law, and unjustifiable.

4. "With respect to the duty lying on the church of this place, toward their dissenting brethren, we judge, that in case, after an invitation made by this council and the said church to those dissenting brethren, those that have taken the oaths, as others, at the desire of this council, to return to the communion of said church; or an invitation made to them by the said church, with such reflections on themselves, for their separation, as this council shall think proper, they do not in some reasonable time, so do, that they shall be suspended from the communion of the church of CHRIST: which sentence shall be pronounced against them, either by the Rev. Mr. Ruggles and church, or by the Rev. Mr. Jacob Hemingway and Mr. Jared Elliot in conjunction with them, as the said Mr. Ruggles and church shall choose.

5. "And, whereas the said dissenting brethren entertain hopes of embodying themselves into church estate, and having a pastor ordained over them, in a short time, this council have judged their proceedings hitherto irregular and offensive, so do now further declare and judge them, the dissenting brethren, incapable of entering into a church state, till such time as they have returned back to their pastor and brethren of the church from which they have separated themselves, with such reflections on themselves, as this council have thought proper: and that if any ministers and churches shall assist in so embodying them and ordaining a pastor over them, it will be disorderly and sinful; and accordingly as such, bear testimony against it.

6. "Further, as we have found a separate meeting for public worship, set up by the dissenting party in this place, a disorderly meeting, do also judge that Mr. Edmund Ward's preaching to the said assembly, is disorderly and sinful, and will be so if he persists therein; and by the authority of this council do charge him to desist preaching to them; and that he do not presume to submit to ordination, or to take upon him the pastoral charge over them.

"And finally, whereas, some reflections have been cast upon the Rev. Mr. Ruggles, as though he were weak, insuffic[redacted]orthy and unqualified for the work of the

BOOK II. gospel, unsound in his doctrines, of a party spirit, and little religion; this council declare, that nothing of this nature hath appeared unto us; and he having given us a specimen of his ministerial abilities, partly from his personal acquaintance, and partly from credible testimony, we esteem him a worthy minister of JESUS CHRIST, endowed with a good measure of ministerial gifts, sound in the faith, of a serious, religious and peaceable spirit, a sweet temper and becoming conversation, and worthy of honor and respect, and as such do recommend him and his labors, to the blessing of Almighty GOD."

1731. March 10.

This result of the council, was accepted by vote of the church in open council.

This, considering the state of the town, that the separation had greatly increased, since the ordination of Mr. Ruggles, so that more than one half the original members of the church, at that time, had separated, from him; that they had utterly renounced the Saybrook Platform; qualified themselves by law for a distinct worship; and had built them an house for it, was a very extraordinary result. That in these circumstances, they should proceed to a judicial hearing and decision, without attempting any conciliatory measures, seems to have been very uncommon, in similar cases. Their result was every way calculated to justify Mr. Ruggles, and the remainder of the church and society, and to lay the dissenters under every disadvantage; to deprive them, even of the preaching of the word and all the means of salvation, unless they would return and sit under the preaching of Mr. Ruggles. This they had declared they could not in conscience do. Mr. Ruggles, in their view was not an orthodox experimental preacher, and they could not be profited by him. The dissenters had no choice in the council, and they considered themselves as a distinct and legal society, and as having a right, by act of parliament and the laws of the colony, to worship God by themselves, and to choose and settle a minister for themselves. The ministers of New-Haven county had prejudged the case, and ordained Mr. Ruggles, in their opinion, in a rash and imprudent manner, against such a minority and division in the town as ought to have prevented it, at least, until some further trial had been made for a greater union. They considered the council as having no more authority over them than they had over any church in Massachusetts or New-York, or of any other place, or denomination. Mr. Ward did not consider himself as amenable to them, or that he was obliged to desist preaching the gospel at their mandate.

The dissenters and he, imagined that they were upright and conscientious in their proceedings. Not one of them therefore was disposed to make the reflections which the council had directed, or to return to Mr. Ruggles, and their brethren, from whom they had separated. BOOK II.

The consequence was, that after they had been invited to return, and had, for a short time, neglected it, they were cited before the church, and forty six of them, six more than one half of the church, at the time of Mr. Ruggles' ordination, were suspended from communion. Forty six persons suspended from communion, June 30th, 1731.

The town was now in a very perplexed and melancholy condition. About one half of the professors in it were suspended from communion; the council who had advised to this measure, had declared it disorderly for ministers to preach to them, and charged their own teacher, by all their authority, to preach to them no more. The major part of the town at the same time, were taking the property of those who had separated from them, and had not qualified themselves by act of parliament, by distraint, for the support of Mr. Ruggles, and to pay the other taxes of the first society; and the town was in a state of great irritation.

The assembly were petitioned to make them a distinct society. Several of the first society were so convinced of the necessity of it, for the general peace and edification of the church and town, that they preferred a petition to the legislature, praying that it might be done. Several of the ministers of the colony were so affected with the unhappy state of the town, that they petitioned the assembly to appoint the General Association a council, with their delegates, to repair to Guilford, and hear and advise the parties and make a report of their doings to the General Assembly. The assembly rejected the petitions for making them a distinct society, and came to the following resolve, viz.

"Upon the motion of the party who have separated themselves from the old society in Guilford, on the recommendations of the Rev. Mr. Timothy Woodbridge, and divers other Rev. elders of the churches in this colony, that it may be of service to the interest of religion, for this assembly, in conformity to a former act of this assembly, in reference to Stratford, to appoint some from each association in this colony, to enquire into their case, in order to the bringing matters to a comfortable issue: Act of the assembly, Oct. 1731.

"This assembly observing, that the society in Guilford, having not come into the established platform of church discipline, as allowed and confirmed by the laws of this

BOOK II. colony, and more especially, upon consideration, that the dissenting party of that society have, by their agents from
1731. time to time, before this assembly, declared their dissent from the said platform of church discipline; and thence suppose they cannot be holden, nor obliged to abide the determination, of any associations so appointed, according to the rules of the platform of church discipline, established as aforesaid:

"Whereupon this assembly consider that it is not reasonable for this assembly to oblige, nor direct the several associations throughout this colony, to send their delegates to hear the said society and dissenting party at Guilford, as the reverend elders, in their memorial, have proposed.

"Yet, nevertheless, if the dissenting party of the church of Guilford, (so called,) shall, themselves, move to the elders of the several associations in this government, to send their delegates, to consider of the difficulties that have arisen in said society, and to give advice to said society on the premises, at the proper charge of the dissenting party; that then the assembly do advise, that the several associations appoint and send their delegates to Guilford, giving suitable notice to all parties concerned, of the time of meeting; and, being met, that they use all proper measures and endeavours to bring each party to a sense of any errors they find them to have been in; and endeavour to moderate their tempers, and bring said society into christian love, peace and unity; and if that desirable end cannot by them be attained, said associations are directed to signify to the General Assembly, to be holden at Hartford, in May next, what they shall think proper and best to be done, for the good and peace of the several parts of the said society, and the support and honour of religion amongst them."

The minor part of the society made application to the several associations to send their delegates, agreeably to the act of the General Assembly. They convened at Guilford, November 23d, 1731.

The general association meet at Guilford, Nov. 23d.

There were present the Rev. Messrs. Stephen Mix, Samuel Woodbridge, Jacob Hemingway, Jared Elliot, Ebenezer Williams, William Russell, Benjamin Colton, William Worthington, and Solomon Williams.

The venerable Mr. Stephen Mix, of Weathersfield, was chosen moderator; Mr. Ebenezer Williams and Mr. William Russell, were chosen scribes. The committees of both the parties appeared before the council, and were fully heard. The people who had separated from Mr. Ruggles and their brethren, pleaded that Mr. Ruggles was

not, in their view, an orthodox, experimental, profitable preacher, and that they could not be benefitted by his preaching; and had opposed his settlement from the beginning: that their brethren, sensible that their opposition to Mr. Ruggles would make matter of difficulty at his ordination, voted that they might go off, and be a society by themselves: that they considered it as an agreement between them, and so separated themselves, and made no opposition to the ordination of Mr. Ruggles; and they could not consider him as their pastor, rightfully ordained over them, more than over any other society who had never chosen him. They insisted that they had been guilty of no immoral conduct, for which they ought to be suspended from the communion of their brethren, or from the orthodox and regular churches in New-England: that provision was made by the laws of the nation, and statutes of the colony, for persons soberly dissenting from their brethren, as to the mode of worship. Such they pleaded that they were, and that they had taken the benefit of the laws, and could not conceive that they had done any thing wrong or sinful therein. They stated, that they held to the same confession of faith with their brethren, and with the churches of New-England, from the very beginning: that they adopted the same mode of discipline, which was first agreed upon by the fathers of the New-England churches, and under which a great majority of them had continued unto the present time. They urged, therefore, that there was no just ground for their suspension, and the cruel treatment they had received. They maintained, that the proceedings of Mr. Ruggles and their brethren, with respect to them, was a groundless usurpation, and a lording it over God's heritage. They urged, that if their separation was schismatical and sinful, and deserved excommunication, that then our fathers deserved excommunication; the first church in Boston, and the second in Hartford, were guilty of schism, and worthy of excommunication: That if it was sinful in them to take benefit of the act of parliament, the law of the nation and of the colony, then obedience to the law was sinful, and that all who took the benefit of it were guilty of sin. They pleaded, that they were a legal society, and that the council who had condemned them, not only had no right to judge in their case, but numbers of them were prejudiced men, and had prejudged the case. They complained of their brethren, as insincere, and as treating them with deceit and cruelty. They said, they imagined they were honest and sincere in voting them off, if the General Assembly would grant them

1731.

BOOK II. 1731. the privilege; which they alledge it would have freely and immediately done, had they not by all means in their power opposed it. They not only pleaded that they were a legal society; but that they had employed a regular preacher, who had been examined and approved by the association of the county of New-Haven, as a person qualified to preach the gospel, and whom they esteemed to be an orthodox, experimental preacher of the gospel, and a man who was exemplary in his life and conversation. They therefore pleaded, that there was no just occasion for suspending them from the communion of the saints, or any gospel privileges, more than for any other churches, or christians in New-England, who held to the same doctrines and mode of discipline with themselves. They further pleaded, that the major part of the church and society were the faulty cause of the separation, as they did not follow the advice of the association, and allow them to hear another man, when they were not united in Mr. Ruggles, and had forced upon them a man whom they could not hear. These, in general, were the things pleaded before the several councils, and gentlemen who were sent to hear and reconcile the parties, in vindication of those who had separated from the first church and society.

The first church and society represented, that they had regularly called and settled Mr. Ruggles, according to the law and ecclesiastical constitution of the colony; that he was, in their opinion, and in the opinion of his ordaining council, an orthodox, worthy minister, of unblamable conduct, and that their brethren had no just ground of separation.

The association, upon hearing the parties, were divided in their opinion, and came to the following result:

Result of the general association, Nov. 23d.

"This association, finding it difficult to come to an uni-
"ted resolve, and that their time is too strait for answer-
"ing the end of their delegation, have adjourned, and, by
"these presents, do adjourn themselves, or it, to Hartford,
"on the Tuesday in the week of the election next ensu-
"ing," &c.

Whether this council met again, according to their adjournment, or what their final result was, does not appear from any thing left on file. The separate party continued their petitions to be made a distinct society, representing their distressed condition, as they were so opposed every way by their brethren, that they could not have the minister whom they had unanimously chosen, and who was in their opinion ordained over them, nor have a church gathered among them for that purpose; and were deprived of

the liberty of conscience, and of the ordinances of the gospel, and means of salvation. They prayed the assembly, That they might be declared to be a lawful ecclesiastical society, according to the act of parliament, and their own statutes, for the relief of sober consciences; and their minister, Mr. Edmund Ward, to be a lawful ecclesiastical teacher; and that it might be lawful for such ministers as were willing to assist in uniting them in church estate, and in ordaining their pastor elect, so to do, and not be judged disorderly, or subject to any punishment on that account; or if the honourable assembly should not grant these privileges, that they would, in their great wisdom, devise some way, in which they might enjoy the ordinances of the gospel with christians in general. BOOK II. 1732.

As the general association were not agreed in their opinion with respect to the difficulties at Guilford, and had done nothing effectual towards composing the parties, the assembly appointed a committee of their own, to repair to Guilford, hear them, and make their report. This committee reported in favour of uniting the parties, and recommended the appointment of a large and respectable council for that purpose. The General Assembly, instead of granting the petitions of the aggrieved brethren, appointed the Rev. Messrs. Seth Shove, Anthony Stoddard, Jonathan Marsh, William Russell, Benjamin Lord, George Griswold, Eleazer Williams, and Thomas Clapp, with their delegates, to meet at Guilford, and finally determine the case of forty-six persons in said Guilford, which had before been laid before a council there, March 10th, 1731, which gave sentence against them. It was at the same time resolved, that the minor party should bear the expense of the council; and that the minor party should not be taxed the current year, for the settlement or support of the Rev. Mr. Ruggles. It was enacted also, that all taxes which had been laid, and all arrearages, should be paid up. May, 1732.

But a small number of the gentlemen appointed to meet in council at Guilford, convened on the business for which they had been appointed. It seems that the clergy were not united in their opinions. It was an extraordinary case, for one half of a church to be excommunicated by the pastor and the other part of the church, when they had been guilty of no immorality or scandal, but separating from their brethren, according to the rights of men of sober consciences, warranted by act of parliament, and by the statutes of the colony, in that case provided. The council was not chosen by the consent of the parties, nor agreeable to the religious constitution of the state; but was imposed

BOOK II. by act of assembly. To suspend such a number of profes-
sing christians from the communion of the saints, in these
1732. circumstances, when they held communion with the church-
es of Massachusetts, and the majority of the churches in
New-England, who had adopted the same mode of worship
with themselves, was a difficult, and, apparently, an incon-
sistent matter, and, in the opinion of many, a gross viola-
tion of the rights of conscience. On the other hand, to
give judgment against their brethren of the council, who
had condemned them, and ordered their suspension from
communion, must have been disagreeable. A great part of
the gentlemen, therefore, it seems declined doing any thing
in the affair. At the time appointed for the meeting of this
Nov. 21st, 1732. council, Nov. 21st, 1732, four elders, with their delegates,
only convened. These were the Rev. Mr. Shove, Mr.
Stoddard, Mr. Russell, and Mr. Griswold.

Mr. Anthony Stoddard was chosen moderator, and Mr. William Russell scribe. After devout supplications to the GOD of all wisdom and grace, both the persons who were suspended from communion, so many of them as were yet living, and the Rev. Mr. Ruggles and his church, appeared before the council. The members suspended from the communion of the church, were asked whether they could now comply with the determination of the council met at Guilford, March 10th, 1732, and make the reflections the said council thought proper for them? They unanimously declared they could not; and they put in various papers, and pleaded many things in their own defence, to show their innocency, and that they were unjustly and cruelly treated. Their pleas were the same, in substance, as those made before the general association. Mr. Ruggles and his church, were then desired to show the reasons of their suspending those brethren from their communion. But they denied the jurisdiction of the council, and refused to show the reasons of their proceedings, or to submit to their determination relating to their affairs. The council,
Result of council, Nov. 21st. nevertheless, came to the following result:—"The council was laid under a disadvantage, as to discovering the reasons and grounds upon which the church and council judged the withdrawing of the said members sinful, and the means they used to continue and strengthen themselves in said separation justly offensive and sinful; upon what representation has been made to us, by the minor part, (in presence of Mr. Ruggles and the church,) of their withdrawing from the worship and communion of the church in this place, and the methods they had used to continue themselves therein, and what they offered to clear themselves

from scandal in their so doing, we cannot judge, all circumstances considered, that their withdrawing from the worship and communion of the church, and continuance therein, was so gross and criminal, as to deserve their exclusion from the church of Christ: Yet we think that they had not justifying reasons for so doing, but were faulty and disorderly, and failed of a due compliance with that direction of the apostle, Hebrews x. 24, 25, Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works, not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is; and of suitable endeavours to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace: which we think it becomes them, as they would shew themselves persons studying peace, candidly to confess, according to a draft drawn for them by this council; which we hope the Rev. Mr. Ruggles and the church, in conformity to those gospel directions, Col. iii. 12, 13,—Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another; if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ hath forgiven you, so do ye: will accept, upon its being signed by those that live under the censure, and being brought to him by them, in order to its being publicly read in the congregation."* BOOK II. 1732.

This result laid a foundation for the restoration of the suspended members to the communion of the church, but it did not unite the parties. Proposals were made for calling and settling another minister with Mr. Ruggles, whom the minor party should choose, to preach half the time; but they could not be persuaded to unite in this, or any method which could be proposed.

The General Assembly, afterwards, sent two committees of civilians to hear the parties, consider the state of the town, and report to the assembly. The last of which reported in favour of granting the petition of the minor part, or fourth society. They were of the opinion, that it would be for the peace of the town and the interest of religion. The assembly accepted the report, and made the people who had separated, a distinct ecclesiastical society, by the name of the fourth society in Guilford, with the same boundaries as those of the first parish. May, 1733.

Thus, after a contention of between four and five years, great irritations and alienations between brethren and neighbours, and a great expense of time and money be-

* The minor party accepted the doings of the council, signed the confession which was drafted for them, and gave it to Mr. Ruggles, that it [illegible]

BOOK II. fore courts, general assemblies, and councils, a final separation was made in the church and town.

1733. This affords a solemn caution to churches and societies,
Observations. and to ordaining councils, against settling ministers where there are large and respectable numbers in opposition, and forcing ministers upon them, by majorities. In ordinary cases, it is wholly unnecessary. Let proper condescension be used, and time given, churches and societies will unite and come to an harmonious settlement. If one person does not unite them, another may. The consequences of divisions, by the settlement of ministers against a large opposition, are exceedingly pernicious; it excites all manner of evil affections, destroys good neighbourhood, and, in a great measure, prevents the usefulness of the pastor, and the edification of both parties. It tends to confusion and every evil work. It is of great importance, that a minister should be a good preacher: this is his main and principal work, and the want of this, very much disqualifies him for the office. Mr. Ruggles was a scholar and a wise man; his morals were not impeachable; but he was a dull, unanimating preacher; had a great talent at hiding his real sentiments, never coming fully out, either as to doctrinal or experimental religion. These were, doubtless, the grounds of the separation. The same things were the principal grounds of the separations which afterwards took place in the county of New-Haven.

CHAPTER VIII.

General state of the churches in Connecticut and New-England. Revivals of religion in some few places, before the great and general revival in 1737, *and* 1738, *and especially in* 1740, *and* 1741. *Some of the principal instruments of it. Great opposition to it by magistrates and ministers. Laws enacted against it. Principal opposers of the work of* GOD *at that time. Disorders attending it. Separations from the churches soon after. Spirit and character of those who separated from the ministers and churches at that time. Happy effects of the work in general.*

Character of the first planters and churches. AS the first settlers of Connecticut and New-England, were a collection of people who left their country and pleasant seats in Europe, and followed the Lord into this then American wilderness, a land not sown, for the sake

of religion, they formed churches, strict in doctrine, in discipline and in practice. Great pains were taken by them to govern and educate their children religiously, that they might indeed be a generation for the Lord. They were sound in the faith, eminent for experimental religion, and of lives of strict and universal morality. A gentleman of eminent character, witnessed, that in seven years, which he had lived in New-England, he had never heard a profane oath, or seen a person drunk.* But as the good people who planted the country died, and the new generation came on, there was a sensible decline, as to the life and power of godliness. The generation which succeeded, were not in general so eminent and distinguished in their zeal, and strictness of morals, as their fathers. The third and fourth generations became still more generally inattentive to their spiritual concerns, and manifested a greater declension from the purity and zeal of their ancestors. Though the preaching of the gospel was not altogether without success, and though there was tolerable peace and order in the churches; yet there was too generally a great decay, as to the life and power of godliness. There was a general ease and security in sin. Abundant were the lamentations of pious ministers and good people, poured out before God, on this account. Many days of fasting and prayer were kept by the churches, to seek the special influences of the holy Spirit, in the awakening and sanctification of the people. But it did not please the SUPREME RULER, at that time, to give any special answer to their prayers. No general revival of religion was for many years experienced. Some few places were, nevertheless, visited in a very happy and extraordinary manner.

BOOK II.

Declension in religion.

In Northampton, in particular, there were repeated revivals, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Stoddard. The first was about the year 1679; a second was in 1683. Another was about the year 1696; a fourth in 1712. In 1718, he had the happy experience of the fifth. These he termed his harvests. He was eminent and renowned, both for his gifts and graces, and his ministry was, from the beginning, blessed with uncommon success. The revivals, were, some of them, much more remarkable than others; but in each of them, and especially in those in 1683, in 1696, and in 1712, the greatest part of the young people in the town, appeared chiefly concerned for their salvation.†

Revivals of religion in Northampton.

In the year 1721, there was a very general and remark-

* Prince's Christian History.

† Mr. Edwards' Narrative, p. 3, and Prince's Christian History.

BOOK II. able concern and enquiry among the people, in the town of Windham, what they should do to be saved. The town had been incorporated about twenty-nine years. The church had been formed about twenty-one.* The pastor was the Rev. Samuel Whiting. He was trained up for the ministry, principally under the instructions of the famous Mr. Fitch, of Norwich. He was eminent for gifts and grace: a clear and powerful preacher of the doctrines of the reformation. His preaching at this time, was attended with such success, by the powerful influences of the divine Spirit, that in the short term of six months, eighty persons were admitted to full communion in the church. This was a great ingathering unto Christ indeed, as the inhabitants could not be numerous. It was probably nearly as much as one person to every family. This could be imputed to no extraordinary external cause, but to the secret operation of the spirit of God upon their hearts.† The town was full of love, joy, thanksgiving and praise. A day of thanksgiving was appointed, to give thanks and praise unto him, who had done such great things for them.‡ In this happy revival, persons of all ages, and some of whom there could have been little expectation, came together weeping, to seek the Lord their GOD, and to join themselves to him, in an everlasting covenant, never to be forgotten.

Revival in the town of Windham, 1721.

But while this place was so remarkably wet with the dew of heaven, the ground was dry all round it. Ministers and good people were mourning the spiritual drought which was upon them, that iniquity abounded, and that religion was sadly decaying throughout the land. After the great earthquake, the night after the Lord's day, Oct. 29th, 1727, when the Almighty arose, and so terribly shook the earth through this great continent, it is true that many were greatly alarmed, and that there was a greater resort to ministers and to the house of God than before, and greater numbers were added to the churches, yet in too many instances, it appeared to be rather the consequence of fear, than of genuine conviction, and a thorough change of heart. Ministers, in some places, took great pains to show the people the difference of being driven to the performance of duty, merely from fear, and the doing of it from love to God, his word and ordinances;

Effects of the great earthquake, Oct. 29th, 1727.

* The town was incorporated in 1692. The church was gathered Dec. 10th, 1700.

† President Clap's letter to the Rev. Mr. Prince, March 29th, 1729.

‡ See the Sermon, on the occasion, a few years since reprinted. His text was, "For now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord." I. Thess. iii. 8.

and a thirsting for righteousness, for its own sake. But though it was to be hoped that some were savingly wrought upon, yet the serious impressions which seemed at first to be made, were too generally soon lost, and the goodness of many appeared like the morning cloud and early dew, which goeth away. God visited the country with other awful providences, such as sore sickness and great mortality, in some places, but no general reformation was effected. 1734.

About the year 1734, that dreadful disease called the throat distemper broke out and spread in the country, among children and youth. It was attended with a sudden and extraordinary mortality. In some towns almost all the children were swept away. In some instances, large families consisting of eight and nine children were made entirely desolate. The parents, in a short time, attended them all to the grave, and had neither son, nor daughter left. The country was filled with mourners, and bitter affliction. But the people in general continued secure. The forms of religion were kept up, but there appeared but little of the power of it. Both the wise and foolish virgins seemed to slumber. Professors appeared too generally to become worldly and lukewarm. The young people became loose and vicious, family prayer and religion was greatly neglected, the sabbath was lamentably profaned: the intermissions were spent in worldly conversation. The young people made the evenings after the Lord's day, and after lectures, the times for their mirth and company keeping. Taverns were haunted, intemperance and other vices increased, and the spirit of God appeared to be awfully withdrawn.* It seems also to appear that many of the clergy, instead of clearly and powerfully preaching the doctrines of original sin, of regeneration, justification by faith alone, and the other peculiar doctrines of the gospel, contented themselves with preaching a cold, unprincipled and lifeless morality: for when these great doctrines were perspicuously, and powerfully preached, and distinctions were made between the morality of Christians, originating in evangelical principles, faith and love, and the morality of heathens, they were offended, and became violent opposers.

Awful providences disregarded, and people depart more and more from God.

In this state of general declension and security it pleased GOD, in sovereign mercy, to begin an extraordinary work of conviction and conversion, such as had never been experienced in New-England before. It began in several places in Massachusetts and Connecticut, as early as the

The great revival of religion begins.

* The Rev. Mr. Edwards' Narrative, and Prince's Christian History.

BOOK II. years 1735, and 1736, but became more extraordinary, and much more general in 1740, and 1741. It first began in the most remarkable manner in the town of Northampton, in Massachusetts, under the ministry of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, afterwards president of the college in New Jersey.

Revival in North-Hampton.

After giving an account of the commencement of the work, and the change made in a particular young woman, and the effects of it on the young people, he says, "Presently, upon this, a great and earnest concern about the things of religion and the eternal world, became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees and ages: The noise among the dry bones waxed louder and louder: All other talk but about spiritual and eternal things was thrown by; all the conversation in all companies, and upon all occasions, was upon these things only, unless so much as was necessary for people to carry on their ordinary secular business. Other discourse than of the things of religion would scarcely be tolerated in any company. The minds of people were wonderfully taken off from the world; it was treated among us as a thing of very little consequence. They seemed to follow their worldly business more as a part of their duty, than from any disposition they had to it. The temptation now seemed to lie on this hand; to neglect worldly affairs too much, and to spend too much time in the immediate exercises of religion. But although people did not ordinarily neglect their worldly business, yet there then was the reverse of what commonly is; religion was with all the great concern, and the world was a thing only by the by. The only thing in their view was to get the kingdom of heaven, and every one appeared pressing into it. The eagerness of their hearts in this great concern could not be hid; it appeared in their very countenances. It then was a dreadful thing amongst us to live out of CHRIST, in danger every day of dropping into hell: and what peoples' minds were intent upon was to escape for their lives, and to fly from the wrath to come. All would eagerly lay hold of opportunities for their souls; and were wont often to meet together in private houses for religious purposes: and such meetings when appointed were wont greatly to be thronged.

"There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. Those that were wont to be the vainest and loosest, and those that had been most disposed to think and speak slightly of vital and experimental

religion, were now generally subject to great awakenings. And the work of conversion was carried on in a most astonishing manner, and increased more and more; souls did, as it were, come by flocks to JESUS CHRIST. From day to day, for many months together, might be seen evident instances of sinners brought out of darkness into marvellous light, and delivered out of the horrible pit, and from the miry clay, and set upon a rock, with a new song of praise to GOD in their mouths." BOOK II. 1735.

"This work of God, as it was carried on, and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town; so that in the spring and summer following, Anno. 1735, the town seemed to be full of the presence of GOD. It never was so full of love and joy, and yet so full of distress, as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of GOD's presence in almost every house. It was a time of joy in families, on the account of salvation being brought unto them; parents rejoicing over their children new born, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The goings of GOD were then seen in his sanctuary; GOD's day was a delight, and his tabernacles were amiable. Our public assemblies were then beautiful; the congregation was alive in GOD's service, every one earnestly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth; the assembly were, from time to time, generally in tears while the word was preached; some weeping with sorrow and distress; others with joy and love; others with pity and concern for the souls of their neighbours.

"Our public praises were then greatly enlivened: They were sung with unusual elevation of heart and voice, which made the duty pleasant indeed.

"In all companies, on whatever occasions persons met together, CHRIST was to be heard of and seen in the midst of them. Our young people, when they met, were wont to spend the time in talking of the excellency and dying love of CHRIST, the gloriousness of the way of salvation, the wonderful, free and sovereign grace of GOD in his glorious work, in the conversion of a soul, the truth and certainty of the great things of GOD's word, the sweetness of the views of his perfections, &c. And even at weddings, which formerly were merely occasions of mirth and jollity, there was now no discourse of any thing but religion, and no appearance of any thing but spiritual joy."

Those who had before been born of God, experienced the fresh anointings of the Spirit, and revived like the

BOOK II. spring and grew like the vine. Many who had laboured under great difficulties with respect to their spiritual state, 1735. obtained satisfying evidence of the love of God to their souls.

There appeared such an extraordinary change in the town, that strangers were surprised to see it; and it had serious and happy effects on many who occasionally visited it.*

Revivals in the neighbouring towns in the county of Hampshire.

This happy revival of GOD's work was not confined to Northampton, but soon appeared with much the same powerful and salutary effects, in about twelve other towns in the county of Hampshire, particularly in South-Hadley, Suffield, Sunderland, Deerfield, Hatfield, West-Springfield, Long-Meadow, in Enfield, and Westfield, in Northfield, and in one or two other places. In some of these it was no less powerful and extraordinary than it had been in Northampton. The great and general concern in those towns was for the salvation of their souls. True Christians were remarkably quickened and renewed more and more after the image of GOD; and an uncommon spirit of grace and supplication was poured upon them. They acted in character, shining as lights in the world. Sinners flocked unto CHRIST, as clouds, and as doves unto their windows. According to the observations of some ancient ministers, more was done in one week than, according to the ordinary course of providence, had been done in seven years.

The same work was more extensive in Connecticut than in Massachusetts. In fourteen or fifteen towns or more, in several parts of the colony, it was powerful and general, in 1735, and in 1736.

The first parish in Windsor, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Jonathan Marsh, experienced the same mercy about the same time that the work commenced and was carried on at Northampton, although at the time of its commencement, the towns had no knowledge of each other's circumstances. Here, as in the other towns, there was a very general concern, and a great ingathering of souls unto CHRIST. At the same time East-Windsor, a parish under the ministry of the Rev. Timothy Edwards, experienced a very happy revival. Mr. Edwards had before seen several awakenings among his people, during his long ministry. No minister in the colony had been favoured with greater success than he, and now, in the forty-first year of his ministry, his spirit was greatly refreshed by an extraordinary ingathering of souls unto CHRIST, not only from among his own people, but from many other congregations in Connecticut, and in other colonies.

* The Rev. Mr. Edwards' Narrative of the work.

There was at the same time a very wonderful work of GOD, begun and carried on at Coventry, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Meacham. There was a surprising change made, not only on the people in general, but upon such as had been most rude and vicious. The work also, was very great at Lebanon-Crank, a parish under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, a pious young gentleman, who had been then very lately ordained in that place. At Durham, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Chauncey, there was the like work, and a great accession made to the church. The town of Mansfield, under the ministry of the Rev. Eleazar Williams; of Tolland, under that of the Rev. Mr. Steel; Bolton, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. White; and Hebron, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Pomroy, a young minister, ordained about the same time with Mr. Wheelock; and the north parish in Preston, were all visited with an uncommon effusion of the holy spirit. At Norwich, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Lord; and at Groton, there was the same divine work carried on, with great power. Mr. Lord, and Mr. John Owen, minister at Groton, in the spring of 1735, visited Northampton, having heard the report of the extraordinary work there, that they might see, and hear, and form a judgment of the work for themselves. They conversed with Mr. Edwards, and with many of the people, to their great satisfaction. They declared that the work exceeded all which had been told, or that could be told. On their return, they reported what they had heard and seen, to their own people, on whom it had a great effect. It appeared to be a means of beginning a similar work at Norwich, which in a short time became general. BOOK II. 1735.

The western as well as the eastern parts of the colony, were refreshed by the divine shower. In New-Haven, there was an unusual concern for the salvation of the soul; a flocking in to the church. Some in the principal families in the town, became the subjects of it. Stratford society, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Gould; Ripton, under the pastoral care of Mr. Mills; and Newtown, and Woodbury, had a refreshing visitation. Part of the town of Guilford, was also visited in the same gracious manner.

Indeed, this rain of righteousness, these dews of heaven, were still more extensive. They descended in no small degree on various places in New-Jersey.

This work was very extraordinary, on many accounts; it was much beyond what had been the common course of providence. It was more universal than had before been

BOOK II. known. It extended to all sorts and characters of people, sober and vicious, high and low, rich and poor, wise and
1736. unwise. To all appearance, it was no less powerful in families and persons of distinction, in the places with which it was visited, than others. In former works of this nature, young people had generally been wrought upon, while elderly people and children had been little affected, if moved at all. But at this time, old men were affected, as well as others. Even children appeared to be the subjects of saving mercy, and in some places formed themselves into religious societies. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, the Lord perfected praise. It was extraordinary as to the numbers who appeared, to a judgment of charity, to be regenerated and brought home to CHRIST. It was uncommon in that, persons more than fifty, sixty and seventy years of age, in considerable numbers, appeared to be savingly wrought upon, and after long courses of sin and opposition to their Saviour, to become his humble and faithful followers.

The work was no less extraordinary as to the power and quickness of it. Convictions were powerful, and terrible, at once bowing down sinners to the very dust, stripping them of every self justifying plea, and showing them that they were wholly at the disposal of a sovereign GOD, against whom they had always been unreasonably and inexcusably sinning: they saw that there was no help for them, but through the mere sovereign mercy of GOD in CHRIST. According to the best judgment which could be formed, it was the opinion, that, in some towns and parishes, fifteen, twenty, and even thirty persons, were in one week, brought out of darkness into marvellous light. As their convictions were powerful, and their distress, in some instances, almost intolerable; so their light and joy, on a change of heart, were unusually great. They appeared to rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. So general was the religious concern where this work prevailed, that a loose careless person could scarcely find a companion in the whole neighborhood. If any person appeared to remain unconcerned, it was considered and spoken of as a strange thing.

The work at this time, though extraordinary where it prevailed, was comparatively but in a few places; the great body of the people through the colony, and the country, remained secure as before; and sin and inattention to the great concerns of eternity, seemed rather to be increasing among the people in general, for about four or five years from this time, until the commencement of the

great revival, as it has been called, in the years 1740 and 1741. Though the effects of the work were happy, and great and abiding reformations were made in those places, which had been visited so remarkably, in the preceding years, yet it had no apparently good and general effect on other parts of the country. Family prayer and religion were much neglected. Lectures previous to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and on other occasions, were very thinly attended. On the Lord's day, there was not that general and serious attention which had been in former times. Too great formality and coldness appeared to attend the public worship in general. The extraordinary concern which had been in a number of towns and parishes, in 1735 and 1736, was a subject of very serious consideration, and excited the prayers and hopes of pious people, that there might be a general revival of religion through the land. Some sinners were thought to become more serious and thoughtful in consequence of it. Mr. Edwards, at the desire of Dr. Watts, and Dr. Guyse of London, and Dr. Coleman of Boston, had written and published a narrative of the said work, in 1738; attested by a number of the neighbouring ministers who were eye witnesses to it. In the mean time, religion appeared on the decline: But few persons offered themselves to the communion of the churches. It was also observed, that those who did offer themselves, gave no account of any previous convictions, which they had obtained of their great sin and misery, by nature and practice. It does not appear that ministers in general, at that time, made any particular enquiry of those whom they admitted to communion, with respect to their internal feelings and exercises. The Stoddardean opinion generally prevailed, at that period, that unregenerate men could consistently covenant with God, and when moral in their lives, had a right to sealing ordinances.

BOOK II.

The great awakening in Connecticut and New-England.

In 1740, there began a very great and general concern among the people, for the salvation of their souls. The awakening was more general and extraordinary, than any ever before known. It extended to old and young, to gray-headed sinners, who had long accustomed themselves to sin, and grown old in their iniquities; and even to little children. The sinners in Zion were afraid, and fearfulness surprised the hypocrites. The children of GOD received the fresh anointings of the Spirit, and the spices of their garden flowed out. The bride, in happy union with the spirit, said, Come. This awakening reached the large towns and cities, where iniquities and dissolute practices,

BOOK II. of all kinds, did generally most abound, as well as the country towns and villages. The most thoughtless, secure
1740. and hardened sinners, were awakened and made to cry for mercy. Negroes and Indians, on whom before no impression could be made, were heard with others, making the great enquiry. Young people, among whom the work was most general, forsook their merry meetings and youthful diversions, became earnest to hear the word, met in conferences, read good books, prayed, and sang praises to GOD. People, in a wonderful manner, flocked together to places of public worship, not only on the Lord's day, but on lecture days, so that the places of worship could not contain them. They would not only fill the houses, but crowd round the doors and windows without, and press together wherever they could hear the preacher. They would not only thus assemble in their own towns and parishes, when the word was preached, but if they had the knowledge of lectures in the neighbouring towns and parishes, they would attend them. Sometimes they would follow the preacher from town to town, and from one place to another, for several days together. In some instances, in places but thinly settled, there would be such a concourse, that no house could hold them.

Great desire and zeal to hear the word.

There was in the minds of people, a general fear of sin, and of the wrath of GOD denounced against it. There seemed to be a general conviction, that all the ways of man were before the eyes of the LORD. It was the opinion of men of discernment and sound judgment, who had the best opportunities of knowing the feelings and general state of the people, at that period, that bags of gold and silver, and other precious things, might, with safety, have been laid in the streets, and that no man would have converted them to his own use. Theft, wantonness, intemperance, profaneness, sabbath-breaking, and other gross sins, appeared to be put away. The intermissions on the LORD'S day, instead of being spent in worldly conversation and vanity, as had been too usual before, were now spent in religious conversation, in reading and singing the praises of GOD. At lectures there was not only great attention and seriousness, in the house of GOD, but the conversation out of it was generally on the great concerns of the soul.

Restraint from sin.

As the people were eager to hear the word, the feet of those who published salvation were beautiful; they were greatly animated, filled with zeal, and laboured abundantly. Especially was this the case with those ministers who favoured the work. They not only preached abundantly

to their own people, and invited others to preach to them, but they rode from town to town, to assist each other, and preach to the people. They also improved all opportunities to preach to vacant congregations. Sometimes they rode to distant towns and societies, where the work was very extraordinary, to encourage and bear testimony to the good work, and by all means in their power to promote it. In some instances a whole assembly, where the people before had been very unconcerned and vain, would be deeply impressed and awakened under a single sermon. BOOK II. 1740.

There was an extraordinary instance of this at Enfield. While the people in the neighbouring towns were in great distress for their souls, the inhabitants of that town were very secure, loose and vain. A lecture had been appointed at Enfield, and the neighbouring people, the night before, were so affected at the thoughtlessness of the inhabitants, and in such fear that God would, in his righteous judgment, pass them by, while the divine showers were falling all around them, as to be prostrate before him a considerable part of it, supplicating mercy for their souls. When the time appointed for the lecture came, a number of the neighbouring ministers attended, and some from a distance.* When they went into the meeting-house, the appearance of the assembly was thoughtless and vain. The people hardly conducted themselves with common decency. The Rev. Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, preached, and before the sermon was ended, the assembly appeared deeply impressed and bowed down, with an awful conviction of their sin and danger. There was such a breathing of distress, and weeping, that the preacher was obliged to speak to the people and desire silence, that he might be heard.† This was the beginning of the same great and prevailing concern in that place, with which the colony in general was visited. Revival at Enfield, 1740 and 1741.

At New-London, Groton, Lyme, Stonington, Preston, and Norwich, as well as in other parts of the colony, and some parts of Rhode-Island, the work was general and powerful. In the north part of New-London, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Jewett, there was a great revival. It is estimated, that not less than twenty were born again in one week. The church in Groton, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Owen, was favoured with an accession of eighty members, in the term of five or Revival at New-London, Groton, Lyme, &c.

* Mr. Wheelock went from Connecticut, who gave me information of the whole affair.

† The sermon was afterwards printed and reprinted, with the title of "Sinners in the hands of an angry God."

BOOK II. six months. The Rev. Mr. Parsons, and the Rev. George Griswold, of Lyme, experienced a large harvest. Mr. Griswold admitted into his church one hundred English, and thirteen Indians. The Rev. Mr. Fish, of Stonington, about the same time, admitted to his communion one hundred and four persons, consisting of both white and black.

1740 and 1741.

The work was not equally general and powerful in all places: it met with great opposition: some of the clergy appeared in opposition to it, and would not suffer their zealous brethren to preach in their pulpits, or in their parishes; but great additions were made to the churches in general. In many places this was, undoubtedly, done with too little caution and prudence. Great awakenings, convictions, and joys, and much zeal in religious concerns, were taken for real conversion to GOD, when there was no real change; when the heart was left under the dominion of pride and selfishness, and totally opposed to God and holiness. There were, doubtless, two reasons why such numbers were so hastily admitted to communion in the churches. One was, that a great proportion of the clergy, at that time, were of opinion, that unregenerate men, if externally moral, ought to be admitted to all the ordinances. The other was, that they considered those things as an evidence of a real change of heart and life, which were no evidence of it at all. This afterwards appeared to be the case in too many instances.

Revival at Westerly, in Rhode-Island.

While this work was so remarkable in Connecticut, it reached some places of great security and irreligion in the colony of Rhode-Island. In the town of Westerly, then very extensive,* there was not known to be one praying family, nor one person who professed religion, or even one who believed some of the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. In general, they were extremely opposed to the doctrines of the divine sovereignty, of the total depravity of the human heart, of regeneration by the supernatural influences of the divine Spirit, of justification by faith, wholly on the account of the mediatorial righteousness. They treated them even with scorn and ridicule. One Mr. Park was sent into this place, by the board of commissioners for Indian affairs, to preach to the Indians, and to such of the English as would hear him. He took great pains to reform and indoctrinate the Indians and the people, but with little success. He zealously preached the doctrines of the reformation. But the more he preached them, the thinner

* Westerly then contained the whole tract within the towns of Westerly and Charlestown, into which it has been since divided. It was the tract assigned to the Pequot Indians, after their conquest.

his assemblies were, and the less the people appeared to esteem him. Some, for a time, would not hear him. But as he was certain that these were the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, he continued faithfully to preach them. And now, at this time of general awakening, it pleased God to accompany them with his blessing. A great and general concern was effected, both among the English and Indians. A church of between thirty and forty members, was formed in the town. Among them were six Indians and two negroes. So great was the change now made, by divine grace, that, in the houses where there had been neither prayers nor praises, the scriptures were now searched, prayers were constantly made, psalms and hymns were sung to the honour of GOD and their blessed REDEEMER. The people appeared at once to be greatly enlightened in the doctrines of the gospel, and now to love those very doctrines which they had before so exceedingly disrelished, and even contemned. Mr. Park was now chosen and ordained their pastor. Before this, but few of the Indians attended his ministry, and those were not constant hearers; but at this time, about an hundred became his steady hearers. BOOK II.

Mr. Whitefield arrives in America, 1739.

About this time, the Rev. George Whitefield, a pious young clergyman of the church of England, who had preached in some of the southern colonies in 1738, and afterwards in various parts of England and Scotland, with great applause and effect, came over a second time into America. He landed at Philadelphia, the beginning of November, 1739. On his arrival he was invited to preach in all the churches, and people of all denominations flocked in crowds to hear him. After preaching a few days in Philadelphia, he made a visit, upon the invitation of a certain gentleman, to New-York, and preached eight times in that place with great applause and effect. Thence he returned to Philadelphia, preaching on the way both going and returning. He preached at Elizabethtown, Maidenhead, Abington, Neshamini, Burlington and New-Brunswick, in New-Jersey, to some thousands of people. There had been a considerable awakening in that part of the country before his arrival, by the instrumentality of Messrs. William and Gilbert Tennant, Blair, Rowland, and a Mr. Frelinghuysen, a young Dutch minister. He was met on his way by old Mr. Tennant, as well as his sons, and had the honor and pleasure of a visit from the Rev. Mr. Dickinson, President of the College. From Philadelphia he went to Georgia by land, preaching on the way as he proceeded. Numbers followed, some twenty and some even

BOOK II. sixty miles, from Philadelphia. He preached at Chester, Wilmington, Newcastle, and Whitely-Creek. At the last 1739. of these places it was computed that his congregation consisted of not less than ten thousand hearers.

He preached also, in various places in Maryland, in Virginia, and North-Carolina. He had an interview with the governors of Maryland, and of Virginia, as he passed those colonies, both of whom treated him with much civility. When he came to Charleston in South-Carolina, he preached there three times; the people seemed almost universally impressed, and his preaching appeared not to be in vain. These reports reaching New-England, there was a great desire, both in ministers and people, to see and hear him.

The following account of his character and preaching, was given by a gentleman of eminence and discernment, and published at the time.

Mr. Whitefield's character and preaching.

"He is of a sprightly, cheerful temper; acts and moves with great agility and life. The endowments of his mind are very uncommon; his wit is quick and piercing, his imagination lively and florid; and both, as far as I can discern, under the direction of an exact and solid judgment. He has a most ready memory, and I think, speaks entirely without notes. He has a clear and musical voice, and a wonderful command of it. He uses much gesture, but with great propriety. Every accent of his voice, every motion of his body, speaks; and both are natural and unaffected. If his delivery is the product of art, it is certainly the perfection of it; for it is entirely concealed. He has a great mastery of words, but studies much plainness of speech.

"His doctrine is right sterling; I mean perfectly agreeable to the Articles of the Church of England, to which he often appeals for the truth of it. He loudly proclaims all men by nature to be under sin, and obnoxious to the wrath and curse of God. He maintains the absolute necessity of supernatural grace to bring men out of this state. He asserts the righteousness of CHRIST to be the alone cause of the justification of a sinner; that this is received by faith; and that this faith is the gift of GOD; and that where faith is wrought, it brings the sinner, under the deepest sense of his guilt and unworthiness, to the footstool of sovereign grace, to accept of mercy as the free gift of GOD, only for CHRIST's sake. He asserts the absolute necessity of the new birth: That this new production is solely the work of GOD's blessed spirit: That wherever it is wrought it is a permanent and abiding principle, and that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it."

He generally preached twice, and sometimes three times

a day, and often had thousands of hearers. A gentleman who had many scruples on his mind relative to him, at first, gives this account of his preaching and the effects of it. BOOK II. 1731.

"Under this frame of mind, I went to hear him in the evening at the Presbyterian church, where he expounded to above two thousand people within doors and without. I never in my life saw so attentive an audience. Mr. Whitefield spake as one having authority. All he said was demonstration, life and power. The people's eyes and ears hung on his lips. They greedily devoured every word. I came home astonished: I never saw nor heard the like: Every scruple vanished; and I said within myself, surely GOD is with this man, of a truth."

The evening in which he preached his last lecture at New-York, thousands came together to hear him; but as the place was too strait for them, many were obliged to go away, and it was said, with tears in their eyes, lamenting their disappointment. These were the accounts given of him at New-York.

A similar account, but more particular and ample, was published respecting him at Charleston, in South-Carolina, by a pious minister there, who had been favoured with the best advantages to know him.* Speaking of the doctrines which he preached, he says, "All these doctrines now mentioned are primitive, protestant, puritanic ones, such as our good fathers, conformists and dissenters, have filled their writings with: and as Dr. Watts has well observed, "they fill heaven apace, for GOD is with them." Speaking of his praying and preaching, he says, "Though his prayers in this pulpit were all extempore, yet how copious, how ardent, with what compass of thought! The spirit of grace and supplication seemed to be poured upon him in plenty, and to kindle and animate his devotions. He appeared to me, in all his discourses, very deeply impressed in his own heart. How did that burn and boil within him, when he spake of the things which he had prepared concerning the king! In what a flaming light did he set our eternity before us! How earnestly did he press CHRIST upon us! How did he move our passions with the constraining love of such a Redeemer! The awe, the silence, the attention which sat upon the face of so great an audience, was an argument how he could reign over all their powers. So charmed were people with his manner of address, that they shut up their shops, forgot their secular bu-

* The Rev. Samuel Smith, in a sermon, which has since been published, with Mr. Whitefield's sermons.

BOOK II. siness, and laid aside their schemes for the world; and the oftener he preached, the keener edge he seemed to put upon their desires of hearing him again. How awfully, with what thunder and sound, did he discharge the artillery of heaven upon us! And yet, how could he soften and melt even a soldier of Ulysses, with the love and mercy of GOD! How close and strong were his applications to conscience; mingling light and heat, pointing the arrows of the Almighty to the hearts of sinners, while he poured in balm upon the wounds of the contrite, and made the broken bones to rejoice! Eternal themes, the solemnities of our holy religion, were all alive upon his tongue. He appears to me to be a man full of the Holy Ghost and of faith."

1740.

On the spreading abroad of these reports, those eminent men, Dr. Coleman and Mr. Cooper of Boston, sent letters to Mr. Whitefield, with pressing invitations that he would visit New-England. Mr. Whitefield, touched with a curiosity to see the descendants of the good old Puritans, and their seats of learning, and hoping that he might make some further collections for the orphan house, accepted their invitation. He embarked at Charleston for New-England, about the last of August, 1740, and arrived at Rhode-Island on the Lord's day, September 14th. Here a number of principal gentlemen soon waited on him. Among them was the venerable Mr. Clap, an aged minister of the first congregational church in the town. Mr. Whitefield was greatly delighted in him, and imagined he saw in him, what manner of men the old Puritans, who planted New-England, were. He preached there three days, twice a day, to deeply affected auditories. He then departed for Boston, where he arrived on Thursday evening. He was met on the road by the governor's son, several of the clergy, and other gentlemen of principal character, who conducted him into the city.

Mr. Whitefield arrives in New-England.

Arrives in Boston.

He preached the next day for Dr. Coleman and Mr. Cooper, and then at Dr. Sewall's and Mr. Prince's, and at the other meetings in rotation, but his assemblies were so large that the most capacious houses could not contain them, and he often preached on the common. On the Lord's day he preached for Dr. Coleman. Ministers and people were deeply affected. Dr. Coleman observed, "it was the happiest day he ever saw." He preached also at Cambridge, Marblehead, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, York, Portsmouth, Salem and Malden, to numerous congregations. In about a week, he preached sixteen times and rode an hundred and seventy miles. He returned to Boston, on the 6th of October. Here the number of his

hearers was exceedingly increased. It was supposed that his hearers, at his last sermon, when he took leave of the town, were not less than twenty thousand.* BOOK II. 1740.

The revival which had been in Connecticut and various other places in the country, had not reached Boston, until after Mr. Whitefield's arrival. The ministers of the town, had appointed lectures, and taken much pains to call up the attention of the people to the vast concerns of eternity, but they were unsuccessful; the lectures were so thinly attended that they were greatly discouraged. Mr. Whitefield took notice of it, and pressed the people to reform, and through his instrumentality, there was a remarkable alteration. The congregations became full and solemn, and the people flowed unto the house of the Lord.

Revival of religion in Boston.

The people now wanted to hear more preaching than was common. In consideration of this, public notice was given, that there would be a lecture on the Tuesday evening, weekly. It was the first stated evening lecture ever appointed in that part of New-England. When the evening came, the house appeared no less crowded than if Mr. Whitefield had been there. Dr. Coleman preached an animating sermon, from Isaiah, lx. 8. Who are these, that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows? Thus he began:

"It is a pleasant and wondrous thing, to see souls flying unto JESUS CHRIST, to the means of grace and salvation, which he hath ordained and sanctified, and into the church. If this were not the proper and natural sense of the prophet's words, I would not have chosen them for the opening of the present lecture.

"Our dear people, your ministers have with pleasure seen you in the weeks past, old and young, parents and children, masters and servants, high and low, rich and poor together, gathering and passing as clouds in our streets, and as doves on the wing, in flocks flying to the doors and windows of our places of worship; and hovering about the same, those that could not get in.

"The fame of a singular, fervent and holy youth, and extraordinary servant and minister of JESUS CHRIST, who makes his angels spirits and his ministers a flame of fire, had prepared you for his visit; and with raised expectations we received him, even as an angel of GOD for JESUS' sake, as the apostle St. Paul was received by the churches of Galatia.

"GOD gave him a wonderful manner of entrance among us, as in other places before us, among the brethren of our

* Letter of Mr. Cooper, and Whitefield's life.

BOOK II. denomination; and we were sometimes melted together in tears, ministers and people, parents and children, under the commanding address of love to his Saviour and our souls. We led you with visible pleasure in our faces to the solemn and great assemblies, and looked on you there with great satisfaction, in your uncommon regards to the beloved servant of Christ, for the truth's sake that dwelleth in him, and the love of the spirit filling him and reigning in his ministrations to us.

1740.

"And now, our beloved brethren and sisters, you and your children, we are going to prove, confirm and increase, by the will of GOD, the seeming good dispositions begun or revived in you, toward CHRIST and his word, in a just, reasonable, and pious care and solicitude for your salvation.

"Mr. Whitefield, once and again, in his admonitions to you, and also, in his fervent, righteous and effectual prayers for you, by the will of GOD, led you into the trial and proof of yourselves, whether, when he was gone from us, you would better attend on the ministry of your own pastors, both on sabbaths and lectures? For he had heard (and it was too true) that there had been a great defect in that point among you, before he came. Some of your ministers, therefore, now make a new tender of themselves to you, in the fear and love of GOD, in this new lecture for the service of your souls, if you will encourage them by a like attendance on it, as we have lately seen you give to the word preached.

"We preach the same CHRIST, the same doctrines, of grace according to godliness, with the same gospel motives and arguments, applications to conscience, and supplications to GOD, for you," &c. &c.

This was the beginning of the most extraordinary revival of religion ever experienced in Boston, or in that part of New-England. The religious concern continued and increased all winter. Hundreds of people flocked to their ministers for instruction and comfort under spiritual troubles. Never had they experienced any thing to be compared with it.

When Mr. Whitefield left Boston, it was for Northampton. He had read in England, the narrative of Mr. Edwards, of the remarkable work of God in that place, in 1735, and had a great desire to see him and receive the account from his own mouth. On his way, he preached at Concord, Sudbury, Marlborough, Worcester, Leicester, and Hadley. Pulpits and houses were every where opened to him, and the same happy influence and effects attend-

ed his preaching, which had been experienced in other places. BOOK II.

When he arrived at Northampton, about the middle of October, he was joyfully received by Mr. Edwards and the people. He preached four sermons in the meeting house, and a private lecture at Mr. Edwards'. The congregation was affected in a very extraordinary manner. Almost the whole assembly were in tears during a great part of the sermon. When he came to remind them of the great things which GOD had done for them in the former work among them, says the writer of his life, "It was like putting fire to tinder; both minister and people were much moved." His discourses were happily adapted to the circumstances of the town, containing just reproofs for backsliding, and pleaded with them the great mercies which they had received, and the high professions which they had made, as arguments to encourage them to return unto GOD, in all holiness of heart and life. Immediately after his preaching, the minds of the people appeared more engaged in religion. The revival appeared at first principally among professors; but it soon became more general and more powerful than the former work; and especially it was more remarkable and general among children. Many cried out and sunk down under awakenings; others were overcome with joy, and fainted under the views they had of the exceeding glory and excellency of their Saviour, and of divine truths and beauties. Mr. Whitefield preaches at Northampton.

After leaving Northampton, he preached at Westfield, Springfield, Suffield, Windsor, Hartford, Weathersfield, Middletown and Wallingford, to large and affected congregations.

On the 23d of October, he reached New-Haven. Here he was affectionately received by Mr. James Pierpont, brother-in-law to Mr. Edwards. As the General Assembly were then sitting, he tarried until Lord's day, and had the pleasure of seeing numbers daily impressed. Several ministers waited on him, with whose pious conversation he was much refreshed. He paid a visit to governor Talcott, who said to him, "thanks be to GOD, for such refreshings in our way to heaven."

After the sabbath, he preached at Milford, and prosecuting his journey to New-York, and the southern colonies, he preached with his usual popularity and success, at Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk and Stamford. Taking leave of Connecticut, he preached at Rye and Kingsbridge, and on the thirtieth October, arrived at New-

BOOK II. 1740. York. He preached three days at New-York, and then departed, preaching through the southern colonies, as he had done before, but apparently with greater success.

In December, he arrived at Charleston, in South-Carolina, where he makes the following remarks: "It is now the seventy-fifth day since I arrived at Rhode-Island. My body was then weak, but the Lord hath much renewed its strength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, an hundred and seventy-five times in public, besides exhorting frequently in private. I have travelled upwards of eight hundred miles, and have gotten upwards of seven hundred pounds sterling, in goods, provisions, and money, for the Georgia orphans. Never did I perform my journey with so little fatigue, or see such a continuance of the divine presence in the congregations to whom I have preached. Praise the Lord, O my soul."

By letters written to him and of him, it appears he was the instrument of great good in New-England, as well as in the southern colonies. He greatly quickened and animated ministers as well as private christians; convinced, and was instrumental in converting sinners; thus promoting the work of the Lord, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Account of Mr. Tennant.

Another instrument in this good work, from abroad, was was Mr. Gilbert Tennant. He had been very successful in his labors among his own people, and others in the neighbouring towns, in New-Jersey, and was sent by the Presbytery, or a number of ministers in his vicinity, to preach in New-England, and assist in promoting the good work which had been so remarkably begun. He had much hesitation relative to the undertaking; but after much prayerfulness and advice, he consented to make a journey into these parts. He was a sound, experimental, searching preacher; a son of thunder. He designed to labour principally at Boston; but to preach through the country, going and returning. He is represented as doing special service in his preaching. He came into Connecticut soon after Mr. Whitefield went to the southward. His preaching was powerful, and appeared to have happy effects. He reached Boston about the middle of December. The assemblies had been full from the time of Mr. Whitefield's preaching there, until this time, but by his preaching, the concern became more general and powerful. A gentleman who had been famous for preaching both in England and America and had heard Mr. Whitefield repeatedly, gives this character of Mr. Tennant;

"He seemed to have as deep an acquaintance with the experimental part of religion, as any I have conversed with; and his preaching was as searching and rousing as ever I heard. He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open their ruinous delusions, show them their numerous, secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge, wherein they made themselves easy with the form of godliness without the power. And many who were pleased in good conceit of themselves before, now found, to their great distress, that they were only self-deceived hypocrites. BOOK II. 1740.

"From the terrible and deep convictions he had passed through in his own soul, he seemed to have such a lively view of the divine majesty, the spirituality, purity, and extensiveness of his law, with his glorious holiness and displeasure at sin; his justice, truth and power in punishing the damned; that the very terrors of GOD, seemed to rise in his mind afresh, when he displayed and brandished them in the eyes of unreconciled sinners. And though some could not bear his preaching, yet the arrows of conviction, by his ministry, seemed so deeply to pierce the hearts of others, and even some of the most stubborn sinners, as to make them fall down at the feet of Christ, and yield a lowly submission to him."

He preached in Boston principally for more than two months. His preaching, and the great and general enquiry of the people after the way of life, caused the ministers to treat more largely of the operations of the spirit of grace, as a spirit of conviction and conversion, consolation and edification in the souls of men, agreeable to the holy scriptures, and the common experiences of true believers.*

In Connecticut, the work was more powerful than in Boston. In many places, people would cry out, in the time of public worship, under a sense of their overbearing guilt and misery, and the all-consuming wrath of GOD, due to them for their iniquities; others would faint and swoon under the affecting views which they had of GOD and CHRIST; some would weep and sob, and there would sometimes be so much noise among the people, in particular places, that it was with difficulty that the preacher could be heard. In some few instances, it seems, that the minister has not been able to finish his discourse, there has

* Prince's account of the work of God in Boston.

BOOK II. 1741.

been so much crying out and disturbance. This was the case in some places, not only on the sabbath, but at public lectures, and also at lectures in private houses. Thus it was in various places, not only in Connecticut, but in other parts of New-England.

When persons, who had cried out in the time of public worship, or had swooned, and appeared unable to endure the things which they had heard or seen, were by themselves, in the interims of public worship, the people would crowd around them, to inquire what they had seen or felt, which had so affected them; and they sometimes would give such an account of their view of their sins, and of the dreadfulness of the wrath of God due to them, as would exceedingly affect others, and be a means of great awakening and concern in them. In like manner, the accounts which some gave of the overcoming sense which they had of the greatness, holiness, justice, goodness, truth, and faithfulness of God; of the love of Christ; his willingness and sufficiency to save, even the chief of sinners, would seem very greatly to move others. In this way convictions were increased, and the work promoted.

Connecticut was more remarkably the seat of the work than any part of New-England, or of the American colonies. In the years 1740, 1741 and 1742, it had pervaded, in a greater or less degree, every part of the colony. In most of the towns and societies, it was very general and powerful.

Abundant labours and expenses of ministers.

The labours and expenses of ministers were now great, beyond any thing which they had ever before experienced. The people wanted continual preaching. It was difficult to satisfy them. At the same time, there would be considerable numbers of them under distress of mind, and inquiring the way to Zion. During this period, more persons repaired to their ministers, for religious conversation and direction, than did, in ordinary times, during the whole course of their ministry.* Not only the people of their own parishes, but from other towns, and some from a distance, resorted to them for instruction and counsel. Numbers, who had for many years been professors of religion, were convinced, that their hope was no other than the hope

* Mr. Prince, in his account of the awakening in Boston, says, "The Rev. Mr. Cooper was wont to say, that more came to him in one week, in deep concern about their souls, than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. I can also say the same, as to the numbers who repaired to me. By Mr. Cooper's letter to a friend in Scotland, it appears about six hundred different persons applied to him in three months time; and Mr. Webb informs me, he has had, in the same space, above a thousand."

of the hypocrite, which would most certainly perish, when God should take away the soul. They became no less earnest inquirers after the way of life than others. In many instances, the minister was entirely opposed to the work, and they could obtain no light or satisfaction in conversing with him, and naturally repaired to those who were zealous in promoting the LORD's work. Some of the clergy were so thronged with company, and were at so much expense, as in a considerable degree to injure their estates. BOOK II. 1741.

Ministers who favoured the religious revival.

The reverend gentlemen who most favoured the work in Connecticut, while others opposed it with all their power, were Whitman, of Hartford; Lockwood, of Weathersfield; Joseph Meacham, of Coventry; Lord, of Norwich; Williams, of Lebanon; Parsons, of Lyme; Owen, of Groton; Pomeroy and Wheelock: In the county of New-Haven, Humphrey, Leavenworth, Allen, and Robbins of Branford: In the counties of Fairfield and Litchfield, Mills, of Ripton; Graham, of Woodbury; Farrand, of Canaan; and Bellamy, of Bethlem. But the most zealous and laborious in the cause, who took the most pains, and spent the most property in the service of their Master, were the Rev. Messrs. Jedediah Mills, Benjamin Pomeroy, Eleazar Wheelock, and Joseph Bellamy. They were not only abundant in labours among their own people, and in neighbouring towns and societies; but they preached in all parts of the colony, where their brethren would admit them, and in many places in Massachusetts, and the other colonies. They were very popular, and their labours were generally acceptable to their brethren, and useful to the people. They were not noisy preachers, but grave, sentimental, searching, and pungent.

Character of Mr. Pomeroy.

Mr. afterwards Dr. Pomeroy, was a man of real genius, grave, solemn, and weighty in his discourses; they were generally well composed, and delivered with a great degree of animation, zeal and affection. He appeared to have a deep concern for the salvation of his hearers; and often, in his addresses to them, and in his expostulations and pleadings with them to be reconciled to God, to forsake the foolish and live, would melt into tears and weep over them. His language was good, and he might be reckoned among the best preachers of his day. He could set the terrors of the LORD in awful array before sinners, and show them, in an alarming manner, the slippery places on which they stood. With equal advantage, he could represent the wonders of CHRIST's love, his glory, the sufficiency of his righteousness, and the blessedness of all who would be reconciled unto GOD through him.

BOOK II. 1736.

Mr. afterwards Doctor and President Wheelock, was a gentleman of a comely figure, of a mild and winning aspect; his voice smooth and harmonious, the best, by far, that I ever heard. He had the entire command of it. His gesture was natural, but not redundant. His preaching and addresses were close and pungent, and yet winning, beyond almost all comparison, so that his audience would be melted even into tears, before they were aware of it.

Character of Mr. Wheelock.

Doctrines which they preached.

The doctrines preached by those famous men, who were owned as the principal instruments of this extraordinary revival of GOD's work, were the doctrines of the reformation:—the doctrine of original sin, of regeneration by the supernatural influences of the divine Spirit, and of the absolute necessity of it, that any man might bear good fruit, or ever be admitted into the kingdom of GOD; effectual calling, justification by faith, wholly on the account of the imputed righteousness of JESUS CHRIST; repentance toward GOD, and faith toward our LORD JESUS CHRIST; the perseverance of the saints; the in-dwelling influences of the Holy Spirit in them; and its divine consolations and joys.

They took great pains to detect the hypocrite, to exhibit his character and danger. President Wheelock had a sermon from Job xxvii. 8th: "What is the hope of the hypocrite, though he hath gained, when GOD taketh away his soul?"—in which he described the hypocrite, showed how far a man might go in religion, and after all be no more than a hypocrite. He then showed the miserable end of the hypocrite; that notwithstanding all the riches of fame, which the hypocrite had gained, or whatever degree of hope of good things in this world, or in that which is to come, he might gain, GOD would bring him to the grave; and when he should take away his soul, all his expectations would fail. His deceit and wickedness would all be made manifest, and he would be brought forth at last to public shame and contempt. The folly and danger of hypocrisy, the dreadful condition and fearful end of hypocrites, were exhibited in a strong and awful point of light. The audience were pressed by all means to be Christians indeed, and not to deceive themselves, and perish with the hope of the hypocrite. He had another sermon, which he preached with success, from Mark xvi. 16. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. In this sermon, he described a saving faith in Christ, and gave many distinguishing marks of it. At the same time he insisted that all, without exception, who would not believe, would most certainly be damn-

ed. These sermons I find particularly mentioned, in the narratives given of the awakenings, as having been attended with happy effects. Concerning this latter sermon, which he preached at Taunton, at the beginning of the awakening there, it is written, "Many were awakened and pricked in their hearts: Zion's king rode triumphant upon the word of truth." BOOK II. 1742.

Dr. Bellamy's character and preaching.

Mr. afterward Dr. Bellamy, was a large and well built man, of a commanding appearance; had a smooth, strong voice, and could fill the largest house without any unnatural elevation. He possessed a truly great mind, generally preached without notes, had some great point of doctrine commonly to establish, and would keep close to his point until he had sufficiently illustrated it; then, in an ingenious, close, and pungent manner, he would make the application. When he felt well, and was animated by a large and attentive audience, he would preach incomparably. Though he paid little attention to language, yet when he became warm and was filled with his subject, he would, from the native vigor of his soul, produce the most commanding strokes of eloquence, making his audience alive. There is nothing to be found in his writings, though a sound and great divine, equal to what was to be seen and heard in his preaching. His pulpit talents exceeded all his other gifts. It is difficult for any man, who never heard him, to form a just idea of the force and beauty of his preaching.

Preaching at New-Haven.

While I was an undergraduate at New-Haven, the Doctor preached a lecture for Mr. Bird. At the time appointed, there was a full house. The Doctor prayed and sang; then rose before a great assembly, apparently full of expectation, and read, Deut. xxvii. 26, "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them: and all the people shall say, Amen." The number and appearance of the people animated the preacher, and he instantly presented them with a view of the twelve tribes of Israel assembled on Mount Ebal and Mount Gerrizim, according to the divine appointment, and the audience were made to hear the Levites distinctly reading the curses, and all the thousands of Jacob repeating them, uttering aloud their approving Amen. Twelve times says the Doctor, it goes, round, round, round all the camp of Israel, Cursed be the man who committeth this or the other iniquity. Nay, round it goes, through all the thousands of God's chosen people, Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them: and all the people shall say, Amen. By universal consent, (the approving Amen, of all the congregation of Israel,) he who did not yield a cheerful

BOOK II. and universal obedience to the whole law, was cursed. From this striking and general view of the subject, the Doctor observed, that it was the ancient doctrine of the church, which GOD took great pains to teach them, that every sin deserved the eternal curse and damnation of GOD: or that the wages of every sin was death. Having, from a variety of views, established this leading point; that all parties might be treated fairly, he brought the objector on to the stage, to remonstrate against the doctrine he had advanced. When he had offered his objections, Gabriel was brought down to show him the futility of his objections, and the presumption and impiety of making them against the divine law and government. They were clearly answered, and the opponent was triumphantly swept from the stage. The argument gained strength and beauty through the whole progress. The deductions were solemn and important. The absolute need of an atonement that sin might be pardoned, or one of the human race saved: the impossibility of justification by the deeds of the law: the immaculate holiness and justice of God in the damnation of sinners. They were stripped naked, and their only hope and safety appeared to be an immediate flight to the city of refuge. The truths of the gospel were established, and God was glorified. No man was more thoroughly set for the defence of the gospel.

The work injured by disorders and imprudences, and violently opposed.

This glorious work of GOD, which had effected such a wonderful reformation of manners through the country, was marred and greatly injured by many imprudences and irregularities; and was most violently opposed by ministers, by magistrates, by cruel and persecuting laws, by reproach, and misrepresentation, and all other ways and means which its adversaries could invent.

Many lay exhorters sprang up among the people, especially in the counties of New-London and Windham; and among some, there appeared an inclination to follow impulses, and a pretence to know the state of men's souls; who were converted, and who were not.

Mr. Davenport's imprudence and wildness.

At the same time, there was a Mr. James Davenport, of Southhold, on Long-Island, who had been esteemed a pious, sound, and faithful minister, but now became zealous beyond measure; made a visit to Connecticut, and preached in New-Haven, Branford, Stonington, and various other places; and went on as far as Boston. He gave an unrestrained liberty to noise and outcry, both of distress and joy, in time of divine service. He promoted both with all his might, raising his voice to the highest pitch, together with the most violent agitations of body. With his unnat-

ural and violent agitations of the body, he united a strange singing tone which mightily tended to raise the feelings of weak and undiscerning people, and consequently to heighten the confusion among the passionate of his hearers. This odd, disagreeable tuning of the voice, in exercises of devotion, was caught by the zealous exhorters, and became a characteristic of the separate preachers. The whole sect were distinguished by this sanctimonious tone. It was Mr. Davenport's manner, when a number had cried out, and there had been great agitations of body, to pronounce them tokens of divine favour; and what was still worse, he would declare those persons who were the subjects of those outcries and agitations, to be converted; or that they had come to Christ; which were gross and dangerous errors. Bodily agitations and outcries were no evidences of grace. He was further, the great encourager, if not the first setter up of public exhorters, not restricting them according to the gospel rule of brotherly exhortation; but encouraging any who were reputed to be lively, zealous christians, to exhort publicly in full assemblies, with ministerial assurance and authority, though altogether raw and unskilful in the word of righteousness. What had still a more mischievous influence than all the rest, was his undertaking to examine his brethren in the ministry, as to their spiritual state, and publicly to decide concerning them, whether they were converted or unconverted. Some, whom he had privately examined, and to all appearance, men of as much grace as himself, he would in his public prayers pronounce unconverted. Such as refused to be examined by him, were certain to be denounced, as either unconverted, or in a very doubtful condition. Thus, disorder, jealousy and confusion, were sown in the churches. He represented it as a dreadful thing to hear unconverted ministers; that their preaching was worse than poison; and he warned the people against it. BOOK II. 1741.

His brethren remonstrated against these wild measures, and represented to him, that he must be under the influence of a wrong spirit; but he persisted in his measures. At Charlestown, in Massachusetts, he withdrew from the communion, on the Lord's day, pretending that he had scruples as to the conversion of the minister. The Boston ministers disapproved of his conduct, and rejected him. He was complained of, and brought before the general court of Massachusetts, and was dismissed as not being of a sound mind.

His conduct had a pernicious influence on the people, and seems to have given rise to many errors which sprang

BOOK II. up in the churches about this time, and to have been instrumental in the separations which soon took place in several of the churches, and gave great occasion of scandal to the enemies of the revival. Every thing was said reproachful of it, which its enemies could invent. By some it was termed a distemper, which affected the mind and filled it with unnecessary concern and gloominess; by others it was termed the work of the devil; by others, quakerism, enthusiasm, antinomianism and distraction. The zealous experimental christians were termed *new lights*, following an *ignis fatuus*, which would lead them to destruction.

1742.

Some of the leading ministers in the colony, were most bitter enemies to the revival, and to their brethren who were instrumental in promoting it. This was the case in general with the magistrates and principal gentlemen in the commonwealth. They employed all their art and power to suppress it, and to keep all zealous ministers, who favoured the work, as far as possible out of the colony, and to confine all the zealous preachers of the doctrines of the reformation to their own pulpits.

Governor Talcott, who called those days, times of refreshing, was now no more; and Jonathan Law, Esq. a gentleman of a different character, was chosen governor. Under his administration, a number of severe and persecuting laws were enacted, and the laws which had been enacted in favor of sober consciences were repealed.

In May, 1742, the General Assembly passed the following act, prefaced in the following manner:

Ecclesiastical law, May 1742.

"Whereas, this assembly did by their act, made in the 27th year of queen Anne, establish and confirm a confession of faith, and an agreement for ecclesiastical discipline, made at Saybrook, Anno Domini, 1708, by the Rev. elders and messengers delegated by the churches in this colony, for that purpose; under which establishment. his majesty's subjects inhabiting in this colony, have enjoyed great peace and quietness, 'till of late, sundry persons have been guilty of disorderly and irregular practices, whereupon this assembly did direct to the calling of a general consociation, at Guilford, in November last, which said consociation was convened accordingly: at which convention, it was endeavoured to prevent the growing disorders among the ministers that have been ordained, or licensed by the associations in the government to preach, and likewise to prevent divisions and disorders among the churches, and ecclesiastical societies, settled by order of this assembly:

"Notwithstanding which, divers of the ministers or- BOOK II.
dained as aforesaid, and others licensed to preach by some
of the associations allowed by law, have taken upon them, May, 1742.
without any lawful call, to go into parishes, immediately under the care of other ministers, and there to preach to and teach the people; and also sundry persons, who are very illiterate, and have no ecclesiastical character, or any authority whatsoever to preach or teach, have taken it upon them publicly to teach and exhort the people, in matters of religion, both as to doctrine and practice; which practices have a tendency to make divisions and contentions among the people in this colony, and to destroy the ecclesiastical constitution established by the laws of this government, and also to hinder the growth and increase of vital piety and godliness in the churches; and also to introduce unqualified persons into the ministry; and more especially where one association, doth intermeddle with the affairs, that by the platform and agreement above said, made at Saybrook, aforesaid, are properly within the province and jurisdiction of another association, as to the licensing persons to preach, and ordaining ministers: therefore,

"1. Be it enacted by the governor, council and representatives in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any ordained minister, or any other person licensed as aforesaid, to preach, shall enter into any parish not immediately under his charge, and shall there preach and exhort the people, he shall be denied and excluded the benefit of any law of this colony, made for the support and encouragement of the gospel ministry, except such ordained minister, or licensed person, shall be expressly invited and desired to enter into such parish, and there to preach and exhort the people, by the settled minister, and the major part of the church and society within such parish.

"2. And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any association of ministers shall undertake to examine or license any candidate for the gospel ministry, or assume to themselves the decision of any controversy, or as an association counsel and advise in any affair that by the platform, or agreement above mentioned, made at Saybrook, aforesaid, is properly within the province and jurisdiction of another association, then and in such case every member that shall be present in such association so licensing, deciding or counselling, shall be each and every one of them, denied and excluded the benefit of any law in this colony, for the encouragement and support of the gospel ministry.

BOOK II. "3. And it is further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any minister, or ministers, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, shall presume to preach in any parish, not under his immediate care and charge, the minister of the parish where he shall so offend, or the civil authority, or any of the committee of said parish, shall give information thereof, in writing, under their hands, to the clerk of the society or parish where such offending minister doth belong, which clerk shall receive such information, and lodge and keep the same on file, in his office, and no assistant or justice of the peace, in this colony, shall sign any warrant for the collecting any minister's rate, without first receiving a certificate from the clerk of the society, or parish, where such rate is to be collected, that no such information as is above mentioned, hath been received by him, or lodged in his office.

"4. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person whatsoever, that is not a settled or ordained minister, shall go into any parish, without the express desire and invitation of the settled minister of such parish, if any there be, and the major part of the church and congregation within such parish, and publicly teach and exhort the people, shall, for every such offence, upon complaint made thereof to any assistant or justice of the peace, be bound to his peaceable and good behaviour, until the next county court in that county where the offence shall be committed, by said assistant or justice of the peace, in the penal sum of one hundred pounds lawful money, that he or they will not offend again in the like kind; and the said county court may, if they see meet, further bind the said person or persons, offending as aforesaid, to their peaceable and good behaviour, during the pleasure of the court.

"5. And it is further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any foreigner or stranger, that is not an inhabitant of this colony, including as well such persons as have no ecclesiastical character, or license to preach, or such as have received ordination or license to preach, by any association or presbytery, shall presume to preach, teach, or publicly exhort, in any town or society within this colony, without the desire and license of the settled minister, and the major part of the church of such town and society, or at the call and desire of the church and inhabitants of such town or society, provided that it so happen that there be no settled minister there, that every such preacher, teacher, or exhorter, shall be sent, as a vagrant person, by warrant

from any assistant or justice of the peace, from constable to constable, out of the bounds of this colony."* BOOK II.

What ministers composed the general association at Guilford, cannot be known, as there is not the least minute of any such council on the records of the general association, nor is there any intimation of the result or doings of it, any further than what is found in the preamble to this extraordinary act, and in references to it, by associations and consociations afterwards. But it undoubtedly gave countenance to this, and other violent measures, adopted and pursued by the legislature; and was a concerted plan of the old lights, or Arminians, both among the clergy and civilians, to suppress, as far as possible, all the zealous and Calvinistic preachers; to confine them entirely to their own pulpits; and, at the same time, to put all the public odium and reproach possible upon them, as wicked, disorderly men, unfit to enjoy the common rights of citizens. The law was an outrage to every principle of justice, and to the most inherent and valuable rights of the subject. It was a palpable contradiction, and gross violation, of the Connecticut bill of rights. It dishonoured the servant of God, stained his good name, and deprived him of all the temporal emoluments of his profession, without judge or jury, without hearing him, or knowing what evil he had done. It put it into the hands of enemies and malicious persons, to undo innocent men. If the certificate lodged were ever so false, there was no redress. In other cases, civil and criminal, an appeal is allowed; but here, in a case of great magnitude, in which character, and a man's whole temporal living was at stake, there was no redress. Further, it was believed by many, that this law was an invasion of the rights of heaven, and incompatible with the command, Go ye into all the world, and

1742.

Observations on the law.

* Records of Connecticut, May, 1742. This extraordinary act, in part, at least, had its origin in the consociation of New-Haven County, as appears from the instructions which they gave to their delegates, whom they sent to the Guilford council, which were suggested first by the Rev. Samuel Whittelsey, of Wallingford. How perfectly it corresponded with their opinions and feelings, is fully exhibited in their address to the General Assembly, the October following, an extract from which is as follows:—"To the Hon. General Assembly, &c. convened at New-Haven, October 14th, 1742.—May it please this honourable assembly, to permit us, the Association of the county of New-Haven, regularly convened in the first society in Wallingford, Sept. 28th, 1742, to lay before you our grateful sense of the goodness of the General Assembly in May last, in so caring for our religious interests, and ecclesiastical constitution; and our just apprehensions of their wisdom, in making the statute, entitled, An act for the regulating abuses, and correcting disorders, in ecclesiastical affairs; and pray that it may be continued in force: being satisfied that it hath already been, in good measure, serviceable, and persuaded that it will be more so," &c.

BOOK II. 1742. preach the gospel to every creature.* I charge thee, therefore, before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing and kingdom, preach the word; be instant in season, and out of season.† In obedience to these commands, the primitive preachers went every where, preaching the word.‡ They regarded no parochial limits, and when high priests and magistrates forbade their preaching, they answered, Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.§ What right could one minister have to shut another out of his pulpit or society, whom he owned as a brother; to whom he had given the right hand of fellowship, and whom he could not accuse either of false doctrine or immoral conduct?

It may be further observed, that this law was contrary to the opinion and practice of all the reformers and puritans. The reformers all preached within the parishes and bishopricks of the Roman catholics, and by this means, under the Divine Providence, effected the reformation. It never could have been effected without it. The puritans preached within the parishes of the church of England, and judged it their indispensable duty to preach the gospel, when and wherever they had an opportunity. They did it zealously and faithfully, though exposed to fines, imprisonment, and loss of living. Even in Connecticut, the episcopalians were allowed to preach and collect hearers, and erect churches, in any of the ecclesiastical societies, in opposition to the established ministers and churches. The baptists were also allowed to do the same. The law was therefore partial, inconsistent, and highly persecuting. It manifested, in a strong point of light, the exceeding hatred, rancour and opposition of heart, which there was in the Arminians and old lights, to the work of God, and all the zealous and faithful promoters of it. It was an occasion of a great and fixed disaffection between the different classes of ministers, and between many of the religious people and the legislature. Instead of preserving the peace and order of the churches, it was a means of separation and division. It could have no good effect: law opposed to enthusiasm, is only like heaping fuel upon the fire to quench it. With respect to good people, who are governed by the love and fear of God, and the sober dictates of reason, though they honour the civil magistrate, and submit to the laws, as far as they can with a good conscience,

* Mark xvi. 15. † 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2. ‡ Acts viii. 4.
§ Acts iv. 19, 20.

yet they will regard God rather than man. When they are fully persuaded that it is necessary, for their own edification and salvation, and the safety of their children, to adopt a mode of worship, and to hear a kind of preaching, differing from that which any civil establishment enjoins, they will depart from it so far, as to worship God agreeably to the sober dictates of their consciences. This, the practice of the primitive christians, of the reformers, of the puritans, and of good people in all ages, has witnessed. With respect to enthusiasts, mild measures, kind and christian treatment, have always succeeded the best.

There were a variety of things, at the election, and May session, this year, calculated to divide and irritate the religious parties, in the colony, more and more, at a time when all conciliatory measures ought to have been adopted.

The preacher at the election, was the Rev. Isaac Stiles, of North-Haven. He was a most bitter enemy to the work which GOD had been, and was carrying on in the land, and to all the instruments of it. He gave himself great liberty to reproach them. He compared them to *Will with his wisp* and *Jack with his lanthorn*, and pointed the artillery of heaven, in a tremendous manner, against them. The assembly thanked him for his sermon, and printed it, with all the reproach and abuse of his brethren in the ministry, and of other christians, which it contained.*

Mr. Davenport and Mr. Pomeroy brought before the assembly.

At the same session, a complaint was exhibited against Mr. James Davenport, of Southhold, on Long-Island, that he had convened great assemblies at Stratford, and that he and others had committed great disorders: against Mr. Benjamin Pomeroy also, as having committed great disorders with him, the said Davenport. They were arrested, and brought before the assembly. The assembly judged with respect to Mr. Davenport, that the things alleged, the behaviour and conduct, and doctrine advanced by him, had a tendency to disturb and destroy the peace and order of this government; yet, that it further appeared to the assembly, that the said Davenport was under the influence of enthusiastic impressions and impulses, and thereby disturbed in the rational faculties of his mind, and therefore rather to be pitied and compassionated, than to be treated as otherwise he might be; and the assembly considering that the settled place of his abode is in the town of Southhold, on Long-Island, whereto it is best he should be con-

* The Rev. Mr. Williams, of Lebanon, remarked on the sermon, that he had never before seen the artillery of heaven so turned against itself.

BOOK II. veyed: thereupon it was ordered by the assembly, that the said Davenport be forthwith transported out of this colony to Long-Island, to the place whence he came, wherein he is settled; and the governor and council are desired to take effectual care, that this order be duly executed.* The decision with respect to Mr. Pomeroy was, that the evidence produced was not sufficient to make out any thing material against him. He was therefore dismissed.

1742. Mr. Davenport transported to Long Island.

Mr. Pomeroy was treated rudely; resentment and malice appeared in the people; an attempt, as he supposed, was made to throw him down the stairs of the state-house; he was pushed off from one side of the stairway, but he leaped across to the other, and so saved himself.

Sometime after, a lecture was appointed at Colchester, for Mr. Pomeroy to preach. Himself and Mr. Little, the pastor, had always lived in harmony; their parishes joined each other. Mr. Pomeroy went from home supposing that he was about to afford him brotherly assistance, and to oblige his people; but entirely contrary to his expectations, Mr. Little, either from his own private feelings, or from the influence of some of his principal hearers, forbade his going into the meeting-house. There was a great collection of people, from Colchester, and the neighbouring towns, who were earnest to hear the word. Mr. Pomeroy, considering that many saints might be quickened, strengthened, and comforted, and that some souls might possibly be saved from death by his preaching, therefore judged it his indispensable duty to preach. Accordingly, he retired a little from the meeting-house, to the shade of a grove, and preached to a very numerous and attentive auditory. A certificate was lodged against him, and, for seven years, he was deprived of his stated salary.

Errors of the separates.

It was now a very critical and momentous period with the churches; for while the spirit of GOD wrought powerfully, satan raged maliciously, and playing his old subtleties, by transforming himself into an angel of light, deceived many. There appeared however many bad things in the good work. There was a false, as well as a good spirit among the people, and a disposition to make religion consist in crying out, in bodily agitations, in great fears and joys, in zeal and talk, which were no evidences of it. When ministers in faithfulness pointed out their errors and false notions, and showed them clearly in what true religion consisted, and pressed it upon them to be followers of GOD, as dear children, they were, numbers of them, diso-

* Records of the colony.

bliged, and pretended that the ministers' preaching had a tendency to quench the spirit: they pleaded for the indulgence of their inward frames, in noise and outcry, without restraint. They pretended that the power of godliness lay, or appeared, in such outcries and bodily motions, or visible tokens, and consequently, that to correct them was to deny the power of the holy Spirit, and to grieve him. They said, let the LORD carry on his own work in his own way. The zealous private brethren maintained, that it was right for them to exercise their gifts in public, as the spirit moved them, whether by exhorting, expounding scripture, praying or preaching, as they felt themselves impressed; and they declared, that they had rather hear their exhorters exercise their gifts, than hear their ministers, and that more souls were converted under their exertions, than under those of the ministers. BOOK II. 1742.

If an honest man doubted of his conversion, and only said, he did not know that he had faith, he was upon that declared to be unconverted. Errors and enthusiasm in the churches.

If a person were filled with great joy, he was declared to be converted, and a child of GOD; making no distinction between a mere selfish joy, and joy in GOD; between the joy of the hypocrite, and that of the true christian.

They held a certain knowledge of christians, not so much by external evidence, as by inward feeling, or fellowship, as they called it.

Sometimes they pretended to have a witness of the conversion of others, who now were in a state of sin; or they had faith given them to believe, that such a person would be converted.

They paid a great regard to visions, or trances. In these, some would lie for hours; and on their coming to themselves, would tell of wonderful things; that they had seen heaven, or hell, and such and such persons, if dead, there, or if alive, going to one or other of those places.

In their religious conduct, they were influenced rather by inward impressions, than by the plain word of GOD, or the manifest intimations of Providence. Neither ministerial advice, nor parental counsel, nor their obligations to relative duties, were of any weight with them, in comparison with impressions.

They laid great weight upon their lively imaginations, or views of an outward CHRIST, or of CHRIST without them, whether they had a view of him in heaven, on a throne surrounded by adoring angels, or on a cross, suffering, bleeding, dying, and the like. Some looked on this as a previous, saving discovery of CHRIST.

BOOK II. 1742.

They maintained, that, if they did not feel a minister's preaching, he was either unconverted, or legal and dead; or, to be sure, he did not preach CHRIST with power. They would hear none of the standing ministers preach, unless such as they called converted, lively, and powerful preachers.

They thought lightly of those public meetings and exercises, in which there was no visible great stir, or operations among the people. They would commonly say there was nothing of the power of religion.

These were some of the errors which prevailed, and finally terminated in separations from the standing ministers and churches.

There was a remarkable haughtiness and self-sufficiency, and a fierce and bitter spirit and zeal, a censoriousness and impatience of instruction and reproof, manifest among these people, and especially among their exhorters. Instead of loving and cleaving to the ministers, who had been their spiritual fathers, and to the churches, which had been their mother's house, in which they had been conceived, if they were indeed born of GOD, they were strangely alienated from them.

Difference between the people who separated from the churches, and those who did not.

This spirit and these errors were not general; in most of the churches in the colony there was nothing of it, or the instances of it were very rare. There was not, so far as I can find, one minister in the colony who favoured any of these errors, but they universally opposed them. In most of the churches where the work had been remarkable, their ministers were greatly beloved; the brethren walked together in great harmony, and brotherly love. They, instead of being offended at close preaching, and at being searched to the bottom, relished and applauded it. The more close and discriminating the preaching was, the better it was received. The ministers, and good people in general, considered bodily motions, extacies, and imaginations of outward views of Christ, as no kind of evidence of a gracious state, or of any saving views of a REDEEMER. Thus different were the principles, views and feelings, of the two sorts of christians. The one, were humble, docile, and willing to come to the light, that their works might manifest that they were wrought in GOD. They, like the primitive christians, continued stedfast in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread together. The other were haughty, bitter, censorious; disaffected to their teachers; disowned the churches with which they had covenanted; and treated their brethren rather as the worshippers of satan, than as the followers of CHRIST.

This fanatical spirit prevailed principally in the counties of New-London and Windham. There was also something of the same spirit in the county of Hartford, in the towns of Windsor, of Suffield, and in Middletown. The separations began, and principally prevailed in these counties. 1742.

In Stonington, there was an early and large separation, especially from the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Fish. Perceiving the errors of his people, and sensible that many of them, not excepting some of the members of his church, were very ignorant, he took great pains to instruct them, in private as well as public, and to convince them of their errors. But they appeared haughty and self-sufficient, and, in their own opinion, were much wiser than their teacher, whom they treated with great abuse. They took great offence at a sermon he preached from Ephes. v. 1.—Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children. The principal design of the sermon, was to show what is was to follow God, or in what true religion consisted, which was the same thing. It was observed, that following God, as dear children, implied mens' giving themselves wholly to him, to be governed by his commands; that it implied an imitation of him in his moral perfections, &c. It was insisted, that true religion consisted in thus following God; and that in this we had an infallible rule of trial, whether we were God's children or not. It was inferred, that true religion did not consist in extacies, in crying out in the time of public worship, in powerful impressions, in lively imaginations, or visions of a bleeding Saviour, &c.; that though the saints might have these things, yet that they were no evidences of a gracious state. On this the house was filled with outcries against the preacher. He was declared to be an opposer of the work of God, making the hearts of his children sad, and strengthening the hands of the wicked. From this time, divisions and prejudices sprang up, increased and became settled. Disregarding their covenant vows, which they had so lately entered into with their pastor and brethren; without taking any pains to reform the church, with respect to those things they conceived to be amiss, or without regarding the pains and remonstrances of their pastor and brethren to dissuade them; a large number finally separated themselves from this and all the standing churches.

Reasons for separation.

They alledged as reasons for their separation, that the standing churches were not true churches, but of antichrist: That hypocrisy was encouraged in them, and

BOOK II. 1742. they could have no communion with hypocrites. They maintained that the church should be pure, undefiled with hypocrisy, and that no hypocrite could abide with them. Upon this principle, the separate churches set out. They publicly professed themselves to be elected of God, given to Christ, and effectually called, and as such, they covenanted together.* They maintained that the whole power of ordination was in the church. They objected against their pastor for using notes, and at the same time, praying for assistance in preaching. They maintained that God had redeemed their souls, and that they were not bound to rites and forms, but had liberty to worship where they thought fit. They objected that there was not that liberty in the standing churches, and that food for their souls, which they found in the meeting of the brethren. Because ministers studied their sermons, they called their exercises, preaching out of the head, and declared that they could not be edified by it. They maintained, that there was no need of any thing more than common learning, to qualify men for the ministry; that if a man had the spirit of God, it was no matter whether he had any learning at all. Indeed, the first separatists at Stonington, held to a special revelation of some facts, or future events, not revealed in the scriptures. They elected their first minister by revelation. In less than one year, they chose, ordained, silenced, cast him out of the church, and delivered him up to satan.†

The same spirit and delusions were spreading and taking deep root, in some of the neighbouring towns, Preston, Lyme, Norwich, Canterbury, Mansfield and Plainfield, and afterwards terminated in large separations, and the establishment of independent churches.

General association, June 15th. 1742. Resolutions.

When the general association met in June, at New-London, they passed the several resolutions following:

"This general association being of opinion, that the God of all grace has been mercifully pleased to remember and visit his people, by stirring up great numbers among us to a concern for their souls, and to be asking the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward, which we desire to take notice of with great thankfulness to the Father of mercies: Being also of the opinion, that the great enemy of souls, who is ever ready with his devices to check, damp and destroy the work of God, is very busy for that purpose: we think it our duty to advise and intreat the minis-

* See their confession of faith and covenant, published by the consociation of Windham County.

† Fish's Sermons.

ters and churches of the colony, and recommend it to the several particular associations, to stand well upon their guard, in such a day as this, that no detriment arise to the interest of our great Lord and master Jesus Christ. BOOK II. 1743.

"Particularly, that no errors in doctrine, whether from among ourselves, or foreigners, nor disorders in practice, do get in among us, or tares be sown in the Lord's field.

"That seasonable and due testimony be borne against such errors and irregularities, as do already prevail among some persons; as particularly the depending upon and following impulses and impressions made on the mind, as though they were immediate revelations of some truth or duty, that is not revealed in the word of God: Laying too much weight on bodily agitations, raptures, extacies, visions, &c.: Ministers disorderly intruding into other ministers parishes: Laymen taking it upon them, in an unwarrantable manner, publicly to teach and exhort: Rash censuring and judging of others: That the elders be careful to take heed to themselves and doctrine, that they may save themselves, and those that hear them: That they approve themselves in all things as the ministers of God, by honor and dishonor, by good report and evil report: That none be lifted up by applause to a vain conceit, nor any be cast down by any contempt thrown upon them, to the neglect of their work; and that they study unity, love and peace among themselves.

"And further, that they endeavour to heal the unhappy divisions that are already made in some of the churches, and that the like may for the future be prevented:—That a just deference be paid to the laws of the magistrate lately made to suppress disorders: That no countenance be given to such as trouble our churches, who are, according to the constitution of our churches, under censure, suspension, or deposition, for errors in doctrine or life."

The act made for the indulgence of sober consciences is repealed. 1743.

The General Assembly, at their session in May, with a view to suppress enthusiasm, and separations by sanction of law, repealed the act made for the relief of sober consciences, so that now there was no relief for any persons dissenting from the established mode of worship in Connecticut, but upon application to the assembly, who were growing more rigid in enforcing the constitution. The act of repeal, gave liberty for sober dissenters to apply to the assembly for relief, and promised that they should be heard, and that such persons as had any distinguishing character by which they might be known, as distinct from presbyterians and congregationalists, might expect the indulgence of the assembly, upon their taking the oaths and

BOOK II. subscribing the declaration, provided by the act of parliament, in cases of the like nature.*

1743. The Rev. John Owen, to be arrested. At the same session, the secretary of the colony was ordered to issue a writ to the sheriff of the county of New-London, to arrest the Rev. John Owen, of Groton, and bring him before the assembly, to answer for uttering hard speeches, scandalizing the laws and officers of the government, and for broaching principles tending to bring the government into contempt.

Oct. 1743. When the assembly met in October, judging that the ecclesiastical law against foreigners coming into the colony, was not sufficiently severe, they further enacted, That if any person that is a foreigner, or stranger, and not an inhabitant of this colony, shall return into the same again, at any time, after he has been, by order of authority, transported out of the bounds of the colony, and shall preach, teach, or exhort, in any town or society in this colony, it shall be the duty of any magistrate or justice of the peace, who shall be informed of it, to cause such person to be apapprehended and brought before him; and such person, having been found guilty, shall be bound in the penal sum of one hundred pounds, lawful money, to his peaceable and good behaviour, and that he will not offend again in like manner; and that he shall pay down the cost of his transportation; and that the county court may further bind him during pleasure.†

As the secretary had neglected to issue his writ for the arresting of Mr. John Owen, until just before the session of the assembly, and until after he was gone out of the colony, so that he had not been arrested, the secretary was now ordered to arrest him and bring him before the assembly, as he had been before directed.

The secretary, at the same time, was required to arrest the body of Mr. Benjamin Pomeroy, clerk, of Hebron, wherever he might be found, and bring him before the assembly, to answer for such matters and things as are objected and complained of against him, on his majesty's behalf.

The legislature not only enacted these severe and unprecedented laws, but they proceeded to deprive of their offices, such of the justices of the peace and other officers, as were new lights, as they were called, or who favoured their cause. There were no such laws in any of the other colonies, nor were there in Great Britain. Many, both ministers and people, considered them as invasions of the laws of Christ, as well as wholly inconsistent with the

* Records of the colony, May, 1743. † Records of Connecticut, Oct. 1743.

rights of conscience, as making crimes of those things which the protestant reformers and the puritans had not only judged to be right, but matter of indispensable duty. They considered the laws as abominable, and, in some instances, spake their minds very freely; more freely, perhaps, than was consistent with prudence or safety. BOOK II. 1744.

In May, 1744, Mr. John Owen, and Mr. Pomeroy, were brought before the assembly, to answer to complaints exhibited against them. May, 1744.

Mr. Owen, on making some concessions, was dismissed, on paying the cost of prosecution; the assembly imputing his fault rather to a misguided conscience, overheated zeal, and the difficulty of the times, than to a contempt of the laws and authority of the government.

Mr. Pomeroy was brought before the assembly, in consequence of a bill of indictment filed against him by Elihu Hall, Esq. of Wallingford, for publicly saying, that the late laws of this colony, made concerning ecclesiastical affairs, were a great foundation to encourage persecution, and to encourage wicked men to break their covenants; and that if they did not, it was no thanks to the court: and that the law, which was made to stop ministers from going about to preach in other towns, was made without reason, and was contrary to the word of God. And on another bill he was indicted, for saying, on the fast day, that the great men had fallen in with those that were on the devil's side, and enemies to the kingdom of Christ; that they had raised such persecution in the land, that if there be a faithful minister of the Lord Jesus, he must lose his estate; that if there be a faithful man in civil authority, he must lose his honour and usefulness; and that there was no colony so bad as Connecticut, for persecuting laws; or to that effect.

The assembly appointed Daniel Edwards, Esq. to manage the prosecution against Mr. Pomeroy, before them. Mr. Pomeroy made such concessions as he judged he could with a good conscience; but as the principal things were known facts; that there were no such laws in any other colony in New-England or America; and as he believed, in his conscience, that they were contrary to the word of GOD, of a persecuting nature, and laid a foundation for people to break their covenants with their ministers, and withhold from them stipulated salaries, without any fault of theirs, he could not make any such retraction as the assembly would accept. He, therefore, was put upon his trial. He had many powerful friends; and though the majority of the assembly and people were old lights, yet the new lights, as they were called, were a numerous and

BOOK II. strong party, and great efforts were made to save him. All was said against the laws, and in his favour, which the
1744. best attornies thought prudent and best to plead; but the assembly judged him guilty of the charges, ordered him to pay the cost of prosecution, and to be bound to his peaceable and good behaviour, in a bond of fifty pounds, until
May, 1745. the session in the next May; and then to appear before the assembly, and, on condition of his peaceable behaviour till that time, to take up his bond.*

While Mr. Pomeroy was deprived of his lawful salary, and thus harassed and put to expense, he had this consolation,—that his people were generally pious, peaceable, and friendly; and expressed their good will towards him, in voluntarily supporting him; and while large separations were going off from other ministers and churches, not a family or individual was separating from him. He was popular, and wherever he preached, people would flock to hear him.

Every measure appears to have been taken to suppress the zealous, experimental preachers and people, both by the legislature and the leaders among the clergy. Numbers of them were Arminians, preachers of a dead, cold morality, without any distinction of it from heathen morality, by the principles of evangelical love and faith. Experimental religion, and zeal and engagedness in preaching, and in serving God, were termed enthusiasm. And great advantage was taken, by reason of the wild, enthusiastic errors, which some unhappily imbibed, to decry the whole work as delusion, and the work of the devil. The clergy, who were in opposition to the work, strove to enforce the constitution, in a rigid manner, beyond its true meaning and original design. The exclusion of ministers from preaching in their pulpits, who were orthodox, and zealously preached the doctrines which were contained in the confession of faith, adopted by the constitution, and who were moral in their lives, to whom they had given the right hand of fellowship, was entirely unconstitutional, and perhaps as great a disorder, as ministers preaching in a parish, without the consent of the pastor and church in said parish. The ecclesiastical constitution of the colony, warranted no such measures. The ministers of each association were amenable to each other, and, until found guilty of error, mal-administration, or immoral conduct, upon a fair and candid hearing, before the association, or consociation, to which they belonged, had a right to be received and treated as brethren. The prohibiting their

* The cost of prosecution, was £32, 10*s*. 8*d*.

preaching in the pulpits and parishes of their brethren, was so far from according with the constitution, that it was a violation of it. BOOK II. 1744.

While the civilians were making and enforcing their severe laws, the clergy were adopting measures no less severe and unconstitutional. They suspended their members from their communion, for going to hear Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Wheelock, Mr. Pomeroy, and other zealous preachers. In some instances, ministers did it by their own power, without ever consulting their churches, or giving them a hearing before their brethren. Some, for this great fault, were excluded from church communion ten and twelve years, or more, until the pastors who suspended them were dead, and others succeeded them.

The consociations, to guard against zealous preachers, or such as were strictly orthodox, ordained young men, in some instances, where there were strong parties in opposition to their settlement; and in some instances, it seems, against a majority of the church, and even where there was not a majority of the lawful voters in favour of the settlement. In 1738, the consociation of New-Haven county, ordained Mr. Samuel Whittelsey at Milford, against a large minority in the church and town, who objected to his doctrines and preaching. There were warm debates in the council, and opposition to the ordination. Governor Law, and other principal men in the town, were in the majority, and engaged for his settlement. Mr. Whittelsey, of Wallingford, was his father, and an influential character among the ministers, and he was exceedingly interested in the settlement of his son. Mr. Noyes, of New-Haven, was closely united with him. Mr. Hall, of Cheshire, was brother in law to governor Law, and zealously wished the ordination, and finally the point was carried. In consequence, a number of the church and society withdrew from his ministry, and professed themselves to be presbyterians; they were strictly calvinistic, and a strict and zealous people, both as to doctrines and morals. They sent into New-Jersey, to obtain a preacher, who was a presbyterian. They obtained Mr. Finley to preach to them, a man of genius, and of an unblemished character. He was afterwards president of the college in New-Jersey. But he was once or twice, by virtue of the transporting law, carried, as a vagrant, out of the colony; and the people were obliged, about twelve years, to pay their rates to Mr. Whittelsey, and to be at all charges with the first society, in building and repairing their meeting-houses.*

Ordination of Mr. Whittelsey, 1738.

* They were released from taxes in the session in May, 1750, so long as they should continue to worship by themselves.

BOOK II. The consociation of Windham, proceeded to ordain Mr. James Cogswell, at Canterbury, against a majority of the church, as has been alledged; in consequence of a major vote of the society. If this was a fact, that a majority of the church were against the settlement of Mr. Cogswell, as those who separated always affirmed, it was unconstitutional, and contrary to the universal practice in those cases. The platform expressly provides, that in the ordination of a minister, there shall be a majority of the church.

Dec. 28th, 1744.

Separation at Canterbury.

About fifty families entirely separated from the church and society, and held meetings by themselves. They alledged that the consociation had ordained Mr. Cogswell in opposition to a majority, that they had taken seventeen members who were delinquents, and some of them under censure, and treated them as in good standing. They objected against the standing churches that they received members into full communion without any examination into their experience, maintaining that men of good moral characters ought to be admitted to full communion, though unconverted, that they might be under proper ordinances for their conversion: That they baptized children of parents, neither of which were in full communion. That the ecclesiastical constitution of Connecticut, set the majority of the society of unregenerate men above the church: That Christ was the head of the church; but the magistrates, the ecclesiastical constitution, and the major vote of the society, was the head of the Connecticut churches: That the constitution and laws were unjust, oppressive and persecuting. In short, they maintained that the standing churches were antichristian, and that all good people ought to come out from them and be separate: That it was idolatry to pay any thing to the standing ministry, and that none could do it with a good conscience. They represented that the magistrates, ministers, and people who were joining with them, belonged to the generation of the persecutors, on whom would come all the blood shed from the foundation of the world.* They held to a certain knowledge of the saints: denounced Mr. Cogswell as an unconverted man, who had no acquaintance with experimental religion, and often treated him with scurrility, with provocation and abuse. They held their meetings in a private house, and their exhorters conducted their public worship, ministered, and preached. In consequence of this, some of them were arrested, condemned, and sentenced to be bound in a bond of an hundred pounds, not to

Exhorters and lay preachers imprisoned.

* See Solomon Paine's short view of the difference between the church of Christ and the established churches in the colony of Connecticut.

offend again in the like manner. But as they imagined it was their indispensable duty to exhort and teach the people, and as they determined to teach and exhort when they should have opportunity, they would not give bonds, and so were committed to prison, and kept a long time from their families, and from the worship and communion of their brethren, and endured much hardship in their long confinement. Others were arrested and imprisoned for refusing to pay their minister's rates, which were laid upon them, though they had acted against his settlement and withdrawn themselves wholly from his ministry. Others had their cattle and goods taken and sold at the post at half their value, to pay for the support of the minister of the parish. These violent measures, instead of checking the separation, and conciliating the minds of the people, alienated them more and more from the constitution and standing churches, and confirmed them in their belief that they were right, and actually suffering in the cause of Christ. BOOK II. 1744.

There was another circumstance which took place at this time, which had the same unhappy effect. There were two Cleavelands, John and Ebenezer, who were students in Yale College, whose parents it seems were of the number who had separated from the ministry of Mr. Cogswell, and attended the separate meetings at a private house, which they had agreed upon for that purpose. These young gentlemen, while at home, during the vacation in September, attended the separate meetings with their parents. One of them, it seems, was a member of the separate church. For this and their neglect to confess their fault in that respect, they were both expelled from college. The act of expulsion, and the reasons given for it, will exhibit the fullest account of this affair. It is in the words following:

"YALE COLLEGE, Nov. 19th, 1744.

Present, the Rector and Tutors.

"Upon information that John Cleaveland, and Ebenezer Cleaveland, members of this college, withdrew from the public worship of God, in the meeting-house in Canterbury, carried on by Mr. Cogswell, a licensed and approved candidate for the ministry, preaching there at the desire of the first parish or society in Canterbury, with the special direction of the association of the county of Windham; and that they the said Cleavelands, with sundry others, belonging to Canterbury and Plainfield, did go and attend upon a private separate meeting, in a private house, for divine worship, carried on principally by one Solomon Paine, a lay exhorter, on several sabbaths in September

The Cleavelands expelled from college,

BOOK II. or October last; the said Cleaveland's being several times sent for, acknowledged the facts, as above related, and justified what they had done, and gave the reasons, given in writing by the said separatists, for their separation aforesaid, the most material of which are these, viz: That the first society in Canterbury keep up only the form of godliness, and deny the life, power and spirituality of it, and had given Mr. Cogswell a call, in order for settlement, whom they the said separates had declared to be destitute of those essential qualifications that ought to be in a minister of Jesus Christ, and therefore cannot join with the society in their choice, but look upon it to be their indispensable duty to choose one after God's own heart; one that will be able to comfort the wounded with the same comfort wherewith he himself is comforted of God, and not a blind guide; for then the blind will lead the blind into the ditch of God's eternal wrath: and many of the society spoke evil of those things which they the separatists received, and held to be the effects of the Holy Ghost: whereupon they look upon it to be a loud call to them to come out from among them, &c. and to appoint the house of Samuel Wadsworth, to be the place to meet in by themselves, to serve the Lord in spirit and in truth.

1744. Act of expulsion.

"And the said Cleavelands say, that this being the act of the major part of the members in full communion with the said society, is a sufficient warrant for them to join with them. They also say, that the said Solomon Paine has sufficient knowledge and ability to expound the scriptures, and to preach the gospel, and therefore has a right to do it; and therefore say they, that in withdrawing from the public worship, and attending upon the preaching of the said Solomon Paine, they have not acted contrary to any divine or human law. Whereupon it is considered by the rector and tutors,

"1. That we, (depending in this matter upon the unanimous judgment of the association in the county of Windham) do judge that the said Mr. Cogswell, is sufficiently qualified to be a preacher of the gospel, and therefore that the reflections cast upon him, as aforesaid, are groundless.

"2. That if there were any reasons why the said separatists should not choose to receive Mr. Cogswell as their minister; or if it should be doubtful whether it is convenient that Mr. Cogswell should be ordained, where so great a number are against him, (which things properly belong to the hearing and judging of a council,) yet we cannot see that this could be any justification of their setting up a separation in the mean time.

1744.

"3. That neither the major part of the members in full communion, nor any other persons in any parish or society, have any right or warrant to appoint any house or place for worship on the sabbath, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to the meeting-house, the public place appointed by the general assembly, and the parish; but on the contrary, all such places and separate meetings are prohibited by the ancient laws of this government.

Act of expulsion.

"Whereupon, it is considered and adjudged by the rector and tutors, that the said John and Ebenezer Cleaveland, in withdrawing and separating from the public worship of GOD, and attending upon the preaching of lay exhorters, as aforesaid, have acted contrary to the rules of the gospel, the laws of this colony, and the college, and that the said Cleavelands shall be publicly admonished for their faults aforesaid; and if they shall continue to justify themselves, and refuse to make an acknowledgment, they shall be expelled. THOMAS CLAP, *Rector*."

About a week after this, John Cleaveland gave in a paper, wherein he says, "I did not know that it was a transgression either of the laws of God, or of the colony, or of this college, for me, as a member of, and in covenant with a particular church, generally owned to be a church of Jesus Christ, to meet together with the major part of the said church for social worship, and therefore beg and entreat that my ignorance may be suffered to apologise for me in that respect."

Upon which it was considered, "That whatever might be in his former ignorance and mistake, yet after all means of light and conviction, he still persists in justifying what he had done, and would acknowledge no error in it; though sometimes he seemed to be brought to such a doubt and stand in his own mind, as that it seemed probable that he would have made some acknowledgment, if he had not been prevented by ill advice: and since the principal end and design of erecting this college (as declared in the charter) was to train up a succession of learned and orthodox ministers, by whose instruction and example people might be directed in the ways of religion and good order; therefore, to educate persons whose principles and practices are directly subversive of the visible church of Christ, would be contrary to the original design of erecting this society; and we perceive that it would be a contradiction to the civil government, to support a college to educate students to trample upon their own laws, and break up the churches which they establish and protect, especially since the General Assembly, in May, 1742, thought proper to give

Reasons for expulsion.

BOOK II. the governors of the college some special advice and direction upon that account, which was to this effect: That
1744. all proper care should be taken to prevent the scholars imbibing those or such like errors; and that those who would not be orderly and submissive, should not be allowed the privileges of college. Neither can we conceive that it makes any odds, whether such pernicious errors are imbibed and practised, and the laws of God and the civil government are broken in or out of the vacancy, of the town of New-Haven, or with or without the concurrence of the parents, since the pernicious consequences thereof to the college and religion, will be just the same.

THOMAS CLAP, *Rector.*
CHAUNCEY WHITTELSEY, JOHN WHITING, THOMAS DARLING, } *Tutors.*"

The expulsion of these young men, made a great clamour in the state, as unprecedented and cruel. It was considered as a severity exceeding the law of college respecting that case. The law was, "That no scholar upon the Lord's, or another day, under pretence of religion, shall go to any public or private meeting, not established or allowed by public authority, or approved by the president, under penalty of a fine, confession, public admonition, or otherwise, according to the state and demerit of the offence." A fine, or confession, or public admonition, might have answered the law; and it supposed, in its very form, that the offender was to be treated in a more mild or severe manner, according to what was to be pleaded in his favor or against him. That there was much to plead in behalf of these young men was most evident. Mr. Cogswell's preaching, and his support at Canterbury, by the association and consociation, against a majority of the church, and so large a proportion of the people, was very extraordinary. The separates affirmed that thirteen delinquents, who were admonished by their brethren for open transgressions of GOD'S law, called the consociation that prohibited the church from dealing with them. That these, and three more who joined with them, and put themselves under the Saybrook platform, were the men who chose Mr. Cogswell. The society had locked the meeting-house against the church. They had also threatened to prosecute Mr. Buel, of Long-Island, for preaching in the town. John Cleaveland, it seems, had joined in full communion with the church in Canterbury, and according to the account which is given of the matter, the president had before owned and communed with him as a brother in CHRIST.

The church with which he had joined in worship, was the very church with which he had covenanted, and with which they had both worshipped. Their parents worshipped there. They held to the same confession of faith which they had always used and owned, and which had been adopted both by the Cambridge and Saybrook platforms. They differed as to the mode of discipline. They adopted the Cambridge, instead of the Saybrook platform. The president and tutors allowed young men of the church of England, and of other denominations, to be in college without renouncing their principles. The treatment of these young men was therefore considered as partial, severe, and unjust. It was believed by many, that churches had a right to worship GOD according to the dictates of their own consciences, and at such times, and in such places, as they pleased: That it was the principle on which the Protestants and Puritans acted, and the only one on which their separation and conduct could be justified. They imagined if christian legislatures and councils, had a right to appoint the modes and places of worship, and confine christians to them, that then the Papists, and church of England, had a right to bind all christians to worship with them, and the reformers and Puritans were totally wrong, and the persecutions raised against them were just. But this they could not believe. Hence they rejected the constitution, as then understood and practised upon, and the laws as really tyrannical and persecuting.* BOOK II. 1744.

* The act of the legislature, and the proceedings in consequence of it, towards ministers and others, and the procedure at college, were repugnant to the sentiments of Mr. Locke, and all the best writers on toleration. The intolerant spirit of the president and governors of college at that time, will appear from an affair which happened soon after the law was made to prevent disorders, &c. A number of the senior class in college set a subscription on foot for the reprinting of Mr. Locke's essay on toleration, and obtained a considerable number of subscribers, and were about to engage, or had engaged for the reprinting of it. The president found it out, and reprimanded them for such a piece of conduct, and ordered them to make a public confession for what they had done, or else they should not have their degrees. They all made their confessions but one: he was of age, and a man of considerable property, and had some knowledge of the credit of Mr. Locke's writings, and of that tract in particular, and he would make no confession for his attempts to obtain the reprinting of such a tract. The day before commencement he found his name was not in the catalogue of his class, who were to have their degrees: he waited on the president and corporation to know the reason why his name was not in the catalogue: he was told that he had been in the mischievous business of carrying about subscriptions for the reprinting of Mr. Locke on toleration. He told them he was of age, and had property, and if he could not have his degree, he would appeal to the king in council: that he had an attorney, and would enter it soon. Some time after, a freshman was sent to him, acquainting him that the president and corporation wished to see him. He waited on them, and they treated him with much complaisance, and told him to appear with his class and take his degree.

BOOK II. 1744. But the laws were executed in all their severity. The exhorters were not only imprisoned for teaching and exhorting, but the members of the church were also arrested and imprisoned, for not hearing Mr, Cogswell, and for attending their private meetings. This severity, however, did not intimidate these zealous people, but increased their zeal and resentment. Their sufferings awakened the pity of others, and influenced some to think more favourably of them, and rather increased than diminished their numbers.

A large separation took place at Plainfield, and the same disorderly spirit appeared among considerable numbers in Mansfield, and in some of the neighboring towns.

In the mean time, the clergy bore animated testimony against the prevailing errors, and adopted such measures as they judged best calculated to prevent them. The general association resolved,

Resolutions of the general association.

"That whereas, at all times, but more especially at this time, sundry persons unjustly disaffected to, and prejudiced against either the minister or church, or both, to which they belong, under the influence of such disaffection, withdraw from their worship and communion; and although as yet they are under no censure, yet we think that other ministers and churches receiving such disaffected persons to privileges, serves to encourage and strengthen them, in their unjust disaffection and unreasonable separation; which, to prevent, it may be proper that the minister, by himself, or in conjunction with some of the brethren of such church, from which there is such a separation, to write to the minister or ministers of such churches, to which the aforesaid disaffected members repair for privileges, and in a brotherly and kind manner, represent to them the true state of such members and churches, desiring them to discountenance and prevent such separations. And in case a minister, or ministers, so informed or applied to, shall still receive and encourage such persons, that then the complainant lay the matter before the association to which that minister doth belong, and that the association deal with him as the nature and circumstances of the case doth require. And inasmuch as we judge that such separations, countenanced as above, are the source and origin of much difficulty, and a practice big with many mischiefs, we earnestly recommend the affair to the particular associations, that in this, or some other way, they provide against so great an evil, that it may be, by the divine blessing, soon and easily cured. And that ministers should be very cautious of entertaining such disaffected persons, and of hearing and

countenancing their reports of or against their ministers and churches. BOOK II.

"That the entering of a minister, or of a number of ministers, into any established parish in this government, and there gathering a church of members, that had before disorderly separated themselves from the church to which they belonged, and some of them actually under ecclesiastical censure, is just matter of offence. 1744.

"That requiring persons particularly to promise to walk in communion with that church of CHRIST into which they seek admission, conscientiously attending and upholding the public worship of God in that place, until regularly dismissed therefrom, is not a hard or unreasonable term of communion.

"That it is not advisable to admit a person to communion, who refuseth to submit to the above mentioned terms, but insists on liberty to go to other places, when and where he pleaseth, to attend the public worship and ordinances."

The ministers in the county of Windham took much pains with the separates, in private, to find what were their errors, and to convince them of those things wherein they conceived them to be wrong. They also met together in association, towards the close of the year, and addressed a letter to the people in the several societies in the county, in which they particularly notice some of the most prevailing errors, and attempt, in a solid, plain and convincing manner, to refute them. The most prominent of these errors are thus particularized:

Doings of the association of the county of Windham, Dec. 11th, 1744.

"That the saints certainly know one another, and know who are CHRIST's ministers, by their own inward feelings, or a communion between them in the inward actings of their own souls.

"That no other call is necessary to a person undertaking to preach the gospel, but his being a true christian, and having an inward motion of the spirit, or persuasion in his own mind, that it is the will of GOD he should preach, and perform ministerial acts. That God disowns the ministry and churches in this land, and the ordinances administered in them.

"That at such meetings of lay preaching and exhorting, they have more of the presence of GOD, than in his ordinances and worship under the administration of the present ministry, and in the administration of the ordinances in these churches.

"That it is the will of GOD to have a pure church on earth, in this sense, that all the converted should be separated from the unconverted." They also maintained, that

BOOK II. natural men could not understand the scriptures, nor discern nor understand divine truth; and that the standing churches in this land were antichristian.

1744. The association say many excellent things in refutation of these errors. They acknowledge, "That there had been of late, in a few years past, a great and merciful revival of religion, in most of the towns and societies in that county, as well as many other places in this land, which they desired to acknowledge, to the praise of divine grace. They declared, nevertheless, that they were satisfied, that there had been many things which accompanied the work, which had really been of a different kind: That, when it pleased GOD to send down his Holy Spirit, to convince and convert sinners, and the prince of darkness was no longer able to keep them in that fatal security and formality in which they had lain, he was then obliged to act a different part to carry on the designs of his kingdom of darkness, and oppose the conquests and triumphs of the Redeemer. And this he had done, by imitating as nearly as he could, the work of the Holy Ghost, both by raising imaginary frights and terrors, in some instances, in men's minds, somewhat resembling the convictions of the blessed Spirit, and awakenings of conscience for sin; and also filling their minds with flashes of joy, and false comforts, resembling somewhat, in a general way, the consolations of the HOLY GHOST. In permitting which, is to be adored the awful and mysterious sovereignty of GOD, whose way is in the sea, and whose footsteps are not known. This, in its beginning was not so plainly discerned and distinguished, in many instances, from the work of the Holy Spirit; especially, as there was sometimes some mixture of such things with the true experiences of the people of GOD; and was also partly owing to the injudicious and violent opposition of some, to this work; who, while they saw bad things attending it, and many people taken with them, boldly concluded it was all of a piece, and with tremendous rashness ascribed all to the devil: while others, on the other hand, looking on the good, and being persuaded that it was a day of GOD's wonderful power and gracious visitation, suddenly and weakly concluded that there was little wrong in the appearances beside human weaknesses, and unavoidable infirmity. This gave great advantage to the subtle powers of darkness to sow tares in the field, and execute their wicked designs, which now more and more appear to have been to raise men's tempers, throw them into parties, to excite and keep up a blind and furious zeal, and embitter

their spirits, and set them on to reproach and persecute one another; to lead off their minds from the true and proper concerns of religion; to deceive some with false shews of zeal for the cause of GOD; to lead many into wrong and false notions of the nature of regeneration, and lead off their minds from the word of GOD; to puff them up with pride and vain notions of immediate impulses on their minds, and apprehensions of being taught their duty and the doctrinal meaning of particular texts of scripture thereby; to lead them off from the ordinances of Christ, and persuade them of the uselessness of the ordinary means of teaching, and render them deaf to all conviction, but what they think is from the spirit of GOD speaking in them; and also to prejudice the minds of carnal and inexperienced persons against the doctrine of regeneration, and the necessity of a special work of the Holy Spirit to convince and renew them, and to satisfy themselves without any such work, and to think that all beyond mere outward morality and virtue, and what reformation is wrought by mere moral persuasion, is nothing but wild rant, superstition, and folly; and the issue of these things is deism and infidelity." BOOK II.

In their answer to this error, that GOD disowns the churches in this land, among other things, they say, "it is in fact false." "GOD has graciously and mercifully owned these churches, and the ministry and ordinances in them: there are at this day great numbers in several of our churches, and more or less in them all, (adored be sovereign grace for it) who, according to the best judgment men can make by the rules of GOD's word, are truly godly and regenerate souls, who have received edification, and do from time to time receive edification, quickening and comfort from the Holy Spirit, through the means of the word and ordinances administered in these churches: yea, we can several of us testify, that it has pleased GOD, within these few years past, to awaken, convince, and, as far as we can judge, to convert, divers persons in our respective congregations; and so far as we can find by the most careful examination, it has been wholly by, and through the means of the instituted ministry and ordinances of CHRIST, in his church, that all these instances of grace have been manifested: we would be far from speaking it to arrogate the least praise to ourselves; we are not worthy to be honored to be the meanest of the servants of Christ; but we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and known to the glory of the name of GOD, and the honor of his institutions: and we must testify that they are false witnesses against CHRIST, who deny it."

BOOK II. 1744. In another part of their letter, they say, "Notwithstanding all the malice of Satan, and the errors and sins which have defamed the work of divine grace, we do declare, that we are fully satisfied that there has been in several of our parishes, a wonderful work of divine grace, and a blessed outpouring of the holy spirit; and in some of our places, those of us that belong to them, have reason to think, that great numbers have been under true, genuine convictions, and awakenings of the spirit of GOD; and many scores, to the best of our judgment, have given a clear and credible account of a gracious and saving work of the Holy Spirit on their hearts; and though many are much decayed, and swerved from that strict and holy living and nearness to GOD, which they expressed, yet many are found who appear to be bringing forth the fruits of GOD's grace, in an holy, humble, heavenly walk and conversation. That work of GOD therefore, which we do acknowledge, and have seen in our parishes, has been a work of conviction and awakening in many souls, wherein they have been made to see their guilty, lost, undone state by nature, brought to see themselves under the righteous curse of GOD's holy law, and the broken covenant of works, having no power to help themselves out of that condition, and crying out, what must we do to be saved? (And this concern did in divers of our parishes, run swiftly through most of the families, and there was scarce a sermon preached but was blessed for some time to promote this work.) And also leading many, so far as we could see, by their expressions and actions, to see the divine truth of the gospel offer of salvation by CHRIST, and upon the credit, call and warrant of GOD's word, to venture their souls, for holiness and eternal life, upon the satisfaction and mediation of CHRIST alone; and with humble joy and praise to admire the infinite riches of sovereign grace in CHRIST, the eternal son of GOD; and that way of holiness and salvation which GOD has provided through him: and many saints have been much enlivened, quickened and comforted thro' the promises of the covenant of grace, and the sealings of the holy spirit. Both one and the other have been filled with humility, meekness, peace and charity, and a fervent love of GOD's word and institutions, which, as is recorded of the saints in scripture, they have prized as the greatest treasure in the world, and loved them as gold, yea, above fine gold; and have been led out to see the beauty, and taste the sweetness of holiness in the great variety and extent of the virtues and duties of christianity, in their several callings, conditions and relations; and that there is

room for the most zealous exercises and fervent actings of love and obedience to CHRIST, and communion with him, without thinking themselves qualified for preachers, or that their business lay in finding out the condition of others, and settling and directing the affairs of CHRIST's visible kingdom. And this work we have spoken of, we would publish and proclaim with the loudest sounds of praise to the glory of rich and sovereign grace: in carrying on which, GOD has owned the labours of many of his faithful ministers; while divine grace has triumphed, notwithstanding all the weakness of men, and the craft of satan." BOOK II. 1745.

The association having abundantly refuted the errors of the separates, by solid scripture arguments, solemnly address them, to warn, caution and advise them. They then address true christians, beseeching them to stand fast in the grace which is in CHRIST JESUS, and not to be tossed about by every wind of doctrine, &c.

In the last place, they address the unregenerate, and declare unto them that, "there is a work of the holy spirit, a regeneration or new birth, which the scripture declares absolutely necessary to every man, or else he shall never enter into the kingdom of GOD." They testify to them, that if they took occasion, from the mistakes and errors before mentioned, to ridicule religion, or think it exists in nothing but outward reformation, or the outward practice of virtue, they would be fixed in hypocrisy and presumption, and be forever ruined. They assured them, that if they unreasonably spent their time in disputing, or if private persons, who were not obliged by any oath or office, should keep stirring up prosecutions, and promoting and furthering the corporal punishments or religious disorders, and driving on coercive measures to reclaim those that wander out of the way of understanding, it would not only be the most effectual way to prevent their conviction, but also would be likely to be an occasion of their neglecting their own souls, comforting themselves with a false zeal for GOD and his cause, while they remained as great strangers to GOD as they were born.*

This letter appears to have been written in meekness, and with a faithful and laborious attention to the subject. It did not, however, appear to have any good effect on those enthusiastic and wandering people, whom it was designed to convince and reclaim.

The Rev. James Davenport, who had been the unhappy

* Letter from the associated ministers of the county of Windham, December 11th, 1744, printed at Boston, containing 52 pages, quarto. The whole association appeared to be together, consisting of sixteen ministers, who all set their names to it.

BOOK II. 1744.

instrument of broaching and encouraging some of those errors, was, by the gentle and laborious endeavours of the Rev. Mr. Williams and Mr. Wheelock, brought to a deep, humiliating and penitent sense of his errors, and the false spirit under which he had acted; and about this time made a most public and ample confession and retraction, which was published, and spread through New-England, and other parts of the country: But he could not convince and reclaim those in whose delusion he had been instrumental. They pretended he had now lost his zeal, fallen from his good spirit, become cold and dead, and was influenced by others: Hence they would receive no conviction of their errors.

Mr. Davenport confesses his errors.

Mr. Whitefield arrived, in the fall of this year, at Boston, and preached in most of the pulpits there, and in the vicinity; and as it was expected that he would, the next summer, make a tour through Connecticut, the general association, when they met, in June, 1745, to prevent his preaching in this colony, and prejudice the people against him, passed the following resolve:

"That whereas there has of late years been many errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, prevailing in the churches in this land, which seem to have a threatening aspect upon the churches: and whereas Mr. George Whitefield has been the promoter, or at least the faulty occasion, of many of these errors and disorders; this association think it needful for them to declare, that if the said Mr. Whitefield should make his progress through this government, it would by no means be advisable for any of our ministers to admit him into their pulpits, or for any of our people to attend his administrations."

Resolution against Mr. Whitefield.

This was, probably, an injurious and false representation of Mr. Whitefield, showing the hatred of the old lights to him and his experimental and powerful preaching, a majority of whom, it seems, were at this general association. Nothing could have been more opposed to the feelings and wishes of those ministers who had been most instrumental in the religious revival which had been in the country, and to the experimental and zealous people who loved the sincere milk of the word. Doctor Coleman, Doctor Sewall, and the principal ministers of the gospel in Boston and its vicinity, had welcomed him into their pulpits, and at their desire he had administered the sacrament in several of their churches. It will be but doing justice to Mr. Whitefield's character, to insert the testimony of fifteen ministers, met at Taunton, in Massachusetts, March 5th, 1745, as a contrast to this invidious reso-

lution of the general association. It is in these words, viz: "Saturday, November 24th, 1744. The Reverend Mr. Whitefield was so far revived, as to be able to set out from Portsmouth to Boston, whither he came, in a very feeble state, the Monday evening after: since which, he has been able to preach in several of our largest houses of public worship, particularly the Rev. Dr. Coleman's, Dr. Sewall's, Mr. Webb's, and Mr. Gee's, to crowded assemblies of people, and with great and growing acceptance. At Dr. Coleman's desire, with the consent of the church, on the Lord's day after his arrival, he administered to them the holy communion. And last Lord's day he preached for Mr. Cheever, of Chelsea, and administered the holy supper there. The next day he preached for the Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Malden. Yesterday he set out to preach at some towns to the northward; purposes to return hither the next Wednesday evening, and after a few days, to comply with the earnest invitations of several ministers, to go and preach in their congregations in the southern parts of the province. He comes with the same extraordinary spirit of meekness, sweetness, and universal benevolence as before. In opposition to the spirit of separation and bigotry, he is still for holding communion with all protestant churches. In opposition to enthusiasm, he preaches a close adherance to the scriptures, the necessity of trying all impressions by them, and of rejecting whatsoever is not agreeable to them, as delusions. In opposition to Antinomianism, he preaches up all kinds of relative duties, though to be performed in the strength of Christ; and in short, the doctrines of the church of England, and the first fathers of this country. As before, he first applies himself to the understandings of his hearers, and then to the affections: and the more he preaches, the more he convinces people of their mistakes about him, and increases their satisfaction."*

1745. Testimony concerning Mr. Whitefield.

As Mr. Whitefield's strength increased, and his health grew better, he began to move further southward. After he had preached eastward, as far as Casco bay, and North-Yarmouth, he went through Connecticut, Plymouth and Rhode-Island, preaching twice a day, and generally to thousands. He was favourably received at New-York, and preached in the southern states in his way to Georgia, as he had done when he was before in America.

Notwithstanding all the pains taken by the pastors of the churches, in private and public, to convince the peo-

* Prince's Christian History, vol. ii. No. 94; and the life of Whitefield, page 110.

BOOK II. ple who were separating from the churches and congrega-
tions in the eastern parts of the colony, of their errors, the
1745. separations continued, increased and grew more fixed and alarming. The separates formed themselves into distinct churches, and proceeded to choose and ordain ministers over them. The separates in Mansfield, and others belonging to other churches, about the 9th of October, 1745,
Oct. 1745. embodied themselves, solemnly covenanting together as a distinct church, without any dismission or recommendation from the churches to which they belonged, and several of them were under censure, for errors, and scandalous, disorderly walking. About the middle of January, the next year, they met with a view to the ordination of
1746. Deacon Thomas Marsh, for their teaching elder, and other church officers. A number of neighbouring ministers, apprised of their meeting, met with a view to obtain an opportunity of discoursing with them, and, if possible, to dissuade them from their purpose; but the separates treated them, in a tumultuous manner, with unchristian and opprobious language, and revilings. They read among them, a solemn remonstrance and protestation against their proceeding.† They nevertheless met again in February, ordained John Hovey for their teaching elder, by prayer and the imposition of the hands of Thomas Denison, John Austin, and Matthew Smith, laymen, but appointed to that service by the church.* In July, they ordained Thomas Marsh to be teaching elder in the same church, by the imposition of the hands of John Hovey, Matthew Smith, and Thomas Denison. In September following, they ordained Solomon Paine, at Canterbury, to be the teaching elder of what they called the church there, by the imposition of the hands of John Hovey, Matthew Smith, Jedediah Hyde, Thomas Stevens, and one Warren. The next day Thomas Stevens was ordained, in like manner, teaching elder of a separate church at Plainfield.

The consociation meet at Scotland, Jan. 17th, 1747.

The pastors of the churches in the county of Windham, deeply affected with these proceedings, convened their churches, in consociation, in Scotland, on the 13th of January, 1747, to take into consideration, and give advice relative to the lamented divisions and errors which had arisen in the county; and to hear the information which a committee, appointed by the association, had to give concerning them. Having received sufficient evidence of the

† Doings of the association of Windham county, January, 1747.

* The reason why John Hovey was chosen and ordained, instead of Deacon Thomas Marsh, I suppose was this, that Marsh was arrested and committed to prison on the day appointed for his ordination, for separating and preaching.

principles and proceedings of the brethren who had separated themselves from the churches, they sent notifications to Mr. Elisha and to Mr. Solomon Paine, deacon Marsh, and Mr. Thomas Stephens, giving them an account of the information which they had received, and desiring them to appear before the pastors and churches from which they had separated, or before a committee of the consociation, and to offer what they had to say in their own vindication. The consociation then recommended it to the several churches in the county to keep a day of solemn fasting and prayer, between that time and the second Tuesday in February next, to seek the Divine direction in that day of division and error, and to supplicate the pouring out of God's holy spirit upon the people. They then adjourned to the second Tuesday in February. BOOK II.

On the 11th of February, the council met according to the adjournment. After the council had been opened with prayer, the facts, evidence, confessions of faith, and covenants of the separate churches, and the whole matter respecting them were fully considered, and such remarks made, on those things which were wrong, as the council judged necessary and expedient. They particularly remarked on their confession of faith; that though in general it was orthodox, yet it was very deficient, in respect to the description of the offices, work, and mediation of Christ; the nature of saving faith, the institutions and ordinances of the gospel, and the instituted worship of God in church assemblies: That in every instance, in which they had deviated from the confessions of faith professed from the beginning by the churches of Christ in this land, they had marred the sense, or perverted the scripture doctrine of faith, or at least rendered them ambiguous: so that under pretence of greater purity and reformation, they had opened a door, and paved the way, to Moravian, Antinomian, Anabaptistical, and Quakerish errors: and that under a pretence of congregational discipline, they had set up as absolute an independency as ever was heard of in the church. Remarks of the council.

They also remarked on these as great errors, "That there are two meanings in the bible, a doctrinal and spiritual; that a spiritual meaning lies hid under all passages of scripture, which no man can come to the knowledge of, but by the special revelation or opening of the spirit of GOD: That saving faith, is a firm or sure persuasion that CHRIST died for me; and that I should have life and salvation by him; and that assurance is the essence of faith: That the ministers and churches in this land are Popish, and antichristian." They remarked on the affecting proof

BOOK II. they had, of the errors and ignorance of the persons, who were the teachers of the separate churches; their need to 1747. be taught what were the first principles of the oracles of GOD; and their utter unfitness to expound the scriptures, and act as officers and teachers in the church.

The consociation, after having made their remarks, came to the following resolutions, in which they were unanimous.

Resolves of the Council. "That the churches in this county, do steadfastly adhere to the confession of faith, drawn up by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and the same which has been professed and owned by our fathers, in the Cambridge and Saybrook platforms, owning the great doctrines of the scriptures, summarily contained in them: That there is not any just ground of separation, from churches wherein the true faith and doctrine of the gospel is professed and maintained, the pure word of GOD preached, and the sacraments duly administered, according to the appointment of CHRIST in the holy scriptures: That the separate people here treated of, have not taken measures in a scriptural and gospel way, and according to Christ's appointment, to convince these churches of departing from the true faith or doctrine of the gospel, and ordinances of Christ, and the preaching of the pure word of GOD in them, or of the corrupt administration of sacraments, before their separation: That their separation has been carried on in an uncharitable, unchristian manner, without any due regard to the peace and edification of the church, and the rules of the gospel: That they have manifestly departed from the true faith, or doctrine, delivered in the gospel, and the ordinances of CHRIST, as delivered in his word: That their separations and practices thereon, are antichristian, divisive, rending the visible body of CHRIST, and casting off the authority which he has instituted in his church for edification, and abundantly warned against and forbidden in the gospel: That these churches ought to look upon those bodies of professing christians, continuing in these errors and practices, as scandalous and disorderly walkers, and accordingly to withdraw communion from them; not hereby precluding particular churches, but judging it their duty, to use such farther gospel measures, as are suitable to convince and reclaim particular persons among them, as they see their particular cases shall require."

As it had been reported, that some of the ministers of that county had held and promoted some of the errors mentioned and condemned in this result, particularly the certainty of one christian's knowledge of another, and the preaching of unauthorised, illiterate persons; and that they

have taught and held that outcries, and bodily agitations, were evidences of the presence and influence of the spirit of GOD, the council declared, "That they had enquired into those things, and found that not one minister in the county held them; and that they had abundantly declared it, in the printed letter of the associated pastors, to the several societies in the county."* BOOK II. 1747.

There was this year, a separate church formed in the first society in Preston, and Mr. Paul Park was ordained their pastor in the separate manner. The enthusiasm of the separate ministers at this time ran so high, and they had such ideas of the special and immediate influence of the divine spirit, that in the solemn charge which was given him, as I have been credibly informed, it was enjoined upon him, by no means to study or premeditate what he should say in public; but to speak as the spirit should give him utterance. Church formed, March 17. Mr. Park ordained, July 15th.

About the same time, a separation took place in Lyme, and Voluntown, and not long after in Windsor, Enfield, and Suffield.

While these things were transacted in the eastern and northern parts of the colony, a violent opposition was made in the county of New-Haven, to the new lights, and to the religious revival which had been in the country. They appeared to hesitate at no means to suppress the zealous new light ministers. In the year 1741, when the grand council was about to sit at Guilford, the association drew up several resolutions to be laid before that council; among which was the following: "That for a minister to enter into another minister's parish, and preach, or administer the seals of the covenant, without the consent of, or in opposition to the settled minister of the parish, is disorderly: notwithstanding, if a considerable number of the people in the parish, are desirous to hear another minister preach, provided the same be orthodox, and sound in the faith, and not notoriously faulty in censuring other persons, or guilty of any other scandal, we think it ordinarily advisable for the minister of the parish to gratify them, by giving his consent, upon their suitable application to him for it, unless neighboring ministers should advise him to the contrary." Mr. Humphreys, of Derby, had preached to a baptist society, and on that account was soon after deprived of a seat in the association. The Rev. Mr. Timothy Allen, of West-Haven, who was an able and zealous

* The result of the consociation of Windham county, printed at Boston, 1747. This contains the evidence given in concerning the separates, their confession of faith, covenant, &c.

BOOK II. Calvinistic preacher, was not pleasing to them, and for some little imprudences, the consociation dismissed him from his ministry. The principal article alledged against him, was, that he had said, "that the reading of the scriptures, without the concurring influence and operation of the spirit of God, will no more convert a sinner, than reading an old almanack." Though it was true, that no external means would convert a sinner, yet Mr. Allen lamented the manner of expression, and offered his confession to the association for it: but the council dismissed him, and it is said with this ill natured triumph: that they had blown out one new light, and that they would blow them all out. Mr. Allen was a man of genius and talents, and an able defender of the doctrines of the gospel, as appeared by some of his publications; he was also a man of strict morals, and a powerful and fervent preacher. Though his light was not suffered to shine in the county of New-Haven, yet it shone in other churches until he was between eighty and ninety years of age.*

Mr. Allen dismissed.

In 1744, a church was formed in Salisbury, on the principles of the Cambridge platform, and the town and church made choice of Mr. Jonathan Lee for their pastor; and, among other gentlemen, made choice of the Rev. Mr. Humphreys, of Derby, and the Rev. Mr. Leavenworth, of Waterbury, and the Rev. Mr. Todd, of Northbury, to assist in his ordination. He had received a liberal education at Yale College, and studied divinity under the care of Mr. Williams, of Lebanon; was of a good moral character, and a zealous preacher of the Calvinistic doctrines. The association suspended these gentlemen from all associational communion, for assisting in the ordination of Mr. Lee, because he and the church had adopted the Cambridge platform, and were not on the constitutional establishment of the colony.

Mr. Lee ordained, Nov. 23d, 1744.

They had now expelled from the association all the zealous Calvinistic preachers, or enthusiasts, as they esteemed them, except Mr. Robbins, of Branford, a young gentleman who had been ordained about eight or ten years. Him they had been disciplining and persecuting for some time. Their proceedings against him were as follows: There sprang up a number of baptists, in the first society in Wallingford, about the year 1734 or 1735. They had built them a meeting-house, and two ministers had been ordained over them. By the advice of Governor Talcott, the society had not required any taxes from them for a

Proceedings against Mr. Robbins.

*In the year 1800, he continued to be pastor in Chesterfield, in Massachusetts, in the 88th year of his age.

number of years. In the general awakening, they were roused to a concern for the great interests of their souls, and their pastor, who then was Mr. John Merriman, in behalf of himself and people, had desired some of the standing ministers to preach for them; observing, that as to the internals of religion, they could heartily join with them, though not in the mode. Some of the standing ministers had accepted their invitations, and preached to them. In December, 1741, Mr. Merriman, in behalf of himself and people, wrote a letter to Mr. Robbins, desiring him to come and give them a sermon or two. Mr. Merriman observed in his letter, that Mr. Bellamy had lately preached to them, to good satisfaction, and with success, as to several of the people. Mr. Robbins accepted the invitation, and appointed the time when he would be with them. After this, Mr. Robbins was presented with a paper, signed by forty-two persons, of Mr. Whittelsey's congregation, desiring that he would not preach to the baptists in Wallingford. The messengers who conveyed him this letter, also presented him with a line from the Rev. Mr. Stiles, of North-Haven, and Mr. Hemingway, of East-Haven, advising him not to preach in the baptist meeting-house, in Wallingford. Mr. Robbins could see no reason why these gentlemen should desire that he should not preach to the baptists. It appeared to him rather unkind, and contrary to a christian spirit, to prevent their having preaching, when they thirsted for the word of life, and there was a more than common prospect of doing good. He had given his word, and appointed the day, and though he had some hesitation with respect to it at first, after he had received the letter from Wallingford, he determined to go and preach according to his engagement.

At an adjourned consociation at New-Haven, February 9th, 1742, a complaint was exhibited against him, by one of the delegates in consociation, for preaching to the baptists at Wallingford. Mr. Robbins could not at that time, nor ever afterwards, obtain a copy of it, though he frequently desired it: but it was, so far as Mr. Robbins could recollect, nearly in these words: 1742.

Complaint against Mr. Robbins.

"I, the subscriber, do signify, by way of complaint to this reverend consociation, that on the 6th day of January last past, the Rev. Philemon Robbins did enter into the first society in Wallingford, and preach in a disorderly manner, in contempt of the authority of this consociation, without the consent of the Rev. Mr. Whittelsey, pastor of said society, contrary to the act of the Guilford council, contrary to the act of this consociation, and contrary to

BOOK II. the desire of two neighboring ministers, and a great number of church members in Wallingford."

1744. (Signed) THEOPHILUS YALE.

Until this time, Mr. Robbins had never heard of any uneasiness among his own people, nor complaint or fault found with him for preaching to the baptists. Neither the complainant nor any other person mentioned it to him in private as a fault. The complaint was exhibited in violation of the express command of Christ, in the eighteenth of Matthew; and without giving him even a copy of the complaint, or any citation to appear before the consociation, or allowing him time to prepare for his defence, called him to answer, contrary to all regular proceedings, either in civil or ecclesiastical affairs. Mr. Robbins pleaded to this effect, That with respect to the resolutions of the Guilford council, he knew nothing of them, at the time of his preaching at Wallingford; that they had never, as yet, been adopted by this consociation, nor so much as read in it: That as to the resolution of this consociation, it was passed only for the consideration of the Guilford council, and had answered its design; and there was at the time of his preaching, in fact, no law against it; and, that where there was no law, there could be no transgression. Besides, he had not entered into Mr. Whittelsey's parish, but had preached to a people entirely different from his, in the view of governor Talcott, before his death, and of the the town, who treated them as such, as they gathered no taxes from them, any more than from the inhabitants of any other town or society. He observed further, that the legislature owned them as a lawful society, by sending them proclamations for fasts and thanksgivings. With respect to his preaching, contrary to the advice of two neighbouring ministers, and a great number of church members, he observed, that he knew of no rule in the word of God, or the Saybrook platform, which obliged him to comply with their desire in his preaching, nor could he see any reason in such desire. He observed that there was nothing in the complaint accusing him of the violation of any of the divine commands, or of doing any thing contrary to the word of God.

Mr. Robbins' answer to the complaint.

The consociation, nevertheless, resolved, "That the Rev. Mr. Robbins' so preaching was disorderly: That Mr. Robbins should not sit as a member of this council for his disorderly preaching." Mr. Robbins, upon the reading of the resolutions of the council, returned home, expecting no more complaints or trouble on the account of his preaching to the baptists. But, very unexpectedly to

Resolves of the council relative to Mr. Robbins.

him, a complaint was exhibited against him, to the association which sat at Cheshire, in May, 1743. Mr. Robbins accidentally heard of it, soon after, but he could not learn who were the complainants, nor what number of them there were, nor what were the articles of complaint. Every thing relative to it had been conducted with the utmost secrecy. However, by one of the neighboring ministers, he learned that the articles of complaint, as nearly as he could remember them, were, "That Mr. Robbins had set up lectures, without a vote of the church for it: That he denied the platform: That he baptized a child at New-Haven: That he was a promoter of divisions and separations; and that he admitted members of the separate church at New-Haven to communion." BOOK II. 1743.

He learned that the complainants were six in number; one of them a man who, for some time, had scarcely been compos mentis, and had not for about two years attended public worship. He also became acquainted with the appointment of a council, to meet in Branford, in June, to hear all matters of difficulty, by the appointment of the association. Mr. Robbins hearing who were the ministers that were appointed to meet at Branford, invited them to his house. He afterwards received a letter from the scribe of the association, acquainting him that a council was to meet at Branford, the second Tuesday in June, to enquire into their difficulties, and naming the gentlemen of whom it was to consist; but mentioning no articles of complaint. But, before the time appointed for the meeting of the council, the principal complainants came to Mr. Robbins, and desired to make peace. They said if they could make up the breach among themselves, there need be no more difficulty. Mr. Robbins observed, that if he should satisfy them, the other complainants, who were not present, might not be satisfied. They said they would go and call the others. They all came but two; one was not at home, and the other left it with his brethren to act for him.

Settlement of difficulties between Mr. Robbins and the complainants.

Mr. Robbins then asked, what were their articles of grievance; but they had no copy of them, nor did they seem to be able to recollect them. He then repeated what he had heard them to be. They said those were the articles. Mr. Robbins then said, to make peace, I will call a church meeting, and take their vote respecting lectures. With respect to his denying the platform, they meant by it, his not going to associations, thus making the punishment of a former offence, the ground of subsequent accusation; he said, I will go to the next, and endeavour to make up with them. With respect to the third article, his bap-

BOOK II. tizing a child at New-Haven, he said that he had given the consociation satisfaction with respect to that. As to his
1743. encouraging separates, by which they meant his preaching to the separates in New-Haven, he said he would not preach to them again, until they had got into some other form; until a church should be gathered, or the people should take benefit of the act of toleration. With respect to his admission of the members of the separate church at New-Haven, he promised, he would not admit those members at present. With these answers, the complainants declared themselves satisfied; and in consequence of their satisfaction, they readily subscribed the following letter:

"To the Rev. Messrs. Jacob Hemingway, &c. desired by the association of New-Haven county, to come to Branford, on the second Tuesday in June, Anno Domini, 1743; to inspect some affairs of difficulty, between our Rev. pastor and us:

"Rev. Gentlemen,

"We hereby inform you, that on Tuesday last we went to the house of our Rev. pastor, to discourse on some things that have been matters of grievance to us; and we have discoursed on each of the articles that you have been apprised of, and whatever else we wanted to discourse of, relating to any difference between us; and our pastor has given us full satisfaction in all things; so that we are in good agreement and union; and do (we hope heartily) forget and forgive all past offences, or matters of difficulty, whatsoever. We desire to acknowledge the goodness of God, herein, and return thanks to you, gentlemen, for your good designs and purposes to promote what we have so happily concluded; and do rest your obliged friends and servants.

ABRAHAM HOADLY,
JOHN PLANT,
JOSEPH FRISBIE, for himself and JOHN ROGERS,
JOHN BALDWIN."

Notwithstanding this complete and amicable settlement between the pastor and the people, the gentlemen who were appointed, met in Branford, and collected a great number of people, it was supposed by sending round private notices for all who were dissatisfied to appear. They came, with all who were inclined to hear. No articles of complaint were exhibited; but the people were allowed alternately to speak, of a variety of things, much as they pleased. They spoke of Mr. Robbins's admitting Mr. Davenport to preach; of his holding night meetings,

(that is, conferences) at his house, and having disorders there after lectures; crying out, prayers, and the like. BOOK II.

After Mr. Robbins had made his answer to the matters which were thus loosely alledged, the committee drew up articles of advice to him; with which, after some corrections and alterations, he complied. Peace was declared, and all were satisfied and contented. 1743.

Mr. Robbins, according to his engagement, called a church meeting to know the minds of his brethren with respect to his appointing lectures, and the church voted to leave it with him to appoint them as he pleased. According to his promise, he went to the next association, which was held at the Rev. Mr. Stiles', in North-Haven, to endeavor to obtain a good standing with his brethren. He inquired of them whether the vote of the consociation, secluding him from sitting with them, secluded him also from sitting in the association? They replied, that the greater implied the less, and that he could not be allowed to sit in the association.

The association then presented him with the following confession: "Whereas I, Philemon Robbins, was condemned by the consociation of New-Haven county, for disorderly preaching, in the first society in Wallingford; I do now acknowledge, that my preaching there was disorderly; and I purpose to preach disorderly no more, and desire the reverend association of New-Haven county to overlook it; I purposing and resolving, if opportunity favor, to go to said consociation, and acknowledge the said disorderly preaching before them, in order to be restored to their favor."

As he could not acknowledge his preaching to the baptists was contrary to the word of God, or the Saybrook platform, and as he did believe in his conscience, that it was not disorderly, he refused to subscribe the confession. He offered a confession of his own, but the association would not accept it. But as the people were uneasy that he was not on good terms with the association, and as a good understanding with his brethren in the vicinity was desirable, he went to the association the next year in May, while it was sitting in North-Branford, and offered three confessions to the association: the first was in these words: "I the subscriber do acknowledge that I preached at Wallingford, within the bounds of the first society, and without the consent of the Rev. Mr. Whittelsey, pastor of the first society, on January 6th, 1741–2, and now do acknowledge, that my preaching there was a breach of the order that the ecclesiastical authority of New-Haven county have

BOOK II. come into, by an agreement and vote, A. D. 1741, and so disorderly preaching in that respect, as it was contrary to said vote. And now I declare that it is my full purpose, at present, not to preach contrary to said vote of said authority ecclesiastical, for time to come, nor contrary to the act of the general assembly in May, 1742. And further, I humbly ask that the association of New-Haven county would overlook what is past, and receive me to sit with them, &c. as formerly, and recommend me to be received by the consociation, upon my making this acknowledgment before them, which I stand ready to do when opportunity presents. PHILEMON ROBBINS."

It was a long time debated in council, whether this confession should be received or not. Some were for it, but finally a majority appeared against it, and it was rejected. They said they should be afraid ever to see Mr. Whittelsey again if they should receive it. He offered them a second, but that did not satisfy them. He told them he had a third to offer, if they would hear it. They refused; but one of the association wished to have it, and promised to return it to him again, and there was no doubt but the association heard it. It was as followeth:

"I the subscriber do humbly acknowledge that I preached at Wallingford, within the bounds of the first society, to the people called the baptists, January 6th, A. D. 1741–2, for which the reverend consociation have secluded me from the privilege of sitting with them, and people at home and abroad have been uneasy: I do therefore declare, that, though if I was instrumental of any spiritual good to any souls there, I must so far rejoice; yet upon every other account, I am sorry that I went; and desire the association and consociation of said county to overlook it, and receive me to sit with them, &c. as formerly.

PHILEMON ROBBINS."

Finding that nothing which he could conscientiously say would satisfy the association, he went home, hoping that what he had said might give satisfaction to his own people, though it had not to the association.

May 29th, 1745. The next year, by implicit advice of one of the association, who had made himself very busy about Branford affairs, another complaint was drawn up and carried to the association, sitting at Amity, May 29th, 1745. This was managed in the same private manner as the other complaint. Nothing had been said to him by the complainants, nor any opportunity given him to attempt their satisfaction. He did not so much as hear of the complaint, until some time after it was gone to the association. After he receiv-

ed the news of it, and that a council was coming again to Branford, he could not learn who the complainants, or what the articles of complaint, were. But some days before the council met, the three following papers were handed to him. BOOK II.

"To the reverend association of New-Haven county:

We, the subscribers, belonging to the first society in Branford, do humbly request you, reverend gentlemen, to take into consideration the difficulties and grievances we labor under, with the Rev. Philemon Robbins, our pastor, in not coming up to his promise to get into good standing with the association, which were the terms of his reconciliation with this church and congregation. We also apprehend he is led by an enthusiastic, censorious spirit, to the great grief of a great part of this church and congregation."

JOSEPH FRISBIE, and others,
to the number of fifteen.

This procedure was very extraordinary. With respect to the first article, it was not true, and the association could not but know that it was not, as a great part of them had been at Branford, and heard all their affairs. All that Mr. Robbins promised, was, that he would go to the association, and endeavour to get into good standing with his brethren. He had been, and taken great pains, and said all that he could say, with truth and a good conscience. The other part of the complaint contained only a general declaration of the apprehension of the complainants, that he was led by an enthusiastic and censorious spirit, without mentioning a single fact to support it, or giving any intimation to the accused, what he would be called to answer in consequence of it. Such general charges are always rejected, in all regular proceedings. Besides, the receiving the complaint, (when neither of the previous steps expressly commanded in Matthew xviii. which, in the opinion of the greatest divines, is an universal rule to be observed in all cases of discipline, had been adopted,) was wholly unscriptural; it was inconsistent with brotherly love, and the very spirit of the gospel.

At a meeting of the association of New-Haven county, regularly convened at Amity, May 28th, 1745.

"To Mr. Joseph Frisbie, of Branford—

"Upon the representation that you and fourteen more of the south society in Branford have made to this association, this association have appointed the Rev. Messrs. Jacob Hemingway, Isaac Stiles, and Thomas Ruggles, a committee to repair to Branford, to enquire into the premises, at what time and place you shall appoint and desire,

BOOK II. and seasonably inform said committee of; who are directed to make their report of the affair to this association, at their next meeting. By order of the association,

1745. THOMAS RUGGLES, Scribe."

The complainants warned the gentlemen to meet on the third Monday in June, at 10 o'clock, at the house of Orchard Guy. Neither Mr. Robbins nor his friends had any notification, or desire from the association or their committee, to meet them; but as the affair respected a complaint exhibited against him, in which the church and society were interested, as well as himself, he and his friends wished to be present, and to hear what was to be said upon the subject. They therefore went to the house where the gentlemen were met, and Mr. Robbins observed, that he understood they were come on his account, and that he was come to see them, but would not interrupt them; and that upon their desire he would withdraw. One of the principal gentlemen in the town, observed the same for himself, and the friends of Mr. Robbins, who were present. The committee of the association allowed Mr. Robbins, his deacons, and one or two more of his friends, to stay, but ordered the rest to depart. They proceeded to read the first confession which Mr. Robbins made to the association, to know whether it was satisfactory to the complainants. When it had been read, by the order of Mr. Stiles, Mr. Ruggles represented its deficiency, and the reasons why the association would not receive it.* The complainants said but little; the principal conversation was between Mr. Robbins, and the committee of the association, relative to his getting into good standing with them; but they could agree upon nothing with respect to that. Mr. Robbins made this proposal; that if it would make peace in the society, he would resign the ministry among them: They might go to Cambridge, New-Haven, or wherever else they pleased, and obtain a candidate to preach to them two or three months; and when his time of probation was expired, if they would settle him, he would quit the ministry. But the ministers were so sensible that this would not succeed, that they did not advise to the measure. The committee of the association, before they left the town, went to the house of Mr. Robbins and urged him to attend the next association, and make one attempt more to obtain his good standing; but he imagined it would be in vain, as he could offer nothing more than he had offered. Nevertheless, upon their importunity, and

* Two of the gentlemen appointed by the association only were present; Mr. Hemingway did not attend.

hoping that it might give some present ease, to those who were dissatisfied among his people, he consented to go. This the committee reported to the complainants, and left the town. BOOK II. 1745.

According to his agreement he went to the next association, at Waterbury, in September, 1745, and offered the following confession to the association:

"I, the subscriber, do humbly acknowledge that I preached at Wallingford, within the bounds of the first society, to the people called the baptists, on Jan. 6th, 1741–2, for which I have been excluded the consociation of New-Haven county; which has occasioned great uneasiness to me, and among my people. And though I cannot (after more than three years study, meditation, and prayer, for light in the matter,) be convinced in conscience that my so preaching was contrary to the holy scriptures, or the mind of God; yet, I am free to own and acknowledge the circumstances that attended it, viz. that it was without the consent of the Rev. Mr. Whittelsey, pastor in Wallingford, contrary to the desire and advice of two ministers, and a considerable number of church members in Wallingford; and farther, that it was contrary to the vote of the Rev. consociation of New-Haven county; a reverend and worthy body of gentlemen, whom I esteem and honor. And I acknowledge my preaching as above, to be disorderly in this respect, as it was contrary to said vote of said authority ecclesiastical. And now, gentlemen, I humbly beg forgiveness: let my ignorance of its being a crime apologize for me, that I may be restored. And I would humbly offer one motive to engage your compassion, viz. a prospect of peace among my people, who have been uneasy; for I think that in other respects, they are friendly and kind; but this case has been an uneasiness with them, and a principal uneasiness, if I may judge by their complaints, or what I hear from their own mouths. And therefore, gentlemen, as you are professed lovers of peace, you will undoubtedly promote it, by restoring your unworthy servant.

"PHILEMON ROBBINS."

The association would not accept it, nor give it so much as a second reading. The association insisted on his making a confession for disorderly preaching and praying, which he could not do.

Soon after the association, a copy of the last confession which had been drawn for Mr. Robbins to make, was handed about the society, to show on what easy terms the association were ready to restore him, and how obstinate he was; to prejudice the people against him, and increase

BOOK II. their uneasiness with their pastor: and a threatening was given out by some of the association, that before long, the people should have the whole matter in black and white. In this state of the business, Mr. Robbins judged it expedient to make his people acquainted with the whole affair; and as a society meeting had been warned on Monday the 14th of October, Mr. Robbins, on the Lord's day, after the public service was ended, addressed the people in this manner, viz:

"I understand you are to have a society meeting on the morrow: I purpose to attend it myself, and give the society a particular account of my relation to the association, and their proceedings with me; and shall desire to know their minds in some particulars relating thereto; and therefore desire them to be universally present."

Oct. 21st, 1745. At the society meeting, Mr. Robbins laid before them, the whole proceedings of the association and consociation relative to him, and what he had done to be reconciled to them, and withdrew. The meeting was very full, and the following votes were passed.

"1. That this society is of opinion, that what our pastor has offered to the association of New-Haven county, relating to his preaching to the baptists in Wallingford, is sufficient."

"2. That this society desire the Rev. Mr. Robbins to continue in the ministry among us, notwithstanding his preaching to the baptists, and what the consociation of New-Haven county have done thereon."

"3. That we desire the Rev. consociation and association not to send any councils or committees among us, unless the society desire it."

"4. That a particular people have right to choose their own minister; and as no ecclesiastical authority has right to impose one upon them without their vote and consent, so no authority has right to censure, suspend or depose a minister regularly ordained, without the vote and consent of his people."

"5. That we cannot submit to the acts or conclusions of any councils respecting the ministry among us, that are made without the vote and consent of this society."

Votes in the affirmative, 52—in the negative, 15.

At a church meeting in Branford, Nov. 4th, 1745, the church passed the following votes:

"1. That we renounce the Saybrook platform, and cannot receive it as a rule of government and discipline in this church."

"2. That we declare this church to be a congregational church."

"3. That we receive the scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the only perfect rule and platform of church government and discipline." BOOK II.

"4. That though we receive the scriptures as the only perfect rule; yet as we know of no human composure that comes nearer to the scriptures in matters of church government and discipline, than the Cambridge platform; so we approve of that for substance, and take it for our platform, agreeably to the word of GOD."

"5. That we are not hereby straightened in our charity, but are free to hold communion, not only with congregational churches, and church members that are in good standing, but with those called Presbyterian, and also with those under the Saybrook platform regimen."

"Voted, That in testimony of our respect to other churches, and freeness to commune with them; we are willing that our Rev. pastor should exchange labours with ordained ministers in New-Haven county, or invite any of them to preach with us, as opportunity presents."

The uneasy party, dissatisfied with these votes of the church and society, got a complaint, or prayer, drawn, directed to the moderator of the consociation, to come and hear, and determine matters relative to Branford. There was nothing charged against Mr. Robbins, more than these general articles: "That he had not taken gospel methods to get into good standing with the consociation, and also for leading part of the church to fling off the authority of associations and consociations."

The moderator, on receiving this complaint, referred it to the association which was to sit at East-Guilford, in May, 1746. What passed at the association, was not known. One of the complainants went, but Mr. Robbins was not warned to attend, nor any of his friends. But soon after, upon an exparte hearing entirely, the association came to the determination expressed in the following words:

"The association, regularly convened at East-Guilford, May 27th, 1746,

To the Rev. Mr. Philemon Robbins, at Branford.

Rev. Sir,—A complaint against you and a part of your church, hath been exhibited to the Rev. moderator of the consociation of this county of New-Haven, praying that the said consociation may be called to hear and determine upon the matters of uneasiness and difficulty, which unhappily subsist among you, signed by a number of brethren, members in full communion in your church, and below by a larger number of members of your society, requesting the same thing; as also a paper of many articles, May 27th, 1746.

BOOK II. hath been given to the said moderator, wherein they accuse you, both as to doctrine and practice, as also an attested copy of some votes lately passed in your church: This association having deliberated upon the premises, and being still desirous, as we always have been, that your difficulties might be healed in the most tender and amicable manner; do advise you, and those with you, to concur with the dissatisfied party, in choosing three or five of our body, and desire them to come to Branford, and endeavour an accommodation of your difficulties; the which, if it be not done, or the good ends designed be not attained thereby, we have advised the said moderator, after the end of June next, if properly applied to and informed, to call the consociation of this county, at suitable time and place, to hear and determine upon the premises, according to our ecclesiastical and established constitution.

1746.

A true copy. Test. THOMAS RUGGLES, Scribe."

In this instrument, there was an intimation of a number of articles of complaint given in to the moderator, but Mr. Robbins had never heard or seen any one of them, nor was he desired to appear before the association to make any reply to them.

Some time after receiving the above letter, several of the dissatisfied brethren, with the deacons of the church, and others of his friends, met at Mr. Robbins' to converse on their affairs. After some conversation on the subject, and what methods could be taken for peace, one who was present, applied himself to one of the dissatisfied party in these words: "Did ever any of the ministers put you in any way for peace? I have been on your side, and was very uneasy with Mr. Robbins, and do now dislike a great many things that are past. I was the promoter of the first complaint that was carried to the association, and have asked one and another of the ministers what we should do for peace, but never did any of them put me in any way for peace, but told me, if you can get hold of Mr. Robbins, hold fast. That opened my eyes, and convinced me that they had no desire for peace." To this there was no reply.

In conversation with the dissatisfied, Mr. Robbins made several proposals for an accommodation: that they should refer their difficulties to a council; the church should nominate three, and the dissatisfied three. That they should represent his errors and faults, and that he would retract all the errors, and confess all the faults of which they should convict him, as fully and openly as the case required: or that the church should propose one article of agreement, and the dissatisfied another, until there were enough, then

each side should comply with the others articles, if they were not sinful; and that he would call a church meeting, and know whether the church would rescind their votes. The dissatisfied party would not agree to either of the proposals, but insisted on having three or five of the association. The brethren of the church who were present, declared, "that they could as freely refer the matter to any three of the dissatisfied party, as to three of the association." So they parted without agreeing upon any terms of accommodation. BOOK II. 1746.

In this state of affairs, it was judged expedient to warn a meeting of the society, which, after a legal warning, met June 16th, 1746, when it was voted, "that this society is determined to abide by the votes we passed, October 21st, 1745." And as a further testimony of their resolution, they personally and severally desired the clerk, in open meeting, to subscribe their names to said vote. Sixty five subscribed in open meeting; afterward twelve more, who were absent at the society meeting, went to the clerk and desired him to enrol their names with those who were in the vote. In the meeting were twenty eight only who dissented. The society voted, "that John Russell, Esq. William Gould, Esq. and Samuel Rose, or any two of them, be a committee to represent this society, before any ecclesiastical council, that may be called among us, to lay the votes of this, and the meeting in October last, before them; also to deny and earnestly declare against their jurisdiction." It was reported, after the society meeting, when it was generally known that the jurisdiction of the council would be denied, and neither answer given nor cause pleaded before them, that the articles of charge were greatly multiplied. Since none of the articles were to be heard, it seems that the disaffected imagined it would help their cause, to multiply articles of complaint against Mr. Robbins, both respecting his doctrines and conduct.

Some time in September, a number of the disaffected people brought Mr. Robbins the citation following:

Citation of Mr. Robbins.

"To the Rev. Philemon Robbins, minister of the eldest parish in Branford, in the county of New-Haven, and colony of Connecticut, and pastor there.

"Rev. Sir,—A complaint against you, consisting of various articles, respecting both your preaching and your conduct and behaviour, bearing date, Branford, July 23d, 1746, signed Joseph Frisbie, a member of said church, (an attested copy of which is ordered to be delivered to you) being brought to me the subscriber, as last modera-

BOOK II. tor of the consociation of said New-Haven county, with a request that the consociation might be called, to hear,
1746. judge and determine upon the several articles of complaint, according to the ecclesiastical constitution and establishment of this government; and the association of this said county, in their last session at East-Guilford, May 27th, last, having advised the moderator of the said consociation, to call the said consociation after the end of June, then next, if properly applied to, in case the grievances and difficulties in said Branford, first church and society, were not accommodated, in the method by them prescribed; and being well informed that they are not so accommodated; I have therefore given order for the convening of the said consociation, of the county of New-Haven, at the dwelling house of John Factor. in said Branford, at one of the clock in the afternoon, on the last Tuesday of September next ensuing the date hereof; and you the said Philemon Robbins, are hereby, in the name of Christ, cited and required to appear before the said consociation, at the time and place aforesaid, then and there to answer to the several articles of the said complaint; and thereof you may not fail. By NATHANIEL CHAUNCEY, Moderator.

Durham, August 28th, 1746."

With this citation the articles of complaint were delivered. Those which respected his doctrine were,

Complaint against Mr. Robbins.

"1. That he, the said Mr. Robbins, has in public taken it upon him to determine the state of infants, dying in infancy, declaring that they were as odious in the sight of God, as snakes and vipers were to us; and left it wholly in the dark whether there were any saved or not.

"2. That he had assumed to himself the prerogative of God, the righteous judge, in judging the condition of the dead, in a funeral sermon, saying that they were in hell, to the great grief of mourning friends and others.

"3. That in his public preaching he had been guilty of speaking evil of dignities; declaring, that the leaders or rulers of the people were opposers of the glorious work of God in the land; and comparing our civil authority to and with Darius, who cast Daniel into the lion's den.

"4. In judging and declaring those persons carnal and unconverted, that did not approve of the late religious stir that has been in the land; and in the improvement of his sermon dividing them, and calling one part, that is, the approvers, the children of God, and branding the other part, with the name and character of opposers.

"5. The said Mr. Robbins has also publicly and censoriously judged those that did not fall in with and

impute the religious stir in the land (which he calls a glorious work of God) to be the work of God's spirit, declaring such were guilty of the unpardonable sin. BOOK II. 1746.

"6. He has publicly asserted, and taught and laid down, that a man might be sincere in religion, and a strict observer of the sabbath, and yet be a hypocrite.

"7. Said Mr. Robbins has publicly reflected upon and reviled the standing ministers of this land, calling them Arminians, and comparing them with and to false prophets, putting himself in the place of Micajah."

With respect to his Antinomian doctrines, they complained,

"1. That he has publicly taught us, that there is no promise in all the bible that belongs to sinners: thereby frustrating the covenant of God's free grace, and the condescension and compassion of God, and his Son, our Saviour, to poor, lost and perishing sinners.

"2. That there is no direction in all the bible how men should come to Christ, nor could he direct any persons how they should come to him: thereby rendering the study and search of the holy scriptures, at least an unsafe and insufficient way of finding Christ; and the preaching thereof useless.

"3. He has publicly taught that it is as easy for persons to know when they are converted, as it is to know noon day light from midnight darkness; making the only sure evidence of conversion to consist in inward feeling, and a sense of their love to God.

"4. He has declared in public, that believers never doubt of their interest in Christ, after conversion; and if they do, it is the sign of an hypocrite; rendering sanctification no evidence of conversion or justification, and that believers are never in the dark.

"5. He has also taught that God could easier convert the seat a man sits on, than convert a moral man; and that the most vicious or vile person stands as fair for conviction and conversion as the strictest moral man: thereby making holiness and obedience to the moral law, no way necessary to be found in men for their salvation.

"6. Mr. Robbins has taught that there are some sinners that Christ never died for, nor did he come to save them; thereby perverting the great doctrines of redemption in the gospel, and rendering all endeavours in men to obtain salvation, useless; Arminianism, and blending the covenant of works and covenant of grace together."

With relation to his enthusiasm, which they complained of as exceedingly grievous to them, these articles were charged against him:

Book II. "1. That bitter and censorious spirit discovered by the said Mr. Robbins, against all, even civil magistrates, as well as ministers, who do not think the commotions in the land which bear the name of religion, a glorious work of God, and the effect of the agency of the Holy Spirit, declaring all such to be guilty of the unpardonable sin.

"2. In that strange heat of spirit, under which the said Mr. Robbins has acted; discovered in a perpetual uneasiness, or craving to be preaching; going into those many unscriptural night meetings, and frequent public preaching under a religious pretence; consorting with, and improving those to preach and carry on in public, as well as in those private meetings, that have been most forward and famous for their enthusiasm in the present day.

"3. In the spirit of pride and conceitedness, and expectation to be believed only upon positive and bold assertion, discovered by said Mr. Robbins; among other instances thereof, by publicly declaring, in a sermon, that the standing ministers in this land were Arminians, and calling them false prophets, while he put himself in the place of Micajah before Ahab, in 1 Kings, xxii, pronouncing these words upon it, That if the body of this people were in the way to eternal life, the Lord had not spoken by him.

"4. Mr. Robbins has publicly taught, that unconverted persons have no right to praise GOD."

With respect to his conduct, these articles were charged;

"1. Mr. Robbins' earnestness in promoting and improving strolling or travelling preachers; and improving those that were most disorderly, to preach and exhort in the society; more especially, in one such meeting carried on at his own house, by Messrs. Brainard and Buel; and another, at the same place, carried on by Messrs. Wheelock and Munson; to the dishonor of religion, to the just offence of many of the church and people, and to the destruction of peace and gospel order, in our church and society.

"2. His introducing Mr. Davenport to preach and exhort, and also his man to pray and sing, at the time when he went through the country, singing along the streets; attended with this aggravating circumstance, that it was on sacrament day; to the great confusion and disturbance of the church, and profaning of the sabbath in this society.

"3. His preaching in Wallingford, in the meeting-house of the anabaptists there; and that contrary to the desire of a great number of the people at Wallingford, requesting him that he would not, and to the advice of neighbouring ministers to the contrary."

Though Mr. Robbins and the church were not instructed

to make answer to these articles before the council; yet, for his own satisfaction and vindication, and for the satisfaction of his people, he drew up a concise answer to them. This, in justice to his character, and the manifestation of the truth, ought here to be inserted. It is in effect as followeth: BOOK II. 1746.

Mr. Robbins' answer to the articles of charge.

To the objections against his doctrines; "In a sermon, as I was labouring to confute an error, which I apprehended was embraced by some of my people, viz. That the death of Christ not only satisfied for, but wholly took away original sin from all persons; I said, even infants were by nature children of wrath, and while unsanctified were as odious in the sight of God, as snakes and vipers are to us; adding, that serpents when first come into the world, were not odious on account of any mischief they had done, but because of their serpentine nature; but as to their salvation, no doubt but multitudes of them were saved."

With respect to his determining the state of the dead, his reply was, "I never spake of any particular person, when dead, as gone to hell absolutely, except those mentioned in the word of GOD. I suppose the article refers to an awakening discourse I had, after the death of a particular person, attended with some awful and extraordinary circumstances, wherein I said, if the last person that went to hell, should arise and declare, &c. you would not believe, unless you will believe Moses and the prophets."

With respect to the third, under the head of doctrines, and the first article under the head of enthusiasm, his answer was, "I say again, I never declared my opinion of any person, or denomination of persons, as being guilty of the unpardonable sin; and do not remember that ever I publicly censured any as opposers of the work of God, so that they might be known any otherwise than by their fruit. I do not know why the complainant should speak so much of my censuring magistrates, or ministers, unless he would tell me how, when, and in what discourses. I seldom have occasion to speak of them in public; when I do, I carefully write what I say; but I find what is received is often very different from what is delivered, not only in expression, but in sense. As to my comparing our authority to Darius, &c. as before objected, I have looked over the whole sermon, from Dan. vi. 23. There is not a word there, of any civil authority, or civil rulers, from the doctrine to the end of the sermon. All I said about them was in opening the context, that speaks plainly its own meaning: and my disaffected neighbours were very attentive—but I studiously avoided saying any thing about any authority, since Darius' day."

BOOK II. With respect to his calling all persons unconverted who did not approve of the religious stir, he answered, "This
1746. I deny; and instead of so preaching, I publicly declare, and teach, that the line of distinction between the righteous and the wicked cannot be so drawn as to leave all the approvers of the religious appearances in the land on the one side, and all that speak against them on the other. I believe many that are called opposers, are truly gracious, and many that have been approvers, are, I fear, without GOD in the world."

The article of natural men's sincerity, as consisting with hypocrisy, he answered, "I own the article with this alteration, instead of *in religion*, read *in duty*. So I expressed it, and added, 2d Cor. i. 10; we read of a godly sincerity; which may imply, that there is a sincerity which is not godly. So the servant that has no love to his master, sincerely labors to escape the whip."

His answer to the charge of persons having committed the unpardonable sin, was this, "I believe, and have spoken of those that reject the glorious work that has been in the land, imputing all to the devil, that they know not what they do, otherwise they would come near the unpardonable sin, if not really be guilty of it; but never have declared my opinion of any person, or denomination of persons among us, as being guilty of it."

The seventh article, under the head of doctrines, is essentially the same as the third article of complaint under the head of enthusiasm, and are both answered together, in reply to that.

With regard to the first article under the head of Antinomianism, relative to there being no promises to the unregenerate, his reply was, "The complainant knows, that I teach that all men are sinners, and that there are promises in the bible, belonging to some men; but I have taught that there is no promise of any saving good, in all the bible, made to any unconverted man, or any sinner, while in an unregenerate state: And how this frustrates GOD's covenant of free grace, &c. I leave the orthodox world to judge."

In regard to article second, relating to directions how to come to Christ, he answered, "I firmly believe and teach, that the bible contains the best directions how men should come to Christ; and his ministers are to make use of them to that end: But I have taught that an unregenerate man, merely by reading those directions, or hearing them from the mouth of a minister, will not thereby rightly understand and know them; he may know them historically, but not

experimentally. I cannot direct an unconverted sinner how to come to Christ, so that he will know what it is, until the Father draw him; and then he will know that it is one thing to give sinners gospel directions how to come to Christ, and another to enlighten their minds to understand and receive them: the one is the duty of ministers, and the other is the work of GOD'S holy spirit."

Mr. Robbins' answer, &c.

As to the charge of a christian's knowing the time of his conversion, he said, "The passage in a sermon, that I suppose this article refers to, ran in the following manner:—When a sinner is converted he knows it; (i. e.) he knows the change, though it may be that he is not satisfied, or rather then does not think that it is conversion: (I mean that his mind may not then be exercised about the change he has experienced, as being conversion:) yet, can a man be brought out of the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of the son of GOD; can a man be brought out of midnight darkness into noon day light, and not know there is a change?"

Relative to the article of christians not doubting after conversion, &c. he replied, "These articles leave me wholly in the dark, as to what sermons they refer to, what subject, what text preached from, or when preached: otherwise, I probably could give you most of the passages referred to. But the article, I cannot think, refers to any thing I ever preached: for it is not likely I should preach directly contrary to my sentiments; and I never thought as the article speaks; but on the contrary, do often speak publicly of the doubts, fears, and scruples, of real christians; and sanctification I esteem the very best evidence of justification."

In reference to the article of its being easier to convert the seat than a mere moral man, Mr. Robbins said, "I know nothing of the expression of the seat, &c. The passage which I suppose the article refers to, runs thus—It is a greater manifestation of power to convert a mere moral man, than to create a world; for in creation there is no resistance, but in conversion there is a blind mind and a perverse will to oppose. The most vicious person stands as fair, or fairer, for conviction and conversion, than the strictest moralist, that is settled upon his lees, and built strong on his own righteousness. Publicans and harlots shall enter into the kingdom of heaven before such. The inuendo, or inference, at the close of the article, I leave the orthodox to judge of; though I would fain believe the draftsman of the articles, (being one of the reverend consociation, as I am informed,) does not think that mere morality,

BOOK II. as the word is commonly used, and real holiness, are the same."

1746. Mr. Robbins' answer, &c.

To the article of CHRIST's not dying to save some sinners, he answered, "I own the article, that there are some sinners that CHRIST never died for, with a design to save them; and yet I believe the merits of CHRIST sufficient for all, and that his satisfaction has as much vindicated the honor of the broken law of GOD, as if all mankind had been damned. But what a strange inference does the draftsman make, from my denying universal redemption!"

The first article under enthusiasm, relative to the unpardonable sin, is answered above. The third article, relative to his censorious spirit and comparing himself to Micajah, is also answered under a similar article already noticed. With respect to the second article, his heat of spirit, and desire to be perpetually preaching, under pretence of religion, Mr. Robbins seems to have judged that the command, preach the word, be instant in season and out of season, and the examples of the apostles and primitive christians in their frequent night meetings, were a sufficient answer. He replied, therefore, to the last article of the charge only, as worthy of notice; his improving ministers most forward and famous for enthusiasm in the present day; "I have not admitted any man into my pulpit, that was not ordained or licensed."

In answer to the charge of his teaching that the unconverted had no right to praise GOD, he said, "I have taught that unconverted persons cannot rightly praise GOD; (as they can do no other duty rightly, either from a right principle, or for a right end;) but that it is the duty of all men to praise GOD; witness more than twenty sermons I have preached on that beloved subject."

With respect to the first article of charge, relative to improving strolling preachers, Brainard, Buel, Wheelock, &c. Mr. Robbins replied, "I believe my improving itinerant preachers has had some happy effect here. That the meeting carried on by Messrs. Buel and Brainard had a good effect upon some persons, I cannot but think. But it had some unhappy attendants; and I believe neither they nor I should carry on a meeting just in the same form again. The other was after Mr. Wheelock had been preaching a public lecture. A number of persons came to my house, under concern about their spiritual state. We discoursed and prayed with them. Some evidenced great concern; and I cannot but think, one especially was then, and since, convinced of sin, righteousness, and judgment."

Relative to introducing Mr. Davenport to preach, &c. Mr. Robbins, replied, "Mr. Davenport came in on Saturday evening; I asked him to preach the next day. I knew nothing of his design to sing in the street, until we had got part of the way to meeting. When he mentioned it, I labored to prevent, and did not join with him in it. I think he preached well, and after service was ended, in the afternoon, he spoke to his man to pray, but not with my consent, or my liking." BOOK II. 1746. Mr. Robbins' answer, &c.

In answer to his preaching at Wallingford, he said, "This is the grand article, and sine qua non of all the rest. You have an account of the matter before, in this narrative, and I shall here only say—the baptist minister desired that I would come and preach for him; and I knew of no objection against it, when I consented to go. The weight of objections that were flung in my way afterwards, the world must judge of."

With respect to his being a promoter of schismatical separations, baptizing at New-Haven, &c. his reply was, "With respect to baptizing Dr. Mix's child, I offered this to the consociation, viz. had I known as much before, as I do now, I should not have done it. They voted to overlook it. I offered the same to the complainant, and several others, who said they were easy with respect to that, and all other articles they had complained of; and left it under their hands. Notwithstanding, most of those articles are brought in among these. As to separating from the constitution, if it means Saybrook platform, I do not know that this church was ever fairly under it. There is no record nor any living member that knows any thing of its ever being voted into the church: and when, (after some of my brethren had been urging it for more than twelve months.) I put it to vote in the church, to renounce the Saybrook platform and take the Cambridge platform, there were but six brethren appeared in the negative. All the defence I desired against the association, was only to know the minds of my people in sundry votes, which they readily passed, and have since voted to abide by.

With respect to his haughty, assuming, and unpeaceable spirit, and being truly self-willed, and his treatment of the association, his answer was, "As to the prudent and gentle measures taken by the reverend association, to compose our difficulties, and settle us in love, peace, and gospel order, it is well known, that the association has received articles of complaint against me, privately signed and carried into the association, time after time, when I had not been informed of one of the articles, or any one of the

BOOK II. signers; and have appointed a council, or committee, time after time, to come to Branford, and make inquiry, when neither minister, church or society desired it. Is this a prudent and gentle method to settle us in peace, &c.? As to my obstinacy, and refusing to comply with my duty and promise, to get into good standing, &c. I never promised any more than to do my endeavour to get into good standing; in order to which, I have offered four written confessions, as you have seen before, but could not be received."

1746. Mr. Robbins' answer, &c.

As to the last article relative to the standing ministers not thinking as Mr. Robbins did, &c. his reply was, "Here comes in standing ministers again: and now I suspect the article refers to the neighbouring ministers of this county; for I have said of some of them, that they and I did not think alike: and I am of the same mind still. As to my saying I had rather be under a bishop, than under our association, it is probably true, and I have no reason to alter my mind, (though I must dissent from the church of England, for some weighty reasons.) As to my joining with ministers unknown in their principles to my people, I suppose they do not know the principles of most ministers that they like, but by their preaching and conversation; and they may have the same trial of those I join with. Prove all things."

As the time for the meeting of the consociation approached, Mr. Robbins appointed a church meeting, at which they unanimously voted, that they would abide by their votes passed November 4th, 1745; and they made choice of John Russell and William Gould, Esq'rs. the pastor, and deacons, to be a committee, to represent the church before the consociation, to lay the votes of the church in 1745, and of this meeting, before said consociation, and earnestly to declare against its jurisdiction.

In this meeting Mr. Robbins read the articles of complaint, and his answer to them, with his citation from the moderator. The consociation met, according to appointment, on the last Tuesday in September. The council immediately after dining, chose a committee, of whom their moderator was one, and sent over to Mr. Robbins. The moderator professed a great desire to hear their difficulties: he said he did not question but Mr. Robbins might do much good there; but now they were not peaceable, and he wished to have them in peace. Mr. Robbins observed, he apprehended there was but a step which parted them—the matter of the Saybrook and Cambridge platforms: that if he should espouse the Saybrook, though it might satisfy the minor part, he should disaffect the ma-

jority of the church and society: that he knew of no way for peace, but for the council to advise the minor party to be easy as they were. He also observed, that some of the heads of the minor party had said, we will sit down easy, as we now are, if the association shall advise us to do it. But this did not suit the committee. They proposed that Mr. Robbins would submit to have them use their endeavours to make peace among them; that he would answer to the articles, or only go and answer for his preaching to the baptists, or offer the same confession now that he had offered before to the association; and that he would call a church meeting. Mr. Robbins referred these proposals to the committee, who unanimously rejected them. They acquainted the council, that they had a message from the church and society, which they wished for an opportunity to lay before them. Soon after, the council sent for Mr. Robbins, who went with the committee of the church and society. Mr. Robbins offered to speak, but the moderator forbade him, and the council proceeded, by his order, to the reading of the moderator's letter for convening the consociation, and the articles of charge against him. He then begged liberty to speak, but the moderator would not hear him, telling him that there was not time to hear articles, and the council must be adjourned until eight o'clock to-morrow morning. He said he had but a word to offer. He was then reprimanded by one of the council, and told that he knew the orders of the council better; that it was adjourned till to-morrow, &c. It was then ordered, that the citation should be read. Immediately after which, Mr. Robbins desired liberty to speak again; but the moderator said the council was adjourned, and would not hear him. After this, the scribe got up and adjourned the council.

BOOK II. 1746.

The next morning Mr. Robbins and the rest of the committee, went to the house where the council met, and just as they knocked at the door, they met the committee of the consociation, who were going over again to speak with Mr. Robbins. They urged the same things which had been proposed the day before. But the committee utterly refused to comply with them; and as soon as they could obtain liberty, exhibited the votes of the church and society at their first and second meetings, relative to these matters, and denied their jurisdiction. The council urged them to give their reasons, but they observed the votes contained reasons, and they had no orders to give any. Indeed they agreed among themselves to give none.

The council, finding Mr. Robbins and the church, with

BOOK II. the society, totally renounced their jurisdiction, and would make no answer or plea before them, or have any thing to 1746. do with them, proceeded to consider the matter of jurisdiction in this case. One of their principal members undertook, in a long and zealous speech, to prove Mr. Robbins and his church were under the Saybrook platform, and could not get from under it. Others insisted upon it, that they were not under it, and that the council had not jurisdiction in the case before them. But the council determined that they had jurisdiction. And then, upon an exparte hearing, (the evidence of the complainers,) or without any hearing at all,* came to the following result; viz:

The result of the consociation. "At a meeting of the consociation of the county of New-Haven, regularly convened, upon the request of twelve members of the first church, and thirty of the inhabitants of the first society in Branford, at the house of Mr. John Factor, in said Branford, September 30th, 1746. A complaint having been exhibited to this consociation, against the Rev. Mr. Philemon Robbins, pastor of said first church in Branford, in various articles respecting his preaching, conduct and behaviour, by Joseph Frisbie, a member of said church, bearing date July 23d, 1746; after using repeated methods to reconcile the parties, which proved ineffectual, Mr. Robbins rejecting all proposals for accommodation; the consociation proceeded to the consideration of said complaint. The parties appearing, the Rev. Mr. Robbins denied the jurisdiction of this council, refusing to assign any reasons for his so doing, except what may be gathered from the votes of the church and society, laid before the council; which votes being read and considered, it was resolved, that what Mr. Robbins had offered against the jurisdiction, was insufficient. Whereupon the consociation entered upon the hearing of the several articles contained in said complaint, and examined the evidences in support thereof; and find the following articles of complaint against Mr. Robbins sufficiently proved, viz.

"I. With respect to his public preaching and doctrine.

"1. That he hath taken upon him, to determine the state of infants, dying in infancy, declaring them as odious in the sight of God, as snakes and vipers are to us.

"2. That he hath assumed the prerogative of God, the

* As the complainants, or disaffected, were the only persons appearing before the council, upon what was called the trial, it seems that they only must have been the witnesses. And there is no mention of proofs on file, in the judgment. Mr. Robbins sent to the scribe for a copy of the evidences; but he returned answer, that he had nothing to send but men's names. He then desired the names, but could not obtain even them.

righteous judge, in determining the state of the dead; saying, that they were in hell. BOOK II.

"3. That he hath spoken evil of dignities; that the leaders and rulers of this people, were opposers of the glorious work of God. 1746. Result of the consociation.

"4. That he hath reviled the standing ministry of this land, calling them Arminians, and comparing them to false prophets.

"5. That he hath publicly taught, that there is no direction in all the bible, how men should come to Christ, nor could he direct any persons how they should come to him.

"6. That he hath publicly taught, that God could easier convert the seat a man sits on, than convert a moral man: and that the most vicious person stands as fair, or fairer, for conviction or conversion than the strictest moral man.

"7. That he hath publicly asserted and taught, that a man might be sincere in religion, and a strict observer of the sabbath, and yet be a hypocrite.

"8. That he hath publicly taught, that it is as easy for persons to know when they are converted, as it is to know noon day light, from midnight darkness.

"9. That he hath declared in public, that believers never doubt of their interest in Christ after conversion; and if they do, it is a sign of an hypocrite.

"10. That he hath publicly taught, that unconverted persons have no right to praise God.

"11. With respect to his conduct and behavior, we find,

"That he hath been a promoter of schismatic contentions, separations and divisions. That he hath led off a party with him to rise up against and separate from the ecclesiastical constitution of this colony, under which this church was peaceably established; reproachfully insinuating, in a church meeting, that under Saybrook platform it was king association, in opposition to Jesus Christ, the only king of the church. And also, that he hath remained obstinate, under censure of a former consociation, notwithstanding repeated endeavours used to bring him to his duty: with some errors, and many other unguarded and unsuitable expressions, as appears by the articles of complaint, and proofs offered upon file. In which articles, upon mature deliberation, we judge said Mr. Robbins is guilty of a breach of the 3d, the 5th and the 9th commands, and many gospel rules, for which he ought to give christian satisfaction, by making a confession to the acceptance of this consociation. The above voted, *Nemine contradicente.*

"Test. SAMUEL WHITTELSEY, jun. } Scribes."
ROBERT TREAT, }

BOOK II. "Voted, that this consociation be adjourned until such time as the moderator of the council shall see it needful to convene it again, according to the following method, viz.

1746. "That the Rev. Mr. Chauncey, and the messenger of the church of Durham, the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Whittelsey, Joseph Noyes, Thomas Ruggles, with the messengers of the churches of which they are pastors, be appointed and constituted a committee, with full power to receive the satisfaction and acknowledgment of the Rev. Mr. Robbins, if he shall see it in his way to comply with the judgment of this consociation; and to advise and concur with the Rev. moderator to convene this consociation, if it shall be needful therefor; and that the moderator be empowered to cite all persons that are by them esteemed necessary, a major part of them being empowered to act.

Test. SAMUEL WHITTELSEY, jun. Scribe."

Mr. Robbins remarked on the judgment to this effect. "The council speak of using repeated methods to reconcile the parties; but that I rejected all proposals for an accommodation. I thought, by their sending committees to me the first and second day, so early, before we could possibly have opportunity to do the message assigned us by the church and society, that they intended to do something to make a handle of against me. But what were their proposals for an accommodation? Not such as I had made to the dissatisfied party, viz: That whatever errors and faults they would convict me of, I would recant those errors and confess the faults, as openly and publicly as the nature of the thing required; or that we should mutually call a council, which would be much more likely to find out truth and promote peace among us. But their proposals were evidently calculated to bring us under, or to own their jurisdiction; to which we could not submit." He noticed, that in the council, mention was made of the proofs offered on file, and that he therefore concluded, they had proofs against him on file, in writing. That he sent to the scribe for a copy of the evidences; and the scribe declared he had nothing to send but men's names: That he then desired a copy of the names, but these he never could obtain. These, doubtless, were no other than the complainants, and they were not willing that it should be known that they had condemned their brother merely upon the articles of complaint, and the evidence of the very persons who had offered it. Mr. Robbins further remarked, that in the close of the result, it was attested by the scribes that it was, *nemine contradicente*; whereas, one of the Rev. council had assured him that he was not in

Remarks on the result of the consociation.

the result; that he did not vote that what was offered against the jurisdiction of the council was insufficient, nor that they had the right of jurisdiction. He also said, he opposed the passing of one of the articles. And he declared, that as he could not vote with the council in every article, so that when they were proposed to be passed all together, he did not hold up his hand. BOOK II. 1746.

Mr. Robbins further remarks, that one of the Reverend council, had told him, since the result, that he settled under the Saybrook platform, whereas, he affirms, that at the time of his ordination, he had never seen it. He says, "I well remember the ordination council asked me whether I approved of the Saybrook platform? I answered I could not tell, for I had never seen it. Then they asked me, if I approved the assembly's catechism? I replied, I did. And so they proceeded to my ordination, without saying any thing further to me on that subject."

In this important crisis, when thus condemned by the consociation, Mr. Robbins judged it expedient to know the minds and feelings of his brethren. A church meeting was called on the 22d of January, 1747. At which time, the articles of charge were read, with Mr. Robbins' answer to them; and the church passed the following votes, viz. Jan. 1747.

"1. We are of opinion, that what is contained in the said articles of charge against the pastor of this church, respecting doctrine and principles, is very wrongfully and injuriously charged, and disagreeable to the known course and tenor of his preaching—We are generally steady attendants on his ministry, and do not remember that he has ever expressed himself as charged in those articles—And as to what respects his conduct, we apprehend it wrongfully represented in the articles of charge. Indeed, his admitting Mr. Davenport to preach at that time, and so Messrs. Buel and Brainard to hold a meeting at his house, as they did carry it on, was what we could not, some of us, so well approve of, under circumstances, and we do not think that he would act in the same form again. Votes of Branford church.

"2. We think Mr. Robbins' answers to said articles, are according to truth, and agreeable to his known principles and doctrine. Some of us remember the particular passages in his sermons, which are quoted in his answers to said articles, and they truly represent what was delivered.

"3. We think Mr. Robbins preaches the doctrines of free grace, more clearly and pungently, than in some of the first years of his ministry among us; and yet, we have

BOOK II. too much reason to fear, our uneasy brethren and neighbours, especially some of the principal men among them,
1747. are dissatisfied on account of those doctrines; which doctrines for our part we think are clearly revealed in the word of God, adhered to by the reformed churches, as appears by their confessions of faith and catechisms—And we trust, God has and will impress them on our hearts, and will enable us to maintain them as long as we live.

"4. That the above votes be signed by the deacons of this church, in behalf of the church.

"Accordingly we, who heartily join with our brethren in the above votes; subscribe our names.

JOHN RUSSELL, } Deacons of the first
SAMUEL ROSE, } church in Branford.

"The above was voted nemine contradicente. A true copy.

"Test. PHILEMON ROBBINS, Pastor, &c. in Branford."

Remarks on the treatment of Mr. Robbins, by the consociation.

Various remarks were made on the proceedings of the consociation with Mr. Robbins, some extracts from which are necessary to give a just history of the times. A certain clergyman in a communication made to Mr. Robbins, printed at the close of his narrative, remarks, "The question whether your preaching there (at Wallingford) without Mr. Whittelsey's consent, was disorderly or not, depends on the meaning of the word parish, in the resolve of the council at Guilford, Nov. 24th, 1741, wherein it is said, For a minister to enter into another minister's parish and preach, &c. without the consent of, or in opposition to the settled minister of the parish is disorderly.* For, if in preaching there as you did, you did nothing contrary to the natural and true meaning of that resolve, your so doing cannot be disorderly by that resolve; and I suppose it but just, to understand the word parish in the resolve of the New-Haven county consociation, in the same sense, though they may put a different sense upon it. Now I take it, that by the word parish, in the said resolve of the council at Guilford, is to be understood an ecclesiastical society, and not a circuit of ground which people do inhabit, that belong to several churches. For although it be true, most of our ecclesiastical societies have their distinct local bounds, or circuits drawn, yet they have not all, as at Hartford and Guilford, are two ecclesiastical societies in one circuit of ground; so there are several such

* From this scrap of the doings of the council, at Guilford, which is all that I have ever been able to obtain, it appears that the extraordinary law for punishing ministers, had its origin in the clergy who were opposed to the work then in the country.

like circuits, wherein there is a baptist church, and one of another denomination: so also others, wherein are those of the church of England communion, and of our own. Any other understanding of the word will infer the absurdity of subjecting ecclesiastical societies and ministers one to another, in an unreasonable and preposterous manner; and depriving some ministers and churches of such rights as all confess they have. As for instance, I will suppose, that the first church in Hartford, with its pastor, may not invite or suffer any other minister to preach to said first church, without the consent of the second; and that the minister, who should so preach in the first church, must be judged disorderly for it. I suppose it is the common understanding, since this resolve at Guilford, that either of the said ministers, or churches, has a right to invite a minister to preach in them without asking leave of one another; and that they have practised accordingly. Nor can I suppose a minister's preaching to the baptists in New-London or Groton, upon their minister's desire, without the consent of the ministers in the first churches in New-London and Groton, within the bounds of which the baptists dwell; or a minister's preaching to those of the church of England, on their incumbent's, Mr. Johnson's desire, without the consent of the minister of the first church, in Stratford, would be accounted disorderly.

BOOK II. 1747. Remarks, &c.

"As to the objection that they are not a lawful society, at Wallingford, not having taken benefit of king William's act of toleration, I would say, the baptists are allowed by the laws of this colony, to enjoy or attend their own way of worship, without qualifying themselves according to the aforesaid act. That the same privileges had been granted to them as to the quakers, by the act passed in their favor, in 1729. Agreeable to this, was the advice of governor Talcott to the collector, relative to the baptists at Wallingford." The remarker insists therefore, that Mr. Robbins' preaching at Wallingford, was not against the Guilford resolve, nor that of the resolve of the consociation of New-Haven county, understood consistently with reason, nor contrary to any law of this colony.

On the proceedings and result of the consociation, he remarks, "That according to the natural construction of the preamble, or preface to the judgment, it must be supposed you was present at the trial, confronting the evidences brought in against you, for it is said the consociation proceeded to consider the complaint, the parties appearing, &c. 'Tis true they say you denied the jurisdiction of the council, but not a word is noted of your refus-

BOOK II. ing to plead before them, after they had determined that they had jurisdiction. It is no new thing, nor uncommon
1747. for a person to make such a plea, before a judge, who,
Remarks, &c. when overruled therein, proceeds to a further plea, in his defence; and the omission of noting your refusal to answer the articles before them, must, I think, leave the reader of that judgment with an apprehension, that you appeared on the trial of the articles, especially when it is considered that they say, "they proceeded to hear the articles, examine evidences for the support of them, and find the following things, &c. sufficiently proved." It being, as I conceive, contrary to an equitable procedure, for a council to do what they here say they did; and the party to be tried, not there to answer for himself. Add to this, that there is no remark made, in any part of their judgment, of your contemning the authority of the consociation, for refusing to be tried by them: which surely a reader of their judgment would expect to find, if they had a right to try you, and you had refused to be tried by them. So that from the face of the judgment, you are represented as having been present at the trial, and pleading for yourself, and on a full trial found guilty, of publicly teaching a number of errors, &c. when really the case was otherwise.

"You are condemned as guilty, &c. without ever being heard in your own defence, upon defective evidence, which I take to be contrary to equity. I conceive it to be contrary to Saybrook platform, which the consociation pretends to be governed by; where it is expressly said, in the eleventh article, "That if any person orderly complained of to a council, having regular notification to appear, shall neglect or refuse so to do, except such person shall give some satisfying reason thereof, he shall be judged guilty of scandalous contempt." It is wholly silent on their proceeding to a trial of the cause in such case. Here the council pass no sentence of contempt for refusing to appear; and proceed to try the cause in such a way, wherein the truth is most unlikely to appear. Ten of the articles, the council in their judgment say relate to your public preaching and doctrine, which they say were sufficiently proved. I am of opinion, that your foregoing answers to the several articles, do sufficiently defend you against the charge of such preaching.

"Indeed, it seems somewhat hard, such a complaint should be received against a minister of Christ, charging falsehood, &c. on his public preaching, in so general a manner, without mentioning time, or place, or text discoursed on, when the false doctrine was supposed to be

delivered. I suppose it contrary to the methods of trial in civil courts, and subjects a person to such difficulties and disadvantages for his own defence, as the civil authority will not suffer the king's subjects to lie under. BOOK II. 1747. Remarks, &c.

"But then how are these proved against you? Why, by evidences (without your being present to answer for yourself,) who had taken offence against you, for these and several other things mentioned in their complaint. Now, if it be considered, that it is no uncommon thing, for persons not prejudiced against a preacher, to misapprehend some passages he may deliver, either from want of attention, or from not observing the connection of a discourse and the like, that the omission or adding of a word, or the alteration, or misplacing of a word, will give a different meaning; that a sentence or passage abstracted from its relation to what preceded or followed, appears to be of a different sense from what it really had in the discourse; if these evidences had committed the sentences to writing when they supposed you spake them, or if they had so done before the council, and sworn to them, (though by what the scribe of the consociation says, they never were written at all;) in either of the cases there would have been a deficiency in the proof: but then so much of prejudice as is in the mind of the hearer against a preacher, so much is his evidence in that case weakened; which was the case here. Your unprejudiced hearers, it seems, never understood any passage in your sermons, as these evidences pretend to have done; and as to some of the articles, they can witness for you, that you preach the contrary, as is evident by their declaration at a church meeting. And a just presumption of prejudice lies against these evidences, and so of mistake, about what they evidence; when it was well known to the council, that the generality of the church and congregation, (of many of whom it may be said without offence, that they were as understanding and judicious hearers as the evidences were, and as conscientiously concerned to bear testimony against errors in doctrine, had they heard you deliver any) were satisfied of the soundness of your preaching. So that on the whole, I think it apparent, the judgment is founded on such evidence as is in its own nature deficient, for the proof of your preaching false doctrine; and will really amount to just nothing, if your answers theroto be considered.

"And as to the fact, it is pretty remarkable, that they should judge you guilty of teaching a number of errors, enumerating ten, with some others say they, as appears by the articles of complaint and proofs on file, and there

BOOK II. should be no proofs on file, but men's names; as it seems the scribe says there are no other. So that by his, and 1747. their own account taken together, their sufficient proof is an article of complaint, with some names affixed to it."

Remarks, &c.

He proceeds to remark on the great difference between the judgment which the consociation gave and that of scandalous contempt, which the constitution directs them to have found and denounced against Mr. Robbins, had he in fact been under their jurisdiction.

But he insists, that Mr. Robbins and his church were never under Saybrook platform; that without some vote or act of the church adopting it, or consenting to it, they could not be under it; but no such vote or act could be found: That Mr. Russell, in his day, and the church, were congregational, and a majority of them had always been so to that day. And if they ever had been, they were not so after passing the vote, Nov. 4th, 1745; and consequently, the consociation had no jurisdiction over them. Every pastor and church had a right to judge what constitution was most agreeable to the word of God, and ought to conform to it. To suppose otherwise, is to suppose that Saybrook platform, or some other human composition or establishment, is the rule, and the scripture is to be set aside. But the right of private judgment, in religion, never can be given away. "On this very principle, the unalienable right of private judgment, I take it, those worthies acted, who were once of the church of England communion, had actually consented to its discipline, and actually separated therefrom, many of whom came over and planted these New-England churches. These always judged themselves injuriously treated, when stigmatised with the name of schismatics; by some of those from whom they separated. And what wise man does not think so? And it seems hard treatment to be branded by the council with such an epithet, without ever being heard in your vindication, or the church's being ever cited to appear and answer for itself, which I take to be directly contrary to the 5th article, under the head of communion of churches, among the heads of agreement, assented to by the united ministers, formerly called presbyterian and congregational; according to which, those who consent to take Saybrook platform, for the administration of church discipline are obliged to practice. The words are, "One church ought not to blame the proceedings of another, until it hath heard what that church, its elders or messengers, can say in vindication of themselves, from any charge of irregular or injurious proceedings." The reason holds as good

against a council's judging in such a case, as a particular church: and you have done nothing to merit such a censure, but exercise that right of private judgment, which you never did, nor can give up: And at the same time you have voted your freedom to hold communion, not only with congregational churches and church members that are in good standing, but with those that are called presbyterian, and also with those under the Saybrook platform regimen; as desirous of maintaining a unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. BOOK II. 1747. Remarks, &c.

"But further, if the ground of this harsh sentence lies in this, viz. your separating from an ecclesiastical constitution which has a civil establishment, as I know not but they intend so to be understood: To this it may be said, on the same foundation, multitudes of innocents in the christian world, as well as in our own nation, must be condemned. I will not dwell on this—but this I might say, that the civil authority have no power to establish any human composure, or form of church government, as a rule binding to christians. This I suppose has been unexceptionably proved in a pamphlet, entitled the essential rights of protestants. But I add, the civil authority, so far as I can find, never intended by an act of theirs, to oblige the churches in this colony to be under or to conform to that platform. What they did in this matter, may be seen in the 141st page of the colony law book. The very title of the act speaks (as I take it) the sense of the legislature, so far as the present question is concerned. It is called "an act in approbation of the agreement of the Rev. elders and messengers of all the churches in this government, made and concluded at Saybrook, 1708." And in the enacting part, they declare their great approbation of such a happy agreement, and do ordain that all the churches within this government, that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship and discipline, be and for the future shall be owned and acknowledged established by law. Then follows a proviso: That nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder any society or church, that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences. I can see nothing in all this, that they intended to make a rule of discipline for the churches, or bind any of them to receive this platform, but the contrary. They do not turn the articles of the platform into laws, but declare only their approbation of them. It is certain then, you have broken no law of the goverment in refusing the Saybrook platform, and preferring that of Cambridge.

BOOK II. 1747. "I might go on to make some further remarks, on the extraordinary proceedings of this council, but forbear, having said enough to shew, both the church and its pastor, to be innocent of the crimes they are judged guilty of."

As Mr. Robbins was conscious of his innocence, he could make no confession for the pretended faults for which he was condemned. Had he been guilty, and a righteous sentence denounced against him, he might, upon a proper confession, have been restored; but as the case now was, he could make no confession. If the consociation would proceed, there was nothing before him but deposition.

Nov. 4th. In this crisis of affairs, a society's meeting being regularly convened on the 4th of November, 1747, it was voted, "That the doings of the consociation against Mr. Robbins, should not be read in the meeting." It was then further voted, "That whereas the first church of Christ in Branford, was first settled on, or agreeable to the platform, drawn up and agreed upon at Cambridge, in the year 1648; agreeable to which, said church ruled and governed in peace: And whereas, after the settlement of a platform of church government at Saybrook, the said church, with their minister, did, once or twice, choose their messenger to attend the consociation of the churches; but did not renounce the form of government on which the said church was settled, nor vote themselves under the Saybrook platform: And whereas the said first church, which is now the church in this society, being under such circumstances, settled the Rev. Mr. Philemon Robbins in the ministry here, who was chosen by this society and the said church, for their minister and pastor; who has continued in said office to general satisfaction: And whereas, by reason of some late difference, arising by means of some uneasy persons in this society, it was found necessary that both the church and society should more explicitly declare which rule of government they would agree to, and be governed by; therefore, the church in this society, at their meeting, November 4th, 1745, declared their renunciation of Saybrook platform aforesaid, and declared the same to be a congregational church; and this society, at their meeting, October 21st, declared their denial to be governed by, or submission to, the acts or conclusions of council, formed on the Saybrook platform, without their being called by the consent of the society: And whereas, notwithstanding the church in this society is congregational, and this society agree with the church in those principles; yet the consociation of New-Haven county, since the said 4th of November, on the complaint of one member of said

church, assumed to themselves a pretended government and jurisdiction over this church and society; and have, without hearing the parties or persons concerned, pretended to come into conclusions respecting our reverend elder; and, without knowing the truth from him, the church or society, have, as we are credibly informed, passed a sentence, by which they endeavour to depose him, the said Mr. Robbins:—Wherefore, lest such an extraordinary step should tend to our disturbance, and create scruples in weak minds, the society do now, by this, their vote, declare, that we own the said Mr. Robbins to be our lawful and worthy minister; and do now renewedly declare the continuance of our choice of him to be our minister, according to the laws of this government: And further declare, that we will continue to support and assist him, as formerly: and that we are of opinion, that the conclusions of the consociation are not, by this society, to be acknowledged or regarded." BOOK II.

The consociation proceeded to depose Mr. Robbins. The sabbath after, he preached from 1 Cor. ix. 16. "For necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel." Some of the people went to meeting, with hesitation whether he would attempt to preach, or if he should, whether they should stay and hear him or not; but he made such an extraordinary prayer, as arrested all their attention, and deeply impressed their minds. They judged that such a prayer had never been made before in that house. They all tarried, to hear what he would preach to them. And here again he gained their attention, and entered deeply into their feelings. They imagined that his discourses were not less extraordinary than his prayer. He continued preaching, and performed all ministerial duties, as he had done before, and the people attended his ministrations. The society advanced his salary, and encouraged him by public acts of generosity.

At the session of the assembly, in May, 1748, Joseph Prisbie and Nathaniel Harrison, who had been the most zealous complainants and actors against Mr. Robbins, with some others of the disaffected party, preferred a petition to the assembly, to interpose, and adopt measures for their relief. The society, upon a citation, appointed agents to appear before the assembly, to act in their behalf, as occasion should require. The assembly, on hearing the parties, appointed a council, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Eliphalet Adams, of New-London; Ebenezer Williams, of Pomfret; Benjamin Lord, of Norwich; Solomon Williams, of Lebanon; Stephen Steele, of Tolland; Ashbel Wood- May, 1748.

BOOK II. bridge, of Glastenbury; and Noah Hubbard, of Fairfield. These gentlemen were directed by the assembly, to hear
1748. all the grievances of the respective parties, and to use their endeavours to make peace in the society. The assembly advised the parties freely to communicate all the difficulties to the council, and recommended it to them to submit to their advice.

June 13th. Soon after the rising of the General Assembly, the first society in Branford, in a regular meeting, accepted of the advice which had been given, and appointed gentlemen to desire the ministers appointed by the General Assembly, with their delegates, to meet in council at Branford, and the day for their meeting was appointed, but the council did not meet.

The society again voted their earnest desire, that the council would come, and appointed men to wait on the several ministers, and urge it upon them, to attend the service to which they had been appointed. But, it seems, the council never met. They perceived, undoubtedly, insuperable difficulties in the way. The assembly's appointing a council was unconstitutional, and subversive of their own law, by which they had established the constitution, and made the determinations of the consociations a final issue, and bound all parties to sit down by it. They could easily perceive, that they could do nothing for the relief of Mr. Robbins, and the church and society, without, in some measure, setting aside the judgment of the consociation; which would, at once, involve them in a controversy with the ministers of New-Haven county. If they could not do that, they must leave the matter as it was. There was no going back nor forward, without very great difficulties. They, therefore, judged it expedient not to meddle in the affair. The disaffected party by degrees became reconciled, and the society enjoyed peace.

The assembly manifested their zeal to suppress the new lights, as the zealous Calvinistic ministers and people were then called, by turning out esquire Russell and esquire Gould, and by putting into the same office one Harrison, who had been one of the complainants against Mr. Robbins.

Mr. Robbins was a most inoffensive gentleman; mild, peaceable, and a peace-maker; was uncommonly gifted in prayer; a sound and searching preacher, and greatly beloved by his people. He was popular in the neighbouring towns and societies, and gradually grew into esteem among his brethren in the ministry. In the year 1755, about seven years after, he was invited to sit with the consociation, at the ordination of Mr. Street, at East-Haven; and no ob-

jections were made on the account of any thing which had passed in the times of his trouble. BOOK II.

The friends of Calvinism, zealous experimental preaching, and vital religion, greatly increased, and gentlemen who had been kept out of the assembly because they had been friends to the religious awakening, were now chosen again by the freemen. The justices who had been turned out at Branford, were again put into office, and the severe measures against the zealous ministers and people, became unpopular, and the old lights, as they had been called, rather lost credit in the colony. Many, indeed, viewed them as haters of God, opposers to his truth, and persecutors of his servants. 1748.

At the General Assembly, this year, upon the memorial of the first society in Hebron, presented by the principal men of the town, representing that the Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, their pastor, conformed to the laws of the colony, and performed the ministerial office to the great satisfaction of the people; he was restored to the benefit of the laws. The legislature ordered that the information lodged against him should be given up, and that his salary, in future, should be paid, as though no such information had been lodged against him. Thus after several years punishment and persecution, for preaching the gospel to a multitude of people thirsting for the words of life, and that without other offence, he was restored to the common rights of men.* May, 1748.

At the same session of the assembly, Solomon Paine of Canterbury, and Matthew Smith of Stonington, preferred a memorial in their own names and in the name of about three hundred others, of those who had separated from the standing ministers and churches in the colony, representing that "they were the loyal subjects of king George, and most of them freemen of the colony of Connecticut: That liberty of conscience in matters of religion, was the unalienable right of every man; that for the enjoyment of this liberty, our forefathers left their native country for a howling wilderness; that God had, in all ages, greatly blessed those who, with zeal and integrity, had stood for the glory of God; and this liberty of conscience, in his

* Mr. soon after Dr. Pomeroy, had an opportunity of exhibiting an excellent spirit towards Mr. Little, who shut him out of his pulpit, and had been the occasion of his so long losing his legal salary. Mr. Little, at the invitation of some of Mr. Pomeroy's people, came into Hebron and preached in his parish without his leave, in direct violation of the law. Many of Mr. Pomeroy's parishioners were for lodging a complaint against him, but Mr. Pomeroy used all his influence against it, and prevented it, rendering good for evil.

BOOK II. worship; and especially our ancestors: That in the char-
ter granted to this colony, that liberty was not abridged;
1748. and that in the act of William and Mary, liberty of conscience was granted to all their subjects, and it prohibited and disallowed their subjects of every denomination, to impose upon, or disturb others, &c. That this law was in force under his then present majesty king George: That in consequence, the quakers, anabaptists, and those who worshipped in the way called the church of England, had applied to the honorable assembly, and had the force of the ecclesiastical laws abated with respect to them: yet that they who worshipped God in his fear, and could not, without making shipwreck of a good conscience, worship with those denominations, were obliged to suffer fines and imprisonments, as many of them had done already, for preaching the gospel and other acts of divine service, which they had performed by the command and power of God's spirit; and that great quantities of their temporal goods, by which they should serve God and honor the king, had been taken from them, to support a worship, which they could not in conscience uphold. Therefore they prayed, that their honors would be the happy instruments of unbinding those burdens, and enact universal liberty, or forbid the execution of those laws."*

The legislature, nevertheless, rejected their petition and granted them no relief. They suffered much in their persons and estates. When they were called upon to pay rates to the ministers, in the towns and parishes where they inhabited, they utterly refused, and in some instances their goods and chattels were taken and sold, at the post, for much less than their real value. In other instances, they were committed to prison. This was done by mere force. They would neither go themselves nor ride; they were held upon horses by main strength, and would cry out and scream until the blood ran out at their mouths. These measures were every way calculated to do mischief, not only to impoverish individuals, but the government, to beget ill will among neighbours, to prejudice people against the government and the ecclesiastical constitution, and to increase and confirm, rather than prevent the separations. Why these people should be treated worse than quakers and baptists, while they were loyal subjects, devoutly and zealously worshipped God, in their own way, and, excepting their peculiarities, were many of them strict in morals, peaceable and good inhabitants, I know not.

* The memorial was subscribed by three hundred and thirty persons, belonging principally to the counties of New-London and Windham.

While God was building up Zion and appearing in his glory, and these things were transacting in the country, there were various writers in favour of the work: particularly, the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, president of the college in New-Jersey; the Rev. Gilbert Tennant; and in New-England, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, afterwards president. They not only endeavoured to prove the revival in the land to be the work of God, but to correct the errors attending the work. Mr. Edwards wrote the most largely upon the subject, and brought into view almost every thing necessary to be said at such a time, relative to the work itself, the errors, and imprudences attending it, and with regard to such things as had a tendency to hinder it; to show that all ought, by all means to promote it; and what things ought to be done for that purpose.

1748. Writers in favor of the religious revival.

In the first place, he undertook to prove, that it was a glorious work of God; a work which nothing but the spirit and power of God could effect; and that it evidently appeared so when judged of by his word only. He says, "Whatever imprudences there have been, and whatever sinful irregularities; whatever vehemence of the passions, and heats of the imagination, transports and extacies; and whatever errors in judgment, and indiscreet zeal; and whatever outcries, and faintings and agitations of body; yet it is manifest and notorious, that there has been of late a very uncommon influence upon the minds of a very great part of the inhabitants of New-England, from one end of the land to the other, that has been attended with the following effects, viz. a great increase of a spirit of seriousness, and sober consideration of the things of the eternal world; a disposition to hearken to any thing that is said of things of this nature, with attention and affection; a disposition to treat matters of religion with solemnity; and as matters of great importance; a disposition to make these things the subject of conversation; and a great disposition to hear the word preached, and to take all opportunities in order to it; and to attend on the public worship of God and all external duties of religion, in a more solemn and decent manner; so that there is a remarkable and general alteration in the face of New-England, in these respects: Multitudes in all parts of the land, of vain, thoughtless, regardless persons, are changed and become serious and considerate: There is a vast increase of concern for the salvation of the precious soul, and of that enquiry, *What shall I do to be saved?* The hearts of multitudes have been greatly taken off from the things of the world, its pro-

Mr. Edwards.

BOOK II. fits, pleasures and honors, and there has been a great increase of sensibleness and tenderness of conscience. Multitudes in all parts, have had their consciences awakened, and have been made sensible of the pernicious nature and consequences of sin, and what a dreadful thing it is to be under guilt and the displeasure of God, and to live without peace and reconciliation to him. They have also been awakened to a sense of the shortness and uncertainty of life, and reality of another world and future judgment, and the necessity of an interest in Christ: They are more afraid of sin, more careful and inquisitive that they may know what is contrary to the mind and will of God, that they may avoid it, and what he requires of them, that they might do it; more careful to avoid temptations, more watchful over their own hearts, earnestly desirous of being informed what are the means that God has directed to, for their salvation, and more diligent in the use of means that God has appointed in his word, in order to it. Many very stupid, senseless sinners, and persons of a vain mind, have been greatly awakened. There is a strange alteration almost all over New-England, amongst young people: By a powerful invisible influence on their minds, they have been brought to forsake those things, in a general way, as it were at once, that they were extremely fond of, and greatly addicted to, and that they seemed to place the happiness of their lives in, and that nothing before could induce them to forsake; as their frolicking, vain company keeping, night walking, their mirth and jollity, their impure language and lewd songs: In vain did ministers preach against those things before; in vain were laws made to restrain them, and in vain was all the vigilance of magistrates and civil officers; but now they have almost every where dropped them, as it were of themselves. And there is a great alteration among old and young as to drinking, tavern haunting, profane speaking, and extravagance in apparel. Many notoriously vicious persons have been reformed, and become externally quite new creatures: Some that are wealthy, and of a fashionable, gay education; some great beaus and fine ladies, that seemed to have their minds swallowed up with nothing but the vain shews and pleasures of the world, have been wonderfully altered, and have relinquished these vanities, and are become serious, mortified and humble in their conversation. It is astonishing to see the alteration that there is in some towns, where before was but little appearance of religion, or any thing but vice and vanity: and so remote was all that was to be seen or heard among them, from any thing

that savoured of vital piety, or serious religion, or that had any relation to it, that one would have thought, if they judged only from what appeared in them, that they had been some other species than the serious and religious, which had no concern with another world, and whose natures were not made capable of those things that appertain to christian experience and pious conversation: especially was it thus among young persons. And now they are transformed into another sort of people; their former vain, worldly and vicious conversation and disposition seem to be forsaken, and they are, as it were, gone over to a new world. Their thoughts and their concern, affections, and inquiries, are now about the favour of GOD, an interest in CHRIST, a renewed and sanctified heart, and a spiritual blessedness and acceptance, and happiness in a future world. And through the greater part of New-England, the holy bible is in much greater esteem and use than it used to be; the great things contained in it, are much more regarded, as things of the greatest consequence, and are much more the subjects of meditation and conversation; and other books of piety, that have long been of established reputation, as the most excellent, and the most tending to promote true godliness, have been abundantly more in use. The Lord's day is more religiously and strictly observed: and abundance has been lately done at making up differences, and confessing faults, one to another, and making restitution; probably more within these two years, than was done in thirty years before. It has been so, undoubtedly, in many places. And surprising has been the power of that Spirit that has been poured out on the land, in many instances, to destroy old grudges, and make up long continued breaches, and to bring those that seemed to be in a confirmed, irreconcilable alienation, to embrace each other, in a sincere and entire amity. BOOK II.

"Great numbers under this influence, have been brought to a sense of their own sinfulness and vileness; the sinfulness of their lives, the heinousness of their disregard of the great GOD, and the heinousness of living in contempt of a SAVIOUR. It has been a common thing, that persons have had such a sense of their own sinfulness, that they have thought themselves the worst of all, and that none ever were so vile as they: and many seem to have been greatly convinced, that they were utterly unworthy of any mercy at the hands of GOD, however miserable they were, and though they stood in extreme necessity of mercy; and that they deserved nothing but eternal burnings; and have been sensible that GOD would be altogether just and right-

cous in inflicting endless damnation upon them.—And so far as we are worthy to be credited, one by another, in what we say, multitudes in New-England have lately been brought to a new and great conviction of the truth and certainty of the gospel; to a firm persuasion that JESUS is the SON of GOD, and the great and only SAVIOUR of the world; and that the great doctrines of the gospel, touching reconciliation by his blood, and acceptance in his righteousness, and eternal life and salvation through him, are matters of undoubted truth: together with a most affecting sense of the excellency and sufficiency of this Saviour, and the glorious wisdom of GOD shining in this way of salvation, &c.—With a sensible, strong and sweet love to GOD, and delight in him, far surpassing all temporal delights, or earthly pleasures; and a rest of soul in him, as the fountain of all good, attended with abhorrence of sin, and self loathing for it, and earnest longings after more holiness, &c. And these things appear to be, in many of them, abiding now for many months, yea, more than a year and an half; with an abiding concern to live an holy life. And not only do these effects appear in new converts; but great numbers of those that formerly were esteemed the most sober and pious people, have, under the influence of this work, been greatly quickened, and their hearts renewed with greater degrees of light, renewed repentance and humiliation, more lively exercises of faith, love and joy in GOD.

"And under the influences of this work, there have been many of the remains of those wretched people and dregs of mankind, the poor Indians, that seemed to be next to a state of brutality, and with whom, till now, it seemed to be to little more purpose to use endeavours for their instruction and awakening, than with the beasts; whose minds have been now strangely opened to receive instruction, and have been deeply affected with the concerns of their precious souls, and have reformed their lives, and have forsaken their former stupid, barbarous and brutish ways of living; and particularly that sin to which they have been so exceedingly addicted, their drunkenness; and are become devout and serious persons; and many of them brought, to appearance, truly and greatly to delight in the things of GOD, and to have their souls very much engaged in the things of the gospel. And many of the poor negroes also have, in like manner, been wrought upon and changed.

"And the souls of very many little children, have been remarkably enlightened, and their hearts wonderfully affected and enlarged; and their mouths opened, expressing

themselves far beyond their years, and to the just astonishment of those that have heard them; and some of them, from time to time, for many months, greatly and delightfully affected with the glory of divine things, and with the excellency and love of the REDEEMER, with their hearts greatly filled with love and joy in him, and have continued to be serious and pious in their behaviour.

"The divine power of this work has marvellously appeared, in some instances I have been acquainted with, in supporting and fortifying the heart, under great trials, such as the death of children, and extreme pain of body; wonderfully maintaining the serenity, calmness and joy of the soul, in an immoveable rest in GOD, and sweet resignation to him. There also have been instances of some that have been the subjects of this work, that, under the blessed influences of it, have, in such a calm, bright and joyful frame of mind, been carried through the valley of the shadow of death.

"And now let us consider,—Is it not strange that, in a christian, orthodox country, and such a land of light as this is, there should be many at a loss whose work this is, whether the work of GOD, or the work of the devil? Is it not a shame to New-England, that such a work should be much doubted of here? Need we look over the histories of all past times, to see if there be not some circumstances and external appearances that attend this work, that have formerly been found amongst enthusiasts?—whether the montanists had not great transports of joy, and whether the French prophets had not agitations of body? Blessed be God! he does not put us to the toil of such inquiries. We need not say, who shall ascend into heaven, to bring us down something whereby we may judge of this work? Nor does GOD send us beyond the seas, nor into past ages, to obtain a rule that shall determine and satisfy us. But we have a rule near at hand, a sacred book, that GOD himself has put into our hands, with clear and infallible marks, sufficient to resolve us in things of this nature; which book, I think, we must reject, not only in some particular passages, but in the substance of it, if we reject such a work as has now been described, as not being the work of GOD. The whole tenor of the gospel proves it; all the notion of religion that the scripture gives us."

He mentions three things, in which those who judged unfavourably of the work, exceedingly erred, viz.—by judging of it *a priori*, from the manner in which it began; the instruments which had been employed in it; the means and manner in which it had been carried on, &c. He

BOOK II. shows, that no just judgment could be formed from these; that if it was found to agree with the scriptures, that was sufficient for us. That they erred in not making the scriptures the only rule, and whole rule, in judging; and in not justly separating and distinguishing the good from the bad. He observes, that the weakness of human nature has always appeared in times of a great revival of religion, by a disposition to run into extremes, and get into confusion; and especially in these three things, enthusiasm, superstition, and intemperate zeal. He shows this to have been the case, even in the times of the apostles, and at the reformation. He observes the great disorders, divisions, and evil things, which were in the church at Corinth; and to what lengths we might reasonably suppose they would have gone, had they not been prevented by inspired guides. He suggests that, by the increase of their irregularities and contentions, they would have broken to pieces, and dissolved in the utmost confusion. And yet this would have been no evidence that the Spirit of GOD had not, in a most glorious and remarkable manner, been poured out upon that city. He shows outcries and bodily agitations, were no new things under great awakenings; and that they were no evidences of grace, nor any evidence against it, as they had been found in men of the greatest eminence for piety and genuine religion, as well as in others: that great degrees of terror and of joy were no evidences that the work was not the work of GOD, as persons eminent for holiness, both in primitive and later times, had been the subjects of them.

He shows the indispensable duty of magistrates, ministers and people, by all means to promote, and carry on such a glorious work; and the great sin and danger of opposing it. He evinces that all ought to rejoice in it, and give thanks for it. He suggests that there was reason to fear that GOD had been greatly provoked, in that civil rulers had proclaimed no public thanksgivings to render praise to GOD for it, and that they had done so little to promote it.

He observes, that above all others, GOD's eye was upon the ministers of the gospel, expecting them to arise and acknowledge him, and honor him in the work, and do their utmost for its encouragement and promotion: That this was the very work and business of their office.

With respect to others, he represented, that as all the people brought a willing offering unto the Lord, to build the tabernacle in the wilderness, so that with a willing and cheerful heart, every man, woman, and child, ought to do

something to promote the work: That they who could not bring onyx stones, gold or silver, might, at least, bring goats hair. BOOK II.

He shows what things had been complained of, relative to the work, without or beyond any just cause; and then, what things ought to be corrected and avoided in advancing the work, and in the behavior of the people under it. He notices and condemns the errors, makes clear distinctions with respect to that in which true religion consists, and in what it does not, and gives excellent directions for the conduct of ministers and people, in such a day as that was. He compares those who could see nothing of the work of GOD, in the reformation which had been effected, to subjects in the kingdom of a great and good prince, who, when all the people were rejoicing and proclaiming his excellencies and honor, on the day of his coronation, should rather appear sorrowful than joyous, and dwell only on some defects they might notice in his body, walk, or conduct; or who on his marriage, to a beautiful and excellent princess, when the nation in general were rejoicing with great gladness, should manifest no joy on the occasion, but employ themselves in remarking upon, and aggravating some small defects in the royal bride, in her beauty, or dress, or in the manner in which the marriage was conducted; and enquires whether such could be considered as loyal subjects, well affected towards their prince?

Dr. Chauncey, who had been an eye witness of the work at Boston, and the wonderful reformation which had been effected in that metropolis of the province, differed entirely from those excellent men, Dr. Coleman, Dr. Sewall, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Gee, and most of the ministers in that town, and appeared to be a great opposer of the work. He wrote a large book, of between four and five hundred pages, relative to it, in which he dwells abundantly on the irregularities and errors attending the work, all calculated to set it in the most disadvantageous point of light. He inserts in his preface the story of the Antinomians and enthusiasts, in Mr. Cotton's day in Boston, among whom the famous Mrs. Hutchinson was a principal actor, who were full of falsehood and deceit, and represents or insinuates at least, that the new lights, as they were called, were of the same character, enthusiasts and liars. In his introduction, he undertakes to give a general view of a work of GOD, in which many things are well said; but nothing so distinguishing with respect to the loving of GOD for his own perfections and glory, rejoicing in them, and in the divine government, with a full sense of the glory of GOD, of his

Dr. Chauncey writes against the work, and against Mr. Edwards.

BOOK II. love to men, of the glory of the work of redemption, the transcendant excellency and loveliness of Christ, and the principles from which external acts of conformity to the divine law originate, as Mr. Edwards and many other divines. And it is remarkable, that all the marks of a work of GOD which he specifies, were found in most of those who made a profession of a change of heart and obedience to CHRIST, at that time. Indeed, they were found and increased in many of them, during their whole lives. He remarks, a forsaking of vice and sin, as one special mark of a work of GOD. And when was there ever such a forsaking of all open sins and vice, and such a general reformation of manners, as at this time? He mentions a spirit of forgiveness and forbearance, as a mark of the work of GOD. And at what time before or since, did ever so many confess their faults one to another, and forgive one another, as at this time? Persons who had been long at enmity one with another, whom nothing before could reconcile, now confessed, with shame and contrition, their ill treatment of each other, and became apparently reconciled in the bands of brotherly love. He makes love to the house of worship and ordinances of GOD, an evidence of the work of GOD. And who ever saw ministers and people in general, so instant in season and out of season, to preach and to hear the word? When did people ever so flow to the house of GOD; hear with such attention; keep the sabbath, and attend sacraments with such apparent zeal and pleasure; and so much abound in singing the praises of GOD, as at this time? He mentions repentance and mourning for sin, as an evidence of the work of GOD: And when was there ever in New-England, so deep and general a sense of the evil of sin, of the danger of it, and such apparent mourning for it, as against an holy GOD, as at this time?

The first part of his book, after the introduction, the Dr. entitles, "Particularly pointing out the things of a bad and dangerous tendency in the late religious appearances in New-England." The first thing he mentions of this nature, is itinerant preaching. This, he says, had its rise in these parts from Mr. Whitefield. He owns he never could see from what warrant, either from scripture or reason, he went about preaching; and intimates that his design was his own worldly advantage, that he made large collections, &c. and faults him for leaving his own little charge; intimates that none but himself could tell the amount of the presents he received in that town. Mr. Whitefield gave a satisfactory account of these matters to other ministers in Boston, and to ministers and people

who were well affected towards the doctrines he preached, and the work he was instrumental in promoting. That he should preach every day in the week, and often twice and three times a day, and often ride many miles and preach when he was so weak as not to be able to mount his horse without help, pass dangerous seas, endure such fatigues by day and night, through a whole life, and conduct himself with such piety and devotion, to the end of his days, on worldly motives, and that he should, after all the collections he made for his orphans, die poor at last, is not credible. That he was able to effect what he did with his collections, may afford abundant satisfaction on this head, and show that the Doctor's imputations were uncharitable.

Doctor Chauncey against the religious appearances.

He equally blames Mr. Tennant, for leaving his people, and preaching as an itinerant in New-England. But Mr. Tennant undertook this only by the advice and desire of his brethren in the ministry, who, upon receiving the accounts of the great awakenings in New-England, and at Boston in particular, judged that it would be well to send him to the assistance of their brethren in these parts, and advance the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. He hesitated at first; it was a matter of very great self denial, to leave his family and people for such a length of time. He must necessarily endure much hardship and fatigue, and be exposed to many dangers. But at the earnest desire and mature advice of his brethren, he undertook the journey, and appears to have performed the mission on which he was sent, with great zeal, labour and fidelity. He proved himself to be a faithful brother, and received the thanks of the ministers in Boston, in general, for his searching, fervent preaching, and abundant labours. Dr. Chauncey, nevertheless, brands him, Mr. Whitefield and all itinerant preachers, with the odious character of busy bodies. "I see not but those," says he, "who make it their practice to go about gathering assemblies in other men's parishes, properly come under the character of busy bodies."* In short, he compares them to those deceitful workers, whom the apostle represents, as transforming themselves into the ministers of righteousness, according to the example of satan, who can transform himself into an angel of light.† He introduces letters, calling them by the worst names, and possessed of the worst feelings; with such declarations as these: "As to the present itine-

* Page 42. He quotes with apparent approbation, the extraordinary act of the legislature of Connecticut, prohibiting ministers preaching out of their own parishes, without the consent of the minister and churches where they preached. † Page 44.

BOOK II. rants, it is remarked, as certain and obvious, that the most, if not all of them, are swollen and ready to burst with spiritual pride." "Such ignorant and mischievous itinerants as are now caressed and encouraged." "Those vagrants," &c.* He takes up almost eighty pages in decrying itinerant preachers, introducing letters, exhortations of ministers who were evidently prejudiced and embittered against them, and quotations from authors, calculated to set them in the worst point of light. The next thing he takes notice of, as of bad tendency, is the great fears and terrors which some had, and the effects which it had upon their bodies. This he conceived of a very dangerous tendency. These he pretends were highly thought of, as sure evidences of grace, &c. whereas, it does not appear that any but the separates approved of these things, or considered them as any evidences of grace. Not one minister in Connecticut considered them as such. Mr. Edwards showed that they were no evidences of grace, nor were they any evidences against it. Especially in his thoughts on religion, and in his treatise on religious affections, he shows from scripture and the best writers, that the most eminent men for piety have been the subjects of them, as well as wicked men.

Doctor Chauncey against the religious appearances.

No men, so far as I am acquainted with the writers of New-England, and of protestants in general, have more clearly distinguished between all the errors and delusions of these times, and shown wherein true religion consisted, than the gentlemen who favoured the uncommon religious concern and reformation, especially Dr. Coleman, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Bellamy in New-England, and the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, in New-Jersey.

Dr. Chauncey collected the most exaggerated accounts from those who were the most zealous opposers of the work, and even condescended so low as to publish accounts from newspapers relative to it, throwing the greatest odium and reproach upon it; and represents the effects of the preaching at that time, such as might be expected from mad men, raving from bedlam, hallowing and screaming and frightening the people.† He attempts to prove, that it was not a divine work; and he takes it as a certain fact, that the spirit of God could not be in it. He trusts that from these things, he had made it evident, that the appearances had been produced, only by the wild and extravagant conduct of overheated preachers.‡

He employs between twenty and thirty pages, in representing the bad principles of Mr. Davenport, Messrs. Pomeroy, Wheelock, and Allen; and represents them as

* Page 61, 62. † Page 96, 106. ‡ Page 99.

having imbibed the principles of quakerism in college, which had now broke out again. He represents Mr. Pomeroy and Mr. Wheelock as the principal instruments of the disorders and confusion in Connecticut. Nothing, I suppose, was more groundless and unjust than these insinuations. The great body of those who were subjects of the divine operations at that time, were humble, prayerful, sober christians; loved and adhered to their ministers, and were strict in their morals. Those who imbibed errors, and went into bad conduct, were few, when compared with the others. Mr. Pomeroy and Mr. Wheelock were not accused of any false doctrine, or any tincture of quakerism, by the associations, or consociations, to which they belonged; but were in good repute, esteemed, and treated with respect, by their brethren in the ministry, who had the most intimate acquaintance with them. They were greatly beloved by their people; and I never knew of a quaker, or separate, in either of their parishes. They opposed the separations, and united with their brethren in condemning the errors of the times.† But the Doctor having said what he judged proper to depreciate and blacken the characters of those gentlemen, concludes that head with this observation:—"This enthusiastic spirit, it appears to me, is one of the most dangerous that can take place in a land. It is, indeed, the true spirit of quakerism; the seed plat of delusion."‡ He proceeds but a few pages before he again introduces Mr. Davenport, and his conduct. After observing, "that there were no absurdities, either in doctrine or practice, but they" (that is, such men) "are capable of falling into, instances whereof have been common in all ages of the world," he quotes Mr. Flavel, as follows:—"In the beginning of our reformation, by Luther and Calvin, &c. there sprung up a generation of men, called Swenkseldians, great pretenders to revelations and visions; who were always speaking of deifications; and used a higher strain of language among themselves, than other serious christians understood; and they, therefore, scornfully styled orthodox and humble christians, who

Doctor Chauncey against the religious appearances, &c.

† I had an intimate acquaintance with those gentlemen, and with their people; was brought up under the preaching of Dr. Pomeroy; lived some time in the family of Dr. Wheelock; heard them both preach abundantly; and I never saw or heard of any thing, in either of them, which savoured in the least degree of quakerism. They were some of the most distinguishing preachers, in their day, between true and false religion. They were strict in their morals, and extensive in their charity. They ever considered themselves as greatly injured by Dr. Chauncey. He took up reports against his brethren, not at the mouth of two or three witnesses, and without inquiring whether they were friends or enemies.

‡ Page 217.

BOOK II. stuck to scripture phrases, and wholesome forms of sound words, grammatists, vocabulists, literalists," &c.§

Doctor Chauncey against the religious appearances, &c.

The Doctor appears to have been a gentleman of pretty extensive reading, and a good scholar; but it is very remarkable, that he frequently, by his concessions and quotations, insensibly gives up his whole argument. This he seems to do in this place. If the glorious work of GOD, in the reformation, was attended with such errors and confusion, then the work in New-England might also be a glorious work of GOD, notwithstanding the enthusiasm and errors which some imbibed. It cannot be pretended, that Luther and Calvin, whom GOD made so remarkably instrumental in the reformation, were without great faults. Who can justify the bitter zeal and language of Luther, and some instances of Calvin's conduct? But if imperfect men, attended, in some instances, with great faults, have been used as great and principal instruments of such a glorious work as the reformation, then GOD might also improve such instruments in the reformation in this country; and it might have been, notwithstanding, a glorious work of GOD: and so the Doctor's argument against the work is wholly overthrown. If GOD hath done it in this instance, it is perfectly correspondent with the operations of his providence in other instances.

The Doctor inveighs exceedingly against exhorters, condemns the violent things which have been said, in opposition to unconverted ministers, and against many errors and disorders of those times, and has said many things worthy of serious attention, with a variety of quotations from the best authors upon those subjects.*

In the second part of his book, he represents "the obligations which lay upon all the pastors of these churches in particular, and upon all in general, to use their endeavours to suppress the disorders prevailing in the land; with the great danger of their neglect in so important a matter." "The obligations to this, (he says,) are solemn and weighty; and they are binding upon the pastors of these churches in particular, and upon all in general." "The churches in this land, upwards of an hundred years ago, were almost ruined with their religious disturbances. The spirit which then operated was surprisingly similar to the spirit of these times."† He represents the whole work as nothing but error and enthusiasm; and about forty or fifty pages are employed to stir up ministers and people against it.

§ Page 221.

* From page 220 to 332, to the close of the first part of his book.

† Page 333, 334, 360.

Dr. Chauncey against the religious appearances.

In his third part, he complains of instances in which those who had appeared against the disorders prevailing in the land, had been injuriously treated. He makes some remarks on Mr. Edwards' thoughts on religion; pleads for using history and philosophy in judging with respect to religion, and represents that those who had opposed the religious appearances, had shown the greatest veneration for the scriptures. He complains of Mr. Edwards as being uncharitable in reprobating those who did not think of the work as he did. He condemns that censorious spirit by which they were denounced as Arminians, Pelagians, &c.; yet he falls into the same error himself, and terms the favourers of the work, false prophets, deceitful workers, and represents men as transforming themselves, like satan, into ministers of righteousness; as having the same spirit as the enthusiasts at the reformation, &c. "I am sensible (says he) that this work has been carried on by the weak and foolish. I am sensible also that the ministers who have been chiefly employed, some of them, have been mere babes in years and standing:" and in the severity of his remarks spares neither ministers nor people; though there was not one minister in Connecticut, nor one of the standing churches, that favoured these errors, but unitedly spake and preached against them. Mr. Edwards lamented this censorious spirit, and utterly condemned it, at the same time stating who might be termed opposers, but named no man as such, nor gave the least intimation with respect to any particular person. This spirit of detraction prevailed only among the separates, who, in comparison with the great numbers who were apparently born of GOD, were indeed very few.

The Doctor apologizes for the harsh words in some of the papers he had occasion to use, and says they should have been altered had it been in his power. In his preface, p. 29, he says, "I have endeavored to write so as to give no just occasion of offence to any gentleman with whom I have thought it needful to concern myself." Yet the Doctor said these hard things, and made these injurious representations, with respect to great numbers of his brethren in the ministry, and probably thousands of good people, who were truly subjects of Divine grace, and had proved their faith and love by lives of strict piety, righteousness and temperance in all things. How could the Doctor conceive that he gave no just occasion of offence to those gentlemen in the ministry, whom he had published to the world as being quakers in their youth, and as since acting under the influence of those principles, when

BOOK II. they had been examined and approved by associations and ordaining councils, had been a number of years in
1747. the ministry, and were of good report, not only among the people with whom they laboured, but among their brethren in the ministry? Another thing is very remarkable: In his preface, p. 29, he says, "As to facts, I have published none but such as I really believe myself, and, as I think, upon sufficient evidence:" and further states, that he had been a circuit of more than three hundred miles, and had conversed with most of the ministers, and many other gentlemen in the country, and settled a correspondence with several of them, with a particular view to ascertain the truth of things upon better evidence than mere hearsay; when he had not probably conversed with one minister, nor settled a correspondence with any, but those who thought unfavorably of the work; and when he had condescended repeatedly to take his accounts from the newspapers. And further, in answer to Mr. Edwards' observation, that the instruments of the work had been too much, and in many instances unreasonably blamed, by others, he says, "So far were they from magnifying real errors, that I scruple not to say, they have never set them in their full light: Nay, as to some of the disorders of the times, I do not think it is in the power of the worst opposer of them all, to describe them to the life." (p. 391.) Did Dr. Chauncey really believe all that party and prejudiced men said, and all the anonymous pieces in the newspapers? Was he so unacquainted with the nature of facts as to imagine that newspaper publications, especially when parties ran high, were sufficient evidence? Could he suppose that representations of one party only, when their names were generally concealed, without hearing the evidence on the other side, were sufficient proof? If such was the case, or if he was influenced by prejudice to credit unsubstantial facts, it must very greatly invalidate the Doctor's history of those times.

Observations on Dr. Chauncey's book.

How widely he differed from a great body of his brethren, will appear from the public declarations of a very great number of ministers, in all parts of the country. About ninety ministers, on previous notice, met at Boston, on the 7th of July, 1743, and after consultation, came to the following result, viz:

"If it is the duty of every one, capable of obversation and reflection, to take a constant religious notice of what occurs, in the daily course of common providence; how much more is it expected that those events in the divine economy, wherein there is a signal display of the power,

grace and mercy of GOD in behalf of the church, should be observed with sacred wonder, pleasure, and gratitude?— Nor should the people of GOD content themselves with a silent notice, but publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all his wondrous works.

Testimony and advice of an assembly of pastors of churches in New-England.

"More particularly, when CHRIST is pleased to come into his church in a plentiful effusion of his holy Spirit, by whose powerful influences the ministration of his word is attended with uncommon success, salvation work carried on in an eminent manner, and his kingdom which is in men, and consists in righteousness and peace, and joy in the HOLY GHOST, is notably advanced. This is an event, which above all others invites the notice, and bespeaks the praises of the Lord's people, and should be declared abroad for a memorial of the divine grace; as it tends to confirm the divinity of a despised gospel, and manifests the work of the Holy Spirit in the application of redemption, which too many are ready to reproach; as it may have a happy effect, by the divine blessing, for the revival of religion in other places, and the enlargement of the kingdom of CHRIST in the world; and as it tends to enliven the prayers, strengthen the faith, and raise the hopes, of such as are waiting for the kingdom of GOD, and the coming on of the glory of the latter days.

"But if this is justly expected of all who profess themselves the disciples of Christ, that they should openly acknowledge and rejoice in a work of this nature, wherein the honor of their divine master is so much concerned; how much more is it to be looked for from those employed in the ministry of the Lord Jesus, and so stand in a special relation to him, as servants of his household, and officers in his kingdom? These stand as watchmen upon the walls of his Jerusalem; and it is their business, not only to give the alarm of war, when the enemy is approaching, but to sound the trumpet of praise when the King of Zion cometh in meek triumph, having salvation.

"For these and other reasons, we, whose names are hereunto annexed, pastors of churches in New-England, met together in Boston, July 7th, 1743, think it our indispensable duty, (without judging or censuring such of our brethren, as cannot at present see things in the same light with us,) in this open and conjunct manner, to declare, to the glory of sovereign grace, our full persuasion, either from what we have seen ourselves, or received upon credible testimony, that there has been a happy and remarkable revival of religion in many parts of this land, through an uncommon divine influence, after a long time of great de-

BOOK II. cay and deadness, and a sensible and very awful withdrawal of the Holy Spirit from his sanctuary among us.

1743. The testimony of the pastors of churches, &c.

Though the work of grace wrought in the hearts of men, by the word and spirit of God, and which has more or less been carried on from the beginning, is always the same for substance, and agrees, at one time and another, as to the main strokes and lineaments of it, yet the present work appears to be remarkable and extraordinary, on account of the numbers wrought upon. We never before saw so many brought under soul concern, and with distress, making the inquiry, What shall we do to be saved? and these, persons of all characters and all ages. With regard to the suddenness and quick progress of it, many persons and places were surprised with the gracious visit, together, or near about the same time; and the heavenly influence diffused itself far and wide, like the light of the morning. Also, in respect to the degree of operation, both in a way of terror and in a way of consolation; attended in many with unusual bodily effects.

"Not that all who were accounted the subjects of the present work, have had these extraordinary degrees of previous distress and subsequent joy; but many, and we suppose the greatest number, have been wrought on in a more gentle and silent way, and without any other appearances than are common and usual at other times, when persons have been awakened to a solemn concern about salvation, and have been thought to have passed out of a state of nature into a state of grace.

"As to those whose inward concern has occasioned extraordinary outward distresses, the most of them when we came to converse with them, were able to give, what appeared to us, a rational account of what affected their minds, viz. a quick sense of their guilt, misery and danger; and they would often mention the passages in the sermons they heard, or particular texts of scripture which were set home upon them with such powerful impression. And as to such whose joys have carried them into transports and extacies, they, in like manner, have accounted for them, from a lively sense of the danger they hoped they were freed from, and the happiness they were now possessed of; such clear views of divine and heavenly things, and particularly of the excellences and loveliness of the Lord Jesus Christ, and such sweet tastes of redeeming love, as they never had before. The instances were very few, in which we had reason to think these affections were produced by visionary or sensible representations, or any other images, than such as scripture itself presents to us.

1743.

The testimony of the pastors of the churches, &c.

"And here we think it not amiss to declare, that in dealing with these persons, we have been careful to inform them that the nature of conversion does not consist in such passionate feelings, and to warn them not to look upon their state safe, because they have passed out of deep distress into high joys, unless they experience a renovation of nature, followed with a change of life and a course of vital holiness. Nor have we gone into such an opinion of the bodily effects with which this work has been attended in some of its subjects, as to judge them any signs that persons who have been so affected, were then under a saving work of the spirit of God. No, we never so much as called these bodily seizures, convictions; or spake of them as the immediate work of the Holy Spirit. Yet we do not think them inconsistent with a work of God upon the soul at that very time; but judge that those inward impressions, which come from the spirit of God, those terrors and consolations which he is the author of, may, according to the natural frame and constitution which some persons are of, occasion such bodily effects. And therefore, that those extraordinary outward symptoms, are not an argument that the work is delusive, or from the influence and agency of the evil spirit.

"With respect to numbers of those who have been under the impressions of the present day, we must declare there is good ground to conclude they are become real christians; the account they give of their conviction and consolation, agreeing with the standard of the holy scriptures, and corresponding with the experiences of the saints, and evidenced by the external fruits of holiness in their lives: so that they appear to those who have the nearest access to them, as so many epistles of Christ, written, not with ink, but by the spirit of the living God, attesting to the genuineness of the present operation, and representing the excellency of it.

"Indeed, many who appeared to be under convictions, and were much altered in their external behaviour when this work began, and while it was most flourishing, have lost their impressions, and are relapsed into their former manner of life: Yet of those who were judged hopefully converted, and made a public profession of religion, there have been fewer instances of scandal and apostacy than might be expected. So that, as far as we are able to form a judgment, the face of religion is lately changed much for the better, in many of our towns and congregations; and together with a reformation observable in divers instances, there appears more experimental godliness, and live-

BOOK II. nine ministers of the congregational churches in Boston, and the Rev. Mr. Moorhead, of the presbyterian congregation in Boston. Dr. Chauncey was almost alone in his opposition to the work, among the ministers in Boston. Most of the hundred and fifteen ministers mentioned above belonged to the province of Massachusetts. Besides these, there were a considerable number of others, who afterwards sent in their testimonial to the work; some in Massachusetts, some in New-Hampshire, and one or two in Rhode-Island.

Testimony of the ministers in Connecticut, 1743.

In Connecticut, two associations bore witness to it, as a glorious work of God: the whole association of Windham county, in their letter to the churches under their pastoral care: and the association of the eastern district of Fairfield county, in a letter to Mr. Prince, in 1743.* Twelve ministers convened at Norwich, June 23d, 1743.† The association in Fairfield county, in their attestation say, "We look upon ourselves and all the ministers and people of God throughout the land, under infinite obligations for ever to admire and adore rich, free and sovereign grace, so amazingly displayed in visiting a professing people, in a day of such general security, indolence and formality; causing so great an awakening of all sorts of persons, convincing so many of sin, righteousness and judgment, and bringing such numbers of different ages, hopefully to close savingly with the dear Jesus, on the self denying terms of the gospel, so as that it far exceeded even any hopes or expectation of ours, as well as any thing of this nature we ever saw in our day.

"We cannot but be sensibly touched with sorrow, to see that there are many, who (not duly distinguishing between the blessed work, and some evils that have attended it, by the misconduct both of some of the instruments and subjects,) stumble and are in hazard of falling: as well as to find reason to fear, that in some places, the work itself is opposed.

"To conclude, we cannot omit giving in our public testimony, from our own happy experience and observation, that the frequent interchange of ministerial labors, has been remarkably owned and blessed of God to the hopeful awakening of many souls; and could heartily wish that ministerial communion, and an hearty reception, as well as joyful improvement of each others ministerial gifts, and occasional labors might still be encouraged and maintained among gospel ministers throughout the land.

ANTHONY STODDARD, of Woodbury, first society.

* Prince's Christian History, vol. ii. p. 311, 312. † Vol. i. p. 195, 196.

SAMUEL COOK, of Stratfield.
JOHN GRAHAM, of Woodbury, second society.
HEZEKIAH GOLD, of Stratford, first society.
JEDEDIAH MILLS, of Ripton, in Stratford.
ELISHA KENT.
EBENEZER WHITE, of Danbury.
BENAJAH CASE, of New-Fairfield.
JOSEPH BELLAMY, of Woodbury, third society.
DAVID JUDSON, of Newtown.
REUBEN JUDD, of Woodbury, fourth society.

In the attestation of the Rev. gentlemen in the ministry, convened at Norwich, there is the following declaration, viz. "We are abundantly satisfied, that there has of late, for about three years past, been a great and wonderful revival of religion in the several places to which we minister, and in divers others which we are acquainted with; wherein through the mighty power and grace of GOD, great numbers of persons of all sorts, but especially young people, have been greatly awakened and convinced of sin; and many, as far as we can judge, upon careful observation and examination, truly humbled at the foot of a sovereign and righteous GOD, and savingly brought to believe in the LORD JESUS CHRIST for everlasting life; and have since lived so as to give credit and confirmation to their pretensions; and do now adorn their profession in an humble and holy life and christian conversation; walking in the fear and love of GOD, and bringing forth fruits meet for repentance in the exercise of the graces and virtues of the Christian life."

"Although many who have made profession of christianity and conversion have run into imprudent things, and discovered much spiritual pride by rash censorious judgings, hasty separations from their ministers and brethren, and some have embraced wrong notions and principles in religion: (though there has been little of that in the places where we live:) yet we know of great numbers who have been happily preserved from such falls and failings, and who carry themselves like the meek and humble disciples of the blessed JESUS; and some who have been led astray through the subtlety of satan, have by grace been recovered in a great measure, convinced of those follies and mistakes, and humbled for the pride and haughtiness of their hearts. And all of a bad nature and tendency, that we have seen, does not give us any reason to think that there has not been a great and glorious work of divine grace carried on among us, and a great reformation and revival of religion; for which we desire to praise and adore the sovereign mercy of GOD.

BOOK II. "Thus much we thought ourselves obliged to say to the praise of divine grace, and the glory of Him who is the author of all good, to whom be all glory, &c."

We are your brethren, &c.

JOSEPH MEACHAM, pastor of a church in Coventry.
BENJAMIN LORD, pastor of the first church in Norwich.
HEZEKIAH LORD, pastor of a church in Preston.
SOLOMON WILLIAMS, pastor of the first church in Lebanon.
DANIEL KIRTLAND, pastor of a church in Norwich.
JABEZ WRIGHT, pastor of a church in Norwich.
JOHN OWEN, pastor of the first church in Groton.
SAMUEL MOSELY, pastor of a church in Windham.
JONATHAN PARSONS, pastor of the first church in Lyme.
ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, pastor of a church in Lebanon.
BENJAMIN POMEROY, pastor of the church in Hebron.
DAVID JEWETT, pastor of the second church in New-London.

The general association of the colony of Connecticut acknowledge the goodness of God in this revival, and give thanks unto him for such a merciful visitation.*

Attestations from New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.

The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, president of the college at Elizabethtown, attested the work as a gracious and glorious visitation of GOD's people; and at the close of his narrative of the work of GOD at Elizabethtown and Newark, he observes, "I was exceedingly gratified by the declaration of your last convention of ministers at Boston, and have reason to praise GOD that there is such a number among you who are willing to give him the glory of his special grace so eminently displayed of late." In his narrative he says, "numbers were almost daily repairing to me for direction and assistance in their eternal concerns; there were then probably more come to me in one day on that errand than usually in half a year's space before." Afterwards, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Foxcraft, he says, "I have still the comfortable news to inform you of, that there is yet a great revival of religion in these parts. I have had more young people address me for direction in their spiritual concerns within these three months, than in thirty years before."† The three presbyteries of New-York, New-Brunswick and New-Castle, owned it as a glorious work of GOD. The presbytery of New-York protested against such things as tended to disparage the work, or reflect dishonor upon it. Their protest is in these words: "We protest against all those passages in any of the

* Records of the General Association, 1742.
† Prince's Christian History, vol. 1, p. 256 and 258.

pamphlets which have been published in these parts, which seem to reflect upon the work of divine power and grace which has been carrying on in such a wonderful manner in many of our congregations, and declare to all the world, that we look upon it to be the indispensable duty of all our ministers to encourage that glorious work with their most faithful and diligent endeavours."‡ The presbyteries of New-Brunswick and New-Castle, manifested their cordial concurrence with the protestation of the presbytery of New-York. The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson was the first signer of the protest of the presbytery of New-York. BOOK II. 1743.

To these testimonials of this glorious work of God, it is important to add the attestation of the Rev. Mr. Prince, one of the scribes of the convention at Boston, viz : Testimony of the Rev. Mr. Prince.

"That very few of the ministers present in the late venerable assembly, complained of errors, or disorders in the congregations they belonged to: That several declared they had none from the beginning; but, in the extraordinary revival of religion among their people, the work had been carried on with great seriousness and regularity: That others declared, that where there had been some disorders and mistakes at first in some, through the great numbers suddenly and mightily awakened, the great distresses of some in their convictions, the great joy of others on their laying hold on Christ and finding a wondrous change within them, the frailty of some, and the surprise of all; yet, in a little while, they saw and owned their mistakes, came into a more settled way of thinking, speaking and behaving, and the disorders ceased; declaring also, that both errors and disorders had been greatly magnified and multiplied, above what they really were, in the congregations they belonged to; and that as far as they could learn, the greatest errors and disorders were in those places where the ministers opposed the work, and thereby lost much of their respect and influence.

"To this may be added, that as several of the Rev. pastors present in the said assembly, subscribed the testimony and advice as to the substance, others, as to substance, scope and end, and others without restriction: this seemed chiefly to arise from this particular passage in the advice, viz. "That ministers do not invade the province of others, and in ordinary cases, preach in another's parish, without his consent." In which particular article, some of the pastors thought that ministers preaching in other ministers parishes, was not sufficiently testified against.

‡ Prince's Christian History, vol. 2, p. 291.

BOOK II. 1743. Other pastors feared, that this article was in danger of being construed and perverted to the great infringement of christian and human liberty of conscience. And other pastors apprehended that this article was sufficiently guarded by the limitation to ordinary cases: leaving it to the serious conscience, both of ministers and others, to judge, when the cases are ordinary or not ordinary.

"And as people of all denominations and opinions in the christian world, reckon it lawful, in many cases, for ministers to preach in the parishes of others, without their knowledge and against their consent: Thus the protestants preached in the parishes of papist ministers in Hungary, and formerly in France; the presbyterians, congregationalists, baptists and quakers, in the parishes of episcopalian ministers in England, Ireland, Virginia and Carolina; the episcopalians, baptists and quakers, in the parishes of congregational ministers in New-England; and this liberty cannot be invaded, or denied, without inhumanly invading the essential rights of conscience: So it must be left to the serious consciences of ministers and people: And in the free exercise of conscience, they are doubtless to be indulged, with great tenderness, meekness and forbearance; as every man desires to be indulged in the liberty of his own conscience."*

Mr. Prince's observations.

Mr. Prince, in the account he gives of the work in Boston, observes, "Those who call these convictions by the name of religious frights or fears, and then ascribe them to the mere natural or mechanical influence of terrible words, sounds and gestures, moving tones or boisterous ways of speaking, appear to me to be not sufficiently acquainted with the subjects of this work, as carried on in the town in general, or with the nature of their convictions.† No, conviction is quite another thing. It is the work of the spirit of God, a sovereign, free and almighty agent; wherein he gives the sinful soul such a clear and lively view of the glory of the divine sovereignty, omnipresence, holiness, justice, truth and power; the extensiveness, spirituality and strictness of his law; the binding nature, efficacy and dreadfulness of his curses; the multitude and heinousness of its sins, both of commission and omission; the horrible vileness, wickedness, perverseness and hypocrisy of heart, with its utter impotency, either rightly to repent, or believe in Christ, or change itself: so that it sees itself in a lost undone and perishing state; without

* Prince's Christian History, vol. i. page 197, 198.

† To these natural causes, Dr. Chauncey attempts to make it appear that the work was to be ascribed, and not to the spirit of God.

the least degree of worthiness to recommend it to the right- BOOK II.
eous and holy God, and the least degree of strength to
help it out of this condition. These discoveries are made 1743.
by some revealed truths, either in reading, hearing or remembrance: When in hearing, sometimes by words of terror, and sometimes by words of tenderness: And the Holy Spirit, with such internal evidence and power, applies them to the conscience, that they become as sharp arrows, piercing into the heart, wounding, paining and sticking in it, when all the mechanical impressions of frightful sounds are over, for many days, and weeks, and months, if not years together; until this Divine Agent, by these and other convictions, agreeable to his inspired word, entirely subdues the soul to Christ."

Further, to show the absurdity of those men who ascribed this glorious work to natural causes, he observes, "In Old England and in New, I have been a constant preacher and observer of the religious state of those who heard me, for above thirty years; they have passed under many scores of most dreadful tempests of thunder and lightning; wherein, as the psalmist represents, the voice of the Lord was upon the waters, the God of glory thundered: Yea, even since the revival; on Friday night, July 30th, 1742, at the lecture in the south church, near nine o'clock, being very dark, there came on a very terrible storm of thunder and lightning; and just as the blessing was given, an amazing clap broke over the church, with piercing repetitions, which set many a shrieking, and the whole assembly into great consternation. God then appeared terrible out of his high places. He thundered marvellously with his voice: and at this, the hearts of many (as Elihu's) trembled, and were moved out of their places, for near two hours together. And yet in all these displays of the majesty of God, and terrifying apprehensions of danger, of sudden destruction, neither in this surprising night, nor in all the course of thirty years, have I scarce known any, by these kinds of terrors, brought under genuine conviction. And what minister has a voice like God, and can thunder like him?"*

Observations on a general view of the work.

Nothing is more evident from scripture and the course of providence, than this, that genuine convictions and a general reformation among a people, cannot be effected by the most alarming appearances, and the most tremendous judgments, without the special operations of the Holy Spirit upon the heart. Did all the terrible things done in Egypt, and at the Red Sea, produce conviction and refor-

* Prince's Christian History, vol. ii. p. 386, 387, 388, 389.

BOOK II. mation in the Egyptians? Did the destruction of all the first born, in one night, bring them to repentance? Did all the wonders in the wilderness, and the tremendous appearance of God on Mount Sinai, at which Moses and all Israel greatly feared and trembled, produce a genuine conviction and reformation? Have mighty earthquakes, which have shaken cities to their foundations, and buried thousands of the citizens in their ruins, been able to produce these effects? Have the most mortal sicknesses, which have deprived families of a numerous offspring in a few weeks, and spread mourning through a whole country—have the terrible visitations which some of our capital cities have, of late years, experienced, had those happy effects? Certainly they have not. GOD has reserved it for the peculiar honour of his HOLY SPIRIT, to convince men of their sins, renew their hearts, and reform their lives. They afford strong evidence, that there is a GOD, and of the truth, power, and excellency of the christian religion.

Observations, &c.

A great outcry was made against the disorders which, in some places, attended the work; but of these, in most of the churches, there was little or nothing; and, perhaps, they were not greater in any than were found in the church at Corinth, even in the apostolic age. Allowing that there were some impostors and false teachers, this is no more than was found in the primitive and best ages of the church. How does the apostle Paul complain of false apostles and evil workers, and of such as made shipwreck of the faith.

A great matter was made of the separations which were made in some places, and of the enthusiasm which appeared among them. These, indeed, were unhappy; their errors, at first, were great and dangerous; and the separations, in some places, have been of lasting disadvantage, both in a civil and religious view. Yet, in justice, there ought to be some things said in their favour, and in extenuation of their faults: there were some things in the churches in general, at that time, which were grievous to many good people, and have been judged wrong by the great body of judicious and learned divines; particularly, that unregenerate men have a right to the sacramental table; can consistently enter into covenant with GOD, and partake of the Lord's supper, and ought to do it as a means of their conversion to GOD;* and that persons who did not come to the Lord's supper, might have their children baptized, upon what was called owning the covenant. Another error of these times, was, the ordaining of ministers, or in-

* This seems to have been the case at Canterbury, and other extraordinary measures were taken.

troducing them into the ministry, without the call of the church, or against a majority of it; and sometimes even where there was not a majority of the legal voters in the society, for the candidate to be ordained.† In some other instances, separations were occasioned, not by enthusiasm, or error, as to the doctrines of the gospel, but by reason of the ordination; though not against a majority of the church and society, yet against a large minority of sober, respectable and orthodox members, both of the church and society, who were opposed to the doctrines and preaching of the candidate, who was ordained. At the same time, the severe and extraordinary act of the colony, enforcing the constitution by law, which never was originally designed, and was, undoubtedly, inconsistent with the rights of conscience, gave further ground of disaffection to the constitution, and of separation from the standing churches. The shutting of the zealous and powerful preachers out of their pulpits, by numbers of the ministers; the suspending of persons from the communion of the churches, for hearing them in other parishes, had a further ill tendency, to create distrust in their own ministers, as to their real religion, and to alienate their minds from them.

BOOK II. Observations continued.

It is also abundantly evident, from the accounts given of those times, that there was a great defect with respect to the plain and faithful preaching of the doctrines of the reformation; of original sin; regeneration, by the supernatural influences of the DIVINE SPIRIT; justification by faith; effectual calling; and the saints' perseverance. These doctrines were very little preached and insisted on, by some of the clergy. Some were evidently Arminians. Others there were who preached nothing distinguishing, so that it could be told what their opinions were.

Imprisoning the separate preachers, and the cruel manner in which they were treated, tended to alienate them, and fix them in their prejudices and separation.

With respect to some of the errors, which some of the separates seemed to hold at first, I do not find, by inquiry, that ever they preached or propagated them: especially, with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, they preached nothing, I believe, contrary to sound doctrine. Exclusive of some peculiarities, more especially relative to the constitutions of churches and church discipline, they maintained the doctrines contained in the Westminster catechism and confession of faith.

† At Plainfield this was in fact the case, as is proved by the manuscripts of the gentleman ordained, now in my hands. He was persuaded to be ordained by the importunity of the ordaining council, who hoped that, by his prudence and good sense, he would unite them.

BOOK II. As to the admission of persons to their communion and church discipline, they were as strict as the standing churches, at that time, if not more so. They as much insisted on the necessity of sanctification and a holy life, that men might be saved, as did the standing ministers and churches. Some of their preachers were exemplary, and, considering their advantages, were good preachers. This character is given of the separate church, and of Mr. Thomas Stephens, their pastor, at Plainfield, by the Rev. Mr. Rowland, who was contemporary with him during the whole of his ministry, viz.:—"Although some things appeared among them, at first, very unwarrantable; yet, considering their infant state, it must be acknowledged by all that were acquainted with them, that they were a people, in general, conscientiously engaged for maintaining and promoting the truth; and the said Mr. Stephens, their minister, was a very clear and powerful preacher of the gospel, as must be acknowledged by all that heard him; especially, considering his education, which was hardly equal to common learning."*

Observations continued.

How far enthusiasm may consist with true religion, it is difficult to determine. Governor Hutchinson relates of the Boston enthusiasts, who were banished for their errors, that "many of them returned, and were employed in posts of honour and trust; were exemplary in their lives and conversation; and their letters and private papers shewed that they were pious and devout; and, with the name of Antinomians, paid the strictest regard to moral virtue."† I cannot but hope, from the best information I have been able to obtain, that this was the case with many of the separates. They gradually became sensible of many of their errors, and renounced them.‡

Of all the ministers and churches in the colony, those of the county of New-Haven manifested the greatest opposition to the work which was carried on in the land, in the religious revival, and adopted the most severe and tyrannical measures to suppress it. They not only suspended the ministers who ordained Mr. Lee over a congrega-

* Manuscripts of the Rev. David Rowland.

† Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 75.

‡ In an Historical Narrative and Declaration, agreed upon at Killingly, by a number of their churches, convened at that place, Sept. 19th, 1781, they confess and condemn most of the errors of the first separates; and express their willingness to hold communion with such of the standing churches, as required a credible profession of christianity, in the admission of members to full communion in their churches, and had renounced the half way practice, as it was called. They also declared their assent to the Westminster catechism, and the confession of faith in the Cambridge and Saybrook platforms.

tional church, from their associational communion; but they undertook to reprimand the church, for not forming on the constitution, and adopting the Cambridge platform. They reprimanded Mr. Cook, for assisting in the formation of the church in New-Haven. They, indeed, proceeded so far as to shut their pulpits against the ministers of the whole presbytery of New-Brunswick, for their disorderly conduct, in intermeddling with the separation at Milford, until they should make proper satisfaction.* BOOK II.

They seem to have rendered themselves unpopular, and to have awakened the general resentment of their brethren. In June, 1749, the general association was at the Rev. Mr. Noyes': four members only met. There seems to have been such a disagreement between the ministers at this time, that they would not meet together. Two general associations successively, were so thin, that no business was transacted. But, notwithstanding the unreasonable and powerful opposition made to the work of GOD at this time, and all the clamour which was made about errors and disorders, it was the most glorious and extensive revival of religion, and reformation of manners, which this country ever experienced. It is estimated that in the term of two or three years thirty or forty thousand souls were born into the family of heaven, in New-England, besides great numbers in New-York and New-Jersey, and in the more southern provinces.

The effects on great numbers, were abiding and most happy. They were the most uniform, exemplary christians, with whom I was ever acquainted. I was born, and had my education, in that part of the town of Hebron, in which the work was most prevalent and powerful. Many at that time imagined they were born of God, made a profession of their faith in Christ, were admitted to full communion, and appeared to walk with God. They were extraordinary for their constant and serious attention on the public worship; they were prayerful, righteous, peaceable and charitable. They kept up their religious meetings for prayer, reading and religious conversation, for many years. They were strict in the religion and government of their families, and I never knew that any one of them was ever guilty of scandal, or fell under discipline. About eight or ten years after the religious revival and reformation, that part of the town was made a distinct society, and it was mentioned to Mr. Lothrop, the pastor elect, as an encouragement to settle with them, that there was not a drunkard in the whole parish. While I lived in it, I did not know

* Records of the association of the county of New-Haven, 1743.

BOOK II. one prayerless family among his people, nor ever heard of one.

Some of those people, who dated their conversion from that period, lived until they were far advanced in life; and after I was settled in the ministry, I became acquainted with them in one place and another. They appeared to be some of the most consistent, practical christians, with whom I ever had an acquaintance. Their light shone before men, through a long life, and brightened as they advanced on their way. Some I was called to visit, in their last moments, in full possession of their rational powers, who appeared perfectly to acquiesce in the will of God, to die in the full assurance of faith, and in perfect triumph over the last enemy.

But the principal instruments of this work, Whitefield, Pomeroy, Wheelock, Bellamy, &c. were spoken of by the opposers as the worst of men, even with contempt and abhorrence. At the same time they were ever greatly esteemed and beloved by the warm, zealous, experimental christians in the country, and many owned them as their fathers in CHRIST.*

* The incomparable Cowper, under the name of LEUCONOMUS, thus characterizes Mr. Whitefield:

He lov'd the world that hated him: the tear
That dropp'd upon his bible was sincere:
Assail'd by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was, a blameless life;
And he that forg'd, and he that threw the dart,
Had each a brothers' interest in his heart.
Paul's love of CHRIST, and steadiness unbrib'd,
Were copied close in him, and well transcrib'd.
He followed Paul; his zeal a kindred flame,
His apostolic charity the same;
Like him, cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas,
Forsaking country, kindred, friends, and ease;
Like him, he labor'd, and like him content
To bear it, suffer'd shame where'er he went.
Blush calumny! and upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare the room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which aim'd at him, have pierc'd the offended skies,
And say, blot out my sin, confess'd, deplor'd,
Against thine image in thy saint, O LORD.

Cowper's Poems, vol. i. p. 126.

Dr. Haweis speaks of him, as instrumental of more conversions than any man, since the apostle Paul.

CHAPTER IX.

Spanish and French war. The colony put into a state of defence. Expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies. Regiments raised in the colonies. His majesty's requisition of the colony. The measures adopted in compliance with it. Porto Bello attacked, taken and plundered. Unsuccessful expedition against Carthagena and Cuba. The French declare war against England. Canso taken by the French. Expedition against Cape Breton. It surrenders to Admiral Warren and General Pepperell. Sickness among the Provincials who kept garrison there. The effects of its capture on the French court. The Duke d'Anville's armament. Alarm in New-England. His total failure. Supplies furnished by Connecticut during the war. The general effects of it on the colonies. Pacification.

AS the differences which at this time subsisted between the courts of Great-Britain and Spain, threatened the speedy commencement of hostilities between the two nations, the general assembly passed several acts for the purpose of putting the colony into a state of defence. It was ordered that ten cannon should be procured and put into the battery at New-London, and that it should be well furnished with ammunition. It was also provided that cannon and swivels should be provided for a sloop of war: and that the new towns on the frontiers should be provided with arms and ammunition for their defence. The militia were also now formed into regiments, and a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major were appointed to each regiment. The militia thus formed consisted of thirteen regiments.

Oct. 11th, 1739.

The colony put into a state of defence.

About the same time war was declared between the two nations: expeditions were soon undertaken against the Spanish West-Indies, Porto Bello, Carthagena and Cuba. Requisitions were made on the colonies to assist in these enterprises. It was contemplated that four regiments should be raised in the colonies in America, to be transported to Jamaica, there to form a junction with a powerful armament from Great-Britain. His majesty required that the expense of victualling the troops and of providing all necessaries for them until they should join the armament in the West-Indies, and of their transportation, except their clothing, pay, arms, tents and ammunition, should be borne by the colonies. Connecticut engaged

Spanish war, Oct. 23d.

Expeditions against the Spanish West-Indies.

BOOK II. with cheerfulness and expedition in his majesty's measures. A special assembly was convoked in July, and it
1740. was enacted, that "Whereas his majesty has thought fit to declare war against Spain, and hath appointed an expedition against the territories of the catholic king in the West-Indies, and given his orders and instructions under his royal sign manual, now laid before this assembly by his honor the governor, for the raising of such troops in the colony as shall voluntarily enlist in the said service, to join the British troops in a general rendezvous in the West-Indies: and whereas it appears by said instructions, that it is his majesty's expectation that the assembly will provide victuals, transports, and all necessaries for the said troops, to be raised in this colony, except their clothes, tents, arms, ammunition and pay, until they arrive at the place of the general rendezvous, which important affair this assembly being most willing to exert themselves to promote by a cheerful conformity to his majesty's instructions, therefore be it enacted,—That there shall be provided victuals, transports, and all other necessaries for said troops, &c. till their arrival in the West-Indies." Committees were appointed to carry these measures into immediate effect.

The governor, previously to this, had issued his proclamation giving notice of his majesty's pleasure, and encouraging the enlistment of volunteers for the service. The committees were now ordered to collect the names of all who had enlisted in the several counties. The governor and council were directed to appoint the officers and to give notice who they were, that the soldiers might choose under whom they would serve. The governor was desired to issue a second proclamation, as his majesty's pleasure was now more fully known than it had been before, to give further information, and encourage able bodied men to enlist into the service. Men of influence were appointed in every county to beat up for volunteers. The assembly wished the governor and committee of war to forward the expedition with the utmost dispatch. They were authorised to draw on the treasury for such sum or sums as should be found necessary for the service.

At the same assembly an act was passed, that a sloop of war of eighty or an hundred tons should be provided for the defence of their seamen and the coast. At the session in May preceding, and this session, bills were emitted to supply the exigencies of the colony, to the amount of 45,000 pounds; 30,000 pounds in May, and 15,000 pounds at this time.

The ministry in Great-Britain made the utmost exertions to make effectual provision of all articles necessary for the success of the expedition. The armament sailed for the West-Indies in October, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of great popularity and distinguished abilities, convoyed by twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates, fire ships, bomb ketches and tenders, commanded by Sir Cholomer Ogle. A British historian says, "they were likewise furnished with hospital ships, and store ships, loaded with provisions, ammunition, all sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience. In a word, the ministry exerted their utmost endeavours to render the armament as complete as possible; and never had the nation more reason to hope for success from any undertaking." When this armament and vice-admiral Vernon formed a junction at Jamaica, the whole fleet consisted of twenty-nine ships of the line, with nearly the same number of frigates, fire ships and bomb ketches, well manned, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, stores and necessaries. The number of seamen amounted to fifteen thousand: the land forces, including the four regiments from the American colonies, were not less than twelve thousand. In the November preceding this junction, admiral Vernon had taken and plundered Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Darien, and demolished its fortifications; and now he found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army ever sent into those seas. The nation had great expectations from him; but they were miserably disappointed. Lord Cathcart died in the West-Indies before the complete junction of the fleets. This probably gave a fatal blow to the success of the expedition. The chief command of the army now devolved on general Wentworth, who was not equal to the command of such an army. Vernon was a man of uncommon prejudices and very much governed by his passions, and an inveterate hatred of France was said to be his ruling passion. Under the influence of this he used his exertions and authority to obtain the consent of a council of war to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, with the view of falling in with a French squadron commanded by the Marquis d'Autin, which had been dispatched from France to reinforce the Spaniards. It happened that the French admiral before his arrival had sailed for Europe. Disappointed in this quarter, it was determined to make an attempt upon Carthagena. It was about the tenth of March when they commenced their operations against the enemy. Two months time had been lost, and by this time the garrison

1740.

January 9th.

Book II. had been reinforced by the French, so that it amo
four thousand men. The fortifications had also
1741. creased and strengthened. Admiral Vernon and
Wentworth, nevertheless attacked the town, and ca
their operations against it from the 10th of March
beginning of April. They demolished the strong f
castles in the harbor, and the admiral forced his v
it. An attack was made by Wentworth upon th
but the troops were obliged to retire with the loss
or five hundred men. In the course of the expediti
destroyed six Spanish men of war, eight galleons a
smaller ships. In July they made an attempt upo
and of Cuba. They possessed themselves of a f
bor, but by reason of an extraordinary sickness a
tality, they were not able to effect any thing o
quence.

According to the accounts given of the sickness,
nearly as mortal as the plague. More than a t
men died in a day for several days.* Of nearly o
sand men from New-England, not one hundred r
Of five hundred from Massachusetts, fifty only retu

The Spaniards laid claim to the American seas,
terrupted the trade between Great Britain and her c
This was one occasion of the war ; and the parliam
titioned his majesty never to make peace with Sp
she should renounce that claim. She had bee
neighbor, especially to the southern colonies, in
peace ; and as it was expected that she would be
worse one in time of war, governor Oglethorpe, o
gia, having at the commencement of the war rec
general's command, undertook an expedition aga
Expedition against the Floridas. Floridas. Assisted by Virginia and the Caroli
raised an army of more than two thousand men, co
of regular troops, provincials and Indian allies.
ceeded in reducing two Spanish forts, Diego and
St. Augustine was cannonaded and bombarded fo
considerable time ; but after all his exertions, he
want of a sufficient naval force, obliged to raise th
and the expedition miscarried.

Invasion of Georgia. In 1742, the Spaniards, in their turn, invaded G
Don Manuel de Monteano, about the last of June,
formidable armament, came to anchor off Simon
His fleet consisted of thirty two sail, on board o
were more than three thousand men. The utmo
tions were made by general Oglethorpe to preve

* In the term of two days only, when the mortality was the
there died three thousand four hundred and forty men.

sailing by fort Simons. The enemy, notwithstanding, sailed up the river Altamaha, landed their troops, erected a battery of twenty eighteen pounders, and hoisting the bloody flag, threatened the country with a general destruction. Georgia and the Carolinas were filled with trembling and dismay. General Oglethorpe had no force sufficient by any means to meet the enemy. He perceived that the most he could effect, was by vigilant and vigorous measures, to act on the defensive, and to adopt all means of retarding the enemy, and of gaining time, until he should be reinforced from the Carolinas. The general watched all their motions by night and day. The Indian allies, accompanied by his highlanders, ranged through the woods and harassed their out posts. When the enemy attempted to advance, they were so impeded by morasses and thickets, and by the furious attacks of the Indians and highlanders, who laid wait for them and harassed them in every convenient place, that they were driven back in every attempt. The general at last, by a stratagem, had the good fortune to make the enemy believe that a great reinforcement was just at hand, and they decamped, in a panick, and returned to St. Augustine, without effecting any thing of importance. BOOK II. 1742.

Though the French made professions of peace, yet they were constantly assisting the Spaniards and preparing for war. It had been expected from the commencement of the war with Spain, that France would unite with her: and according to the general expectation, on the 4th of March, 1744, she proclaimed war against England. England, the same month, proclaimed war against France. But before it was known in New-England that war was proclaimed between the two nations, Duvivoir fitted out an expedition from Louisburg, and on the 13th of May, surprised Canso. He also made an attempt upon Annapolis, but this post had been reinforced by the Massachusetts people, and his expectations were disappointed. While the French were thus attacking our settlements by land, their privateers and men of war captured many of our vessels, and carried them into Louisburg. The French cruisers were so numerous on the coast, that it became dangerous to prosecute the fishery. The fishermen determined to give up the fishing voyages for the ensuing summer. It was generally conceived that no maritime business could be carried on without a convoy. French war proclaimed, March 4th, 1744. Canso taken, May 13th.

This was so grievous and wounding to the New-England people, that it became the general voice that Louisburg must be taken. It was not however the opinion of any that

BOOK II. the colonies could effect it without assistance from England. It was the general opinion that application must be made to his majesty, both for a naval and land force, to carry it into execution. As winter approached, it began to be suggested that the place might probably be taken by surprise. It became the general opinion that if the fortress could not be taken by surprise, that the provisions for the garrison were so scant that it would be impossible for it to stand a siege, until the usual time of the arrival of supplies from France. It was also said, that a naval force might be obtained to cruise off the harbor, sufficient to prevent the entrance of any vessels which might by chance arrive.

While this was the conversation abroad, governor Shirley, who then had the chief command in Massachusetts, made the most diligent enquiry of those who had been traders and prisoners at Louisburg, concerning the state of the fortress, the usual time of the arrival of supplies from France, the practicability of cruising before the harbor, and whatever else might be necessary for the fullest information relating to the affair.

He had before this time written to the ministry, representing the necessity of a naval force early in the spring, for the preservation of Annapolis. He hoped that if this should arrive, the commander would be willing to cover the provincial troops. Commodore Warren was cruising with a number of ships in the West-Indies. It was imagined probable that, when he should be acquainted with the expedition, he would either come with his whole force, or at least, would send part of it to the assistance of the colonies. These were no more than probable conjectures, and yet these were all the chances which the colonies had of a naval force in the spring, sufficient to cope with a single ship which might arrive at Louisburg. Though the ministry would be immediately acquainted with the expedition, by express, yet the distance between Europe and America was so great, that no timely assistance could be expected.

Plan of the expedition against Louisburg.

The plan of the expedition was, that four thousand troops in small transports should proceed to Canso: and on the first favorable opportunity, be landed in Chapeau-rouge bay. They were to be furnished with cannon, mortars, ammunition, and all necessaries effectually to carry on the siege. To prevent the arrival of provisions and stores for the enemy, a number of vessels, as soon as the season would permit, were to be dispatched to cruise before the harbor of Louisburg. An estimate was made of all the naval force which the colonies could muster. The

largest ship which they could employ mounted twenty guns only. The whole number of armed vessels did not exceed ten or twelve. With this land and sea force, it was said there was a good chance of success. If, agreeably to their expectations, the men of war should arrive, it was insisted that there was every imaginable reason to expect the reduction of the place. The whole affair was so providential and extraordinary, that it merits a particular relation. BOOK II. 1745.

In the beginning of January, when the general court of Massachusetts was sitting at Boston, governor Shirley communicated the plan of the expedition to both houses, who had previously bound themselves to secrecy. Some of the members, who had heard little conversation on the subject, were struck with amazement at the bare proposal. They imagined that it was an enterprize by far too great, even if there were a fair prospect of success. They were apprehensive that it would create an expense which might ruin the country. The scheme appeared wild and extravagant, yet, in deference to the governor's recommendation, a committee of both houses was appointed to take the proposal into consideration. For several days it was deliberated with great attention. By those who were for the expedition, it was insisted that if Louisburg should be suffered to continue in the hands of the French, it would infallibly prove the Dunkirk of New-England. That the French trade had always been inconsiderable; that their fishery was on the decline, and that for several years they had bought fish cheaper at Canso, than they could catch and cure them: and that by privateering, they might enrich themselves with the spoils of New-England. It was also urged, that in addition to these dangers, there was that of losing Nova-Scotia, which would instantly cause an increase of six or eight thousand enemies. It was further pleaded, that the garrison at Louisburg were disaffected, that provisions were scarce, the works mouldering and decayed, and the governor an old man, unskilled in the arts of war, and that now was the only time for success. Further it was said, Louisburg in another year, would be so fortified, as to become impregnable: That there was no danger from any force already there, and before any could arrive from France, the garrison would be forced to surrender: That there was no danger of the arrival of any capital ship from France, so early in the year: That if one should arrive, five or six of our small ones might be a match for her. But it was said, that there was a much greater probability of the arrival of men of war from Eng-

Debate with respect to the expedition

BOOK II. land, or the West-Indies, at an earlier period than of any from France. It was observed, that there was always uncertainty in war, and that if we were disappointed, we were able to bear it: That if we succeeded, the consequences would be glorious indeed. The coasts of New-England would not only be preserved from molestation and plunder, but peace might be given to Europe. It was also pleaded, that Great Britain in case of success, would reimburse the whole expense.

1745.

To this it was replied by others, that we had better suffer in our trade, than by such an expensive measure, to deprive ourselves of the means of it, for the future: That we could annoy the enemy in their fishery, as much as they could us in ours: That both parties would soon be willing to leave the fishery without molestation: That the accounts given of the works and garrison at Louisburg, could not be depended on: that the garrison at Louisburg were regular troops, who, though unequal in numbers, would, in the field, be more than a match for all the raw inexperienced militia which could be sent from New-England: that it was so difficult at that season of the year for vessels to keep their station, and the weather was frequently so thick, that twenty cruizers could not prevent supplies from going into the harbour of Louisburg. Further, it was observed, that there was no sufficient ground to expect any men of war from England or the West-Indies, to cover our troops: that if one sixty gun ship should arrive from France, or the French islands, she would be more than a match for all the vessels which the colonies could provide: that our transports in Chapeaurouge bay would all be destroyed, and the army on Cape Breton would be obliged to surrender to the mercy of the French: that the colonies would be condemned by the British court for engaging in such an enterprize without their knowledge or approbation; and that they would be unpitied in their misfortunes, as they would be the natural effects of their own wild and rash measures. To these arguments it was further added that there was no certainty that such a number of men as had been proposed, could be raised, or that provisions, artillery, military stores, and transports sufficient for the expedition, could be obtained: that the season of the year was a great discouragement, as in the winter it frequently happened, for many days together, that no business could be done abroad; and that though bills of public credit should be emitted to carry the expedition into effect, yet they would depreciate to a very great degree, probably nearly in proportion to their whole amount. Finally, it was urged

1745.

that if the expedition should succeed, it would be a national benefit, in which the colonies would have no share, in any measure proportionate to the expense of the blood and treasure which it might cost them: and that, if it should prove unsuccessful, it would give the country such a shock, that it would not recover its present state in half a century.

On mature deliberation, the arguments against the expedition, in the view of the house, preponderated, and the committee reported against the expedition. The houses accepted the report; and, for some days, the members laid aside all thoughts of the enterprise.

Though the governor ardently wished that this proposal might have been adopted by the court, yet he judged it inexpedient to urge the affair any further, by message, or by private influence with the members. He adopted a measure more prudent and influential; by forwarding a petition from the merchants and men of influence, in the colony, to the general court, on the subject. This, for reasons therein expressed, and especially, for the preservation of the fishery from ruin, prayed that the houses would reconsider their vote, and comply with the governor's proposal. This produced another committee, who reported in favour of the expedition. After a whole day's debate on the subject, a majority of one voice was obtained to undertake the expedition. The whole affair was deliberated with the utmost calmness and moderation. There appeared no other division, than what resulted from a real difference in opinion, with respect to the true interests of the province and nation.

The expedition against Cape Breton resolved upon, by the general court of Massachusetts, 1745.

No sooner was the great point determined than there was an immediate union in the measures necessary to carry the expedition into the most effectual execution. Dispatches were immediately sent to the neighbouring colonies, urging them to join and assist in the expedition. None, however, would join in the enterprise, but those of New-England. An embargo was laid on all the shipping in the harbours. The proportion of men in the colonies, as proposed in the general plan, was, for Massachusetts, three thousand two hundred and fifty men; for Connecticut, five hundred; and Rhode-Island and New-Hampshire, three hundred each.

Special assembly in Connecticut, Feb. 26th.

On the 26th of February, governor Law convened a special assembly at Hartford, in consequence of letters received from governor Shirley and the general court of Massachusetts, relative to the expedition. No sooner were the letters communicated to the assembly, than five hun-

BOOK II. dred able bodied men were voted for the service. For the encouragement of the men to enlist, a bounty of ten 1745. pounds was granted to each soldier, who should furnish himself with arms, knapsack and blanket; and three pounds to every soldier who should not be able to arm himself. The assembly resolved that the pay of the soldiers should be eight pounds per month, and that one month's pay should be made to them before their embarkation. It was provided, that they should be under the command of their own officers, so far as the general service would permit: That, as soon as the expedition should terminate, they should be brought immediately back to New-London, the port where they were to embark, unless they should voluntarily enlist for further service; and that they should be exempted from all impresses, for the term of two years, after their discharge from the expedition. The five hundred men were divided into eight companies.* Roger Wolcott, Esq. lieutenant-governor, was appointed commander in chief of the Connecticut troops; major Andrew Burr, was appointed colonel; Simon Lathrop, lieutenant-colonel; and captain Israel Newton, major of the regiment. It was resolved, that the colony sloop, Defence, should be completely furnished, and sail as a convoy of the troops to Cape Breton: That the troops should embark at New-London, and sail immediately, to form a junction with the troops of the other colonies, at the place of their destination: That provisions and stores, of all kinds necessary for the expedition, should be provided. Commissioners were appointed immediately, to purchase provisions, procure transports, and to forward the expedition with the utmost dispatch. Jonathan Trumbull and Elisha Williams, Esq'rs. were appointed commissioners, with full powers to repair to Boston, and to treat with such gentlemen from Massachusetts, and the other colonies, as should be appointed for the same purpose, relative to all matters concerning the expedition. The whole business respecting the expedition was finished in three days, and the assembly adjourned until the 14th of March.

The time of preparation for such an expedition was short; but, from the day it was determined upon, every circumstance so remarkably contributed to its success, that a divine Providence seemed every where to watch over it for good. The winter was so clement and favourable, that business could be done as well abroad, and nearly with the same dispatch, as at other seasons. Colonel Pep-

* Five captains, Elizur Goodrich, David Wooster, Stephen Lee, Samuel Adams, and John Dwight, only, were appointed at this session.

perell was appointed commander in chief. He was a gentleman of a great landed interest, and largely employed in commerce. He, and governor Wolcott, the second in command, were popular men. Their popularity, and the sacrifices which they made of ease and interest, had great influence on inferior officers and private soldiers, for a season, to sacrifice domestic ease and their private interests, to the more important concerns of the public. Many of the common soldiers were freeholders, and others the sons of wealthy farmers, who could have no other view in their enlistment than the public welfare. BOOK II. 1745.

It was soon found, that it would be next to impossible to clothe and victual the men, and to obtain the warlike stores necessary for the expedition. Committees of war were authorised to enter houses, cellars, and all places, where these articles were, and to take them for the use of the army. During the preparation, many vessels unexpectedly arrived, with more or less of the very articles which the country wanted; and such was the general zeal and union, that the people submitted to any measures which appeared necessary for the general good. The chief men in the New-England governments appeared willing to run all risks, and to be at any expense, to accomplish the enterprise in view.

All the shipping which was employed in the service was insured by government. None could be engaged on any other condition. The whole naval force which New-England could then furnish, consisted of twelve ships and vessels only. These were the Connecticut and the Rhode-Island sloops of war; a privateer ship, of about two hundred tons; a snow, of less burthen, belonging to Newport; a new snow, captain Rouse; a ship, captain Snelling; a snow, captain Smethhurst; a brig, captain Fletcher; three sloops, captains Saunders, Donehew, and Bosch; and a ship of twenty guns, captain Ting. Ting was commodore, and commanded the whole. Several of these vessels sailed as early as the middle of March, to cruise off the harbour of Louisburg. As a sufficient artillery could not be obtained in New-England, governor Shirley, with much difficulty, procured, on loan, ten eighteen pounders from New-York.

The General Assembly of Connecticut convened on the 14th of March, according to adjournment. They completed the appointment of all the officers. As two of the five captains appear to have failed, two other captains were now appointed to fill the regiment.* The Rev. Eli- General Assembly of Connecticut, March 14th,

* The captains at this time appointed, were James Church, Daniel Chapelin, William Whiting, Robert Dennison and Andrew Ward.

BOOK II. sha Williams, who had been rector of Yale College, was appointed chaplain to the regiment from Connecticut.

1745. The assembly appointed the last Wednesday in April to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, to implore the divine blessing upon the expedition.

In two months, under all the existing difficulties, this army was enlisted, clothed, victualled and equipped for service. By the 23d of March, the troops of Massachusetts were all embarked, and the fleet was ready to sail. The same day an express boat which had been sent to commodore Warren in the West-Indies, arrived with advice from him, that as the expedition was wholly a colonial affair, without orders from England, and as his squadron had been weakened by the loss of the Weymouth, he must excuse himself from any concern in the enterprise. Though this must have given great uneasiness to the governor and general, yet they suppressed the advice, and sailed the next morning as though nothing discouraging had happened. The governor, doubtless, hoped that if the reduction of Louisburg should not be effected, Canso might be regained, Nova-Scotia preserved, the French fishery be destroyed, and the New-England and Newfoundland fisheries be restored. The troops of the other colonies sailed about the same time.

March 24th, the armament sails.

On the 4th of April, the fleet and army, from Massachusetts, arrived at Canso. The troops from New-Hampshire, had arrived four days before them. On the 25th, governor Wolcott arrived with the troops from Connecticut. The land army now consisted of more than four thousand troops, in health and high spirits.

April 4th, arrives at Canso.

The advice from commodore Warren was truly discouraging; yet, under the all governing hand of the Supreme Ruler, every thing was proceeding in the happiest train. Had every thing been preconcerted in the wisest manner, it could not have been better.

Soon after the sailing of the express boat for Boston, commodore Warren received orders from England to repair with such ships as could be spared to Boston, and to concert measures with governor Shirley, for his majesty's general service in America. The commodore sailed immediately for Boston, dispatching an express to such vessels as were in these seas, immediately to join him. The Eltham of forty guns, was at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, as convoy to the mast fleet. When the express arrived, she had sailed with the fleet, but was soon overtaken by an express boat. The captain remanded the fleet into port, and sailed directly for Canso. He arrived on

the twenty third of April, to the great joy of the army. Commodore Warren receiving intelligence, on his passage, that the fleet had sailed for Canso, proceeded directly to the same port, where he arrived the same day with the Eltham, in the Superb of sixty guns, in company with the Lauceston and Mermaid of forty guns each. High indeed was the tide of joy which at once arose throughout the whole fleet and army. They had now a sufficient naval force for their defence: a force more than equal to any which was expected from France. After a short consultation with the general, the commodore, with his men of war, sailed to cruise before Louisburg.

1745. The Eltham and commodore Warren arrive at Canso, April 23d.

Before this time, the ships and vessels which had been sent to cruise before the harbor, had done very important services. They had taken several vessels bound to Louisburg, with provisions and West-India goods. They had also engaged the Renomme, a French ship, of thirty six guns, which had been sent with dispatches from France. For some time, she kept up a running fire with the small ships, as she could easily out sail them; but after making several attempts to enter the harbor, she put back to France, to relate what she had discovered. She fell in with the Connecticut troops, under convoy of their own, and of the Rhode-Island colony sloop; and notwithstanding she had force sufficient to have taken them both, yet, after exchanging some shot, and considerably damaging the Rhode-Island sloop, she made off for France. The fleet and army soon followed the men of war, and on the 30th of April, arrived in Chapeaurouge bay. The enemy had not received the least intimation of any design against them, till, early in the morning, they discovered the transports from the town. The cruisers had, almost every day, been seen before the harbor, but the enemy imagined that they were privateers, in quest of their fishing and trading vessels.

The sight of the transports first gave the alarm to the town. Bouladrie was detached with an hundred and fifty men to oppose the landing of the troops. But while the general amused the enemy by a feint, at one place, he was landing his men at another. Bouladrie, with his detachment, soon attacked them, but as many of his men were killed on the spot, himself and others taken prisoners, the remainder were obliged to make a precipitate flight, to prevent their being instantly destroyed, by the troops who were landing in great numbers.

Troops land.

The next morning, four hundred men marched round behind the hills to the north-east harbor, setting fire to all

BOOK II. the houses and stores, in their way, till they came within a mile of the grand battery. Such a cloud of smoke arose as made it difficult to discover an enemy at the distance of a few rods only. The enemy, therefore, expecting the whole army upon them, threw their powder into a well and deserted the grand battery, and the provincials took possession of it without the loss of a man. The cannon, which were forty two pounders, were turned upon the town; but the expense of powder was so great, that it was judged best to cease the firing, and to reserve the ammunition for the fascine batteries.

1745. Burn the adjacent country.

Difficulties of the siege.

It was soon found, notwithstanding the remarkable success which had thus far attended the enterprise, that the capture of the town would be a work of uncommon labor and difficulty. The fortifications were almost impregnable, and the approach to the town exceedingly difficult. The army had nearly two miles to drag their cannon, mortars, shot, and the like, through a morass, in which oxen and horses would bury themselves in mud, and be of no service. This was to be performed by mere dint of manual labor. Men of the firmest limbs, and who had been accustomed to the drawing of pine trees for masts, were appointed to this service. By the twentieth of May, the troops had erected five fascine batteries. One of them mounted five forty-two pounders. This did great execution.

The New-Englanders knew nothing of regular approaches, but took the advantage of the night and went on in their own way.

While the troops were thus busy on shore, the fleet was equally vigilant and active in cruising off the harbor. The Vigilant, a French sixty-four gun ship, was met by the Mermaid, whom she immediately engaged: but as she was of inferior force, captain Douglass suffered himself to be chased, till he drew the Frenchman under the command of the commodore, and the other ships, on which she struck to the British flag: She was commanded by the Marquis de la Maison Forte, and had on board five hundred and sixty men, with stores of all kinds, for the garrison. This capture was of great consequence, not only as it increased the naval force before the town, and afforded considerable supplies of military stores, but more especially as it was a capital loss and disappointment to the enemy. It deprived them of all expectation of further supplies or succour, and tended to accelerate the capitulation.

But a few days before this capture, a proposal had been made, that the men of war should anchor in Chapeerouge

bay, and that the marines, and as many of the sailors as could be spared, should land and assist the army. Had this been done, the Vigilant would have made the harbor, and defeated the expedition. Such were the prodigious labors of the seige, that a great number of troops were wanted; yet their numbers were constantly diminishing, by the extraordinary service. This, however, was in some measure counterbalanced, by the continual increase of the naval force before the town. Four days after the capture of the Vigilant, the Princess-Mary, of sixty, and the Hector, of forty guns, arrived. Soon after, arrived the Canterbury, and the Sunderland, of sixty, and the Chester of fifty guns. There were now eleven men of war; one sixty-four, four sixty, one fifty, and five forty gun ships. Such was the naval force, it was determined that on the 18th of June, the ships should go into the harbor, and co-operate with the army, in a joint attack upon the town.

BOOK II.

May 22d.

June 10th, and 12th.

Before this, the island battery was nearly silenced, and was considered as not long tenable; the west gate of the town was much damaged and nearly beat down, and a breach was said to have been made in the adjoining wall. The circular battery of sixteen guns, and the principal one against ships, was nearly ruined. The northeast battery was much damaged, and the enemy driven from the guns. The west flank of the king's bastion was almost demolished. From the preparations on board the men of war, the enemy expected a general and furious assault. This they were not willing to risk.

On the fifteenth of June, they therefore desired a cessation of hostilities, that they might enter on the consideration of articles of capitulation. On the seventeenth, after a siege of forty nine days, the city of Louisburg and island of Cape Breton, were delivered up to his Britannic majesty. Neither the inhabitants nor the garrison were to bear arms against Great Britain or her allies in twelve months. The captives were embarked in fourteen ships, and transported to Rochefort.

Louisburg surrenders June 17th.

Nothing could have been more timely than this capitulation. Notwithstanding the capture of the Vigilant, laden with stores, the besiegers were in want of powder; and such were the hardships and length of the siege, that a greater number of men was found to be necessary. The general had sent off dispatches to the colonies for a recruit of men and ammunition. The colonies sent on a reinforcement of seven or eight hundred men, with all the people they could purchase: but the recruits did not arrive until after the place was taken. The assembly of

July 2d.

BOOK II. Connecticut was convened on the occasion, and voted to raise three hundred able bodied men, to reinforce the army, giving the same encouragements which they had given to the other troops.

1745.

The very day after the surrender, the rains began, and continued incessantly for ten days. These must have greatly impeded, if not broken up the siege. They must have been fatal to many of the troops, as they had no better lodgings than the wet ground, and, as their tents, generally made of common Osnaburgs only, would not secure them against a single shower. But, by this opportune surrender, Providence housed them in the city, in dry and convenient barracks.

During this long and severe siege, the men on all occasions, at landing, in skirmishes with the French and Indians, and in their approaches to the city, behaved well. In voluntarily embarking in the enterprise, they exhibited a noble spirit, and in the prosecution of it, a steadiness, perseverance and fortitude which before had never had a parallel in the affairs of America. So remarkable was the hand which directed them, that during this long and dangerous siege, the whole loss by sickness and the enemy was no more than one hundred and one; sixty of these were lost in an unfortunate attack on the island battery.

News of the capture of Louisburg arrives in New-England.

On the 3d of July the news of this important acquisition arrived at Boston and instantly flew through the colonies. The joy which it diffused was great and universal. Those colonies which had no share in the honours and dangers of the enterprise, were not insensible of the importance of the acquisition, nor that they were deeply interested in the event. Pennsylvania, therefore, contributed four; New-Jersey, two; and New-York, three thousand pounds, in money and provisions, for the support of the troops.

To France, Louisburg was a place of capital importance. It had been fortified with prodigious art and expense. With propriety it might be called the American Gibraltar. The fosse, or ditch, round the town, was eighty feet wide, and the ramparts thirty feet high. On these, round the town, were mounted sixty-five cannon, of different sizes. The entrance into the harbour, was defended by the grand battery, and the island battery. On the former, were mounted thirty cannon, carrying a forty-two pound ball; and on the latter, an equal number, carrying a ball of twenty-eight pounds. The garrison, at the time of the surrender, consisted of six hundred regulars, and thirteen hundred militia. There were ten thirteen, and six nine inch mortars. There were provisions and ammunition for five or six months.

Neither by the combined armies of Great-Britain and her allies, nor by her formidable fleets, had France, from the commencement of the war, received so deep and sensible a wound. No event had taken place, by which her schemes had been so entirely disconcerted and deranged. The acquisition was, indeed, grand, and the consequences were vast and important. BOOK II. 1745.

Consequences of the capture of Louisburg.

The value of the prizes taken, in consequence of the expedition, was little, if any thing, short of a million sterling. The town was taken at a time when ships and vessels from all parts were expected in the harbour. To decoy them, the French flag was kept flying. Besides the Vigilant, and the prizes taken before and during the siege, two East-India ships, and another from the South sea, were taken, which, together, were estimated at six hundred thousand pounds sterling.* Besides, Nova-Scotia and the English fisheries were preserved, and those of the French, in America, were totally destroyed. At the same time, the colonies themselves, and their trade, were much more secure. Indeed, the colonies were delivered from dangers, of which, at that time, they had no knowledge. Duvivoir, the winter after the surprise of Canso, went to France, on the business of soliciting an armament for the reduction of Nova-Scotia. On this application, he was dispatched with seven ships of war, for that purpose. On his passage, he took a prize, on board of which was lieutenant governor Smith, of New-York. By him, receiving intelligence of the reduction of Louisburg, he returned to France. In expectation of this fleet, Monsieur Marin appeared, with nine hundred French and Indians, from Canada, before the fort at Annapolis; but finding no shipping for his assistance, he soon retired.† Thus, by this enterprise, were the plans of France broken, and the colonies secured. This enabled Great-Britain more honourably to treat with France, at the general pacification, and seems to have been the means of restoring to her a great part of what she had lost in Germany.

In this enterprise, New-England, first and last, employed more than five thousand men. From the time of the surrender of the town, until the twenty-fourth of May, nearly eleven months, it was kept wholly by the New-England troops. During part of this time, great sickness and mor-

* July 24th, an East-India ship, from Bengal, was taken, estimated at 75,000l. Another East-Indiaman was soon after taken, valued at 125,000l. The South sea ship was decoyed by the Boston packet, captain Fletcher, under the guns of the men of war, and taken, August 22d. She was estimated at 400,000l.

† Douglas, vol. i. page 562.

BOOK II. tality prevailed, and New-England sustained a consider-
able loss of men. After this time, the garrison consisted
1745. partly of regular troops, drawn from Gibraltar, and partly of New-England men, both paid by the crown.

The colony of Connecticut employed in this enterprise, more than a thousand men. At first, they furnished five hundred men for the land service, and their country sloop, manned with an hundred men; and, during the siege, they sent on two hundred men. As the place could not be kept, for a number of months, but by New-England men only, the colony provided three hundred and fifty men, to keep garrison during the winter.

At a special assembly in August, the legislature addressed a letter to his majesty, congratulating him on the success of his arms, in the reduction of Louisburg; representing the number of troops which they had employed in the reduction of it to the obedience of his majesty, and the number they had engaged to furnish, to assist in keeping garrison, until his majesty's pleasure should be further made known. It was also represented, that, by reason of the Spanish war, the great expense which they had been at in the expedition against Louisburg, and the large bounties they were obliged to give, to raise the men immediately necessary for his majesty's service, in that great undertaking, and by the assistance the colony had given to Massachusetts, in defending their frontiers, it was become extremely in debt, and was reduced to a very low ebb. They humbly begged his majesty's favour and bounty towards them, in relieving their heavy burthens. They humbly prayed his majesty to permit them to recommend to his royal consideration, the officers and soldiers, who, though they had endured great hardships, and acted with spirit during the siege, had been allowed no share in any thing taken; while his majesty's officers by sea, had, before and after the surrender of the town, shared in great and valuable prizes, which fell into their hands, amounting, by estimation, to more than a million sterling, which would none of them have been taken, had it not been for the siege and capture of the town. They say, "We have presumed to send your majesty a roll of the officers from Connecticut, and most humbly pray your majesty's most gracious audience and favour."

At the session in October, the assembly desired the governor to write a letter to the honourable Peter Warren, Esq. commodore, &c. acknowledging his favour of the 14th of September, congratulating him on the honour his majesty had put upon him, in the success of his majesty's arms;

and representing the happy consequences of harmony in the government of Louisburg, to the people there, and to the colonies in general. At the same time, the governor was desired to solicit the commodore's good offices with his majesty, in a favourable representation of the services rendered to his majesty by the troops of the colony; and that it might please him to order a reimbursement of the expenses of the expedition against Louisburg; and that favours might be conferred on the officers and soldiers.* BOOK II. 1745.

Thomas Fitch, Esq. was appointed agent for the colony, to proceed to England, and solicit a reimbursement of the expenses of it, in the expedition against Louisburg, and to transact the other affairs of the colony, at the court of Great-Britain. Mr. Fitch, notwithstanding, declined the service, and never went.

Notwithstanding these important services, the colonies had no share in the prizes, nor in any thing taken on the island of Cape Breton, excepting a small sum allowed captain Fletcher, for leading in the South sea ship.†

In consequence of the success of this expedition, a shade was thrown over the imprudence and rashness with which it seems to have been undertaken. On both sides of the water, pious people could not but with grateful admiration, notice the remarkable coincidence of circumstances which contributed to this great event. Governor Shirley, in his speech to the general court of Massachusetts, observes, that "scarce such an instance is to be found in history." The annual convention of the New-England ministers, in their address to his majesty, term it "the wonderful success God has given your American forces." A clergyman, writing from London, has this observation: "This prosperous event can hardly be ascribed to any thing short of an interposition from above, truly uncommon and extraordinary."

Effects of the capture of Louisburg on the courts of England and France.

Both to Great-Britain and France, the reduction of Louisburg, by New-England, was an affair of no small surprise. In each of these courts, it was productive of grand plans of operation. Great-Britain, flushed with victory, thought of nothing less for the business of the next campaign, than the conquest of Canada, and the extirpation of the French from the northern continent. The French, fired with resentment at the losses which they had sustain-

* Notwithstanding these humble and earnest solicitations, I believe no officer except captain, afterwards general Wooster, who went, on business, to England, and was honoured with a lieutenancy, and half pay during life, received any appointment or emolument from the crown.

† Hutch. vol. ii. p. 416, 423. Douglas, vol. i. p. 342, 347, 356. Rider's Hist. vol. xxxviii. p. 124, 126.

BOOK II. ed, meditated the recovery of Louisburg, the conquest of Nova-Scotia, the destruction of Boston, and the ravaging 1746. of the American coast, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia.

It was the plan of the British court, that eight battalions of regular troops should, in conjunction with the provincials to be raised in New-England, rendezvous at Louisburg, and, with a squadron under admiral Warren, proceed up the St. Lawrence to Quebec. From New-York and the southern colonies, as far as Virginia, another army was to be raised, and to rendezvous at Albany. This, under the command of general St. Clair, was to cross the country to Montreal. No proportion was fixed for the several colonies; but they were left to show their zeal for the common cause, by raising such numbers as they pleased. It was expected that they would send five thousand men, at least, into the field. The New-England colonies granted five thousand and three hundred men. The other colonies agreed to raise two thousand and nine hundred. Eight thousand two hundred, in the whole.* Notice of the plan June, 1746. was communicated to the colonies the beginning of June, and in six weeks most of the New-England troops were ready to embark.

The General Assembly of Connecticut convened on the 19th, and resolved to raise one thousand able bodied men; and, that it might be done immediately, a bounty of thirty pounds was voted for every soldier who would enlist. It was also resolved, that, if provisions could not be had without, they should be impressed. Such was the zeal of the colony for the public service.

While these exertions had been making in the colonies, a powerful armament, under the command of Richard Lestock, admiral of the blue, had been prepared at Portsmouth, with transports which had six regiments on board, to co-operate with the provincials in carrying the great plan into execution. The fleet had orders to sail by the first opportunity; but its departure was unaccountably delayed, till it was judged that the season was too far advanced, to risk the great ships on the boisterous coasts of America.† It is not improbable, that the landing of the young pretender, the rebellion in Scotland, and the appre-

* The proportions were very unequal. New-Hampshire raised 500; Massachusetts, 2500; Rhode-Island, 300; New-York, 1600; New-Jersey, 500; Pennsylvania, 400; Maryland, 300; and Virginia, 100—only a tenth part of what was raised by the small colony of Connecticut. It appears from the records of the colony, and numerous facts, that Connecticut, in her loyalty and zeal for the public service, had been second to none of the colonies.

† Rider's History of England, vol. xxxix. p. 50, 53.

hensions of an invasion from France, were the occasion of this delay.† BOOK II.

That this armament, which consisted of nearly thirty ships of war, might not be wholly useless, it was, in September, dispatched against the coast of Brittany, with a view to surprise port L'Orient, the grand repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East-India company. But it effected nothing worthy of notice. 1746.

Mean while, France, notwithstanding all her other preparations, fitted out her fleets and troops for America. The duke D'Anville, a nobleman in whose courage and conduct the court of France had reposed the greatest confidence, was appointed to command the expedition. The armament consisted of eleven ships of the line, and of thirty smaller ships and vessels, from thirty to ten guns; and of transports, carrying three thousand one hundred and thirty land forces. These, at Nova-Scotia, were to form a junction with sixteen hundred French and Indians from Canada. Monsieur Pomeret was commander of the land forces. As early as the beginning of May, this formidable armament was ready to sail; but it was so delayed by contrary winds, that the admiral was not able to leave the coasts of France until the twenty second of June. Admiral Martin waited, with a fleet of observation, to prevent his sailing; but he got out of the harbor unnoticed, and proceeded without molestation. The duke D'Anville had detached monsieur Conflans, with three ships of the line and a frigate, to convoy the trade to Cape Francois in Hispaniola. Conflans was ordered to join D'Anville at Chebucto. In his passage, near Jamaica, he fell in with the British fleet, commanded by commodore Mitchell. But the commodore conducted in such a dastardly manner, that he suffered him to pass without any considerable injury. A British historian represents, that he refused to take him when in his power.* It was now therefore left to him only, who disappointeth the devices of the crafty, and taketh the prey from the mighty, without human aid, to save the colonies from ruin. Let us, with grateful admiration, behold how seasonably and how powerfully he wrought for their salvation.

Armament under the duke D'Anville.

† This was a year of alarm, perplexity and danger with Great Britain, on account of the rebellion in Scotland. The pretender landed in that kingdom in August, 1745, and the rebellion soon commenced. On the 21st of September, the rebels defeated the king's troops at Preston Pans. They triumphed for some months, and gave great alarm to the nation, till April 16th, 1746, when they were entirely defeated by the duke of Cumberland. Most of the rebel officers were killed or taken, with 2500 of their men. This put an end to the rebellion.

* Rider's hist. vol. xxxix, p. 53.

BOOK II. He not only laid an embargo on the enemy, and, for more than six weeks, prevented his sailing, but caused his passage to be stormy and tedious. Like the chariot wheels of Pharaoh, they moved heavily. It was not until the third of August, that they passed the Western Islands. On the 24th, when they were three hundred leagues from Nova-Scotia, one of the great ships complained so much, that the enemy were obliged to burn her. In a violent storm, which overtook them on the first of September, the Mars, a sixty-four gun ship, was so much damaged in her masts, and became so leaky, that she bore away to the West-Indies. The Alcide, another sixty-four, was so injured, that she was sent off to keep her company. Soon after, the crew of the Ardent, a third sixty-four, became so sickly, that she put back to Brest.

1746. Disasters attending D'Anville's fleet.

It was not till the twelfth of September, that the duke D'Anville arrived at Chebucto, in the Northumberland, accompanied with one ship of the line, the Renomme, and three or four transports only. One ship only had arrived before him. This long and disastrous passage had totally deranged his whole plan. Conflans came on the coast in August, but hearing nothing of the duke, had, before his arrival, sailed for France.

While the colonies were waiting, with impatience, for the arrival of the English fleet under admiral Lestock, the squadron under Conflans was discovered, and the news of it brought to Boston, by the fishermen, who had made their escape from Chebucto; but their report was not credited. In the beginning of September, the colonies had authentic intelligence of the sailing of this formidable armament for America. Reports were after brought them, that a great fleet was discovered to the westward of Newfoundland. Still, however, the colonies flattered themselves that it was the English fleet, under admiral Lestock. But on the 28th, there arrived an express boat at Boston, with certain intelligence that these ships were the French fleet. The report was, that it consisted of fourteen sail of the line, and twenty smaller men of war; and that the rest were fire ships, bomb tenders and transports. It was said, that there were eight thousand troops on board.*

As the colonies knew nothing of the disasters which had befallen the fleet on its passage, they conceived of it as consisting of all the force which it possessed at the time of its sailing, and that the reports which they now received were true. England was not therefore more alarmed with the Spanish armada, in 1588, than Boston and New-England were on the report of the arrival of D'Anville's fleet

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 425.

at Chebucto. The first advices of imminent danger often shake the firmest minds. BOOK II.

But no sooner were the colonies assured that the French fleet had arrived, than every practicable measure of defence was immediately adopted. In a few days, six thousand and four hundred of the inland militia were brought in to reinforce Boston. Six thousand more, if occasion should require it, were, on the first notice, to have been dispatched to the assistance of their brethren.† The militia on the sea coasts, were to be kept at home for their own defence. But as they were altogether unacquainted with what had befallen the French armament, their principal dependance, under providence, was on a fleet from England, sufficient, in conjunction with that of Louisburg, to defeat the French. But with respect to this and all other human aid, they were totally disappointed. 1746.

That Almighty hand, which had already wrought so conspicuously for the relief of the country, completed its salvation. The duke D'Anville waited until the sixteenth of the month for the arrival of the rest of his fleet, and not one ship of war, nor any part of it arriving, except three transports, he was so affected with disappointment and chagrin, that it brought on an apopletic fit, or he drank poison, and died suddenly the same morning. The duke D'Anville dies.

In the afternoon of the same day, the vice admiral D'Estournelle, with four ships of the line, came into port. As the troops had been long on board before they sailed, and had a tedious passage, they arrived in a very sickly and miserable condition. The admiral was dead, and Conflans was returned to France. They had been deprived of four capital ships, the Ardent, Caribou, Mars, and Alcide; and the Argonute fire-ship was missing. In these circumstances, D'Estournelle, on the 18th, called a council of his officers; and as they had not half the force designed for the expedition, and the season for military operations was far advanced, proposed to them to return to France. Monsieur de la Jonquiere, governor of Canada, was on board the Northumberland, and next in command to the vice admiral; he, with others of the council, for seven or eight hours, strenuously opposed the vice admiral's proposal. They urged, that the sick men, with fresh air and provisions, would soon recover; and that they were able, at least, to reduce Annapolis and Nova-Scotia: that, after that, they might winter safely in Casco bay, or return to France, as should best suit their inclinations. The debate terminated in the rejection of the admiral's proposition. This so ex- Division in the enemy's councils.

† Douglass, vol. i. p. 322, 323.

BOOK II. tremely agitated his spirits, that it brought on a fever, and threw him into a delirium. A divine terror seemed to fall upon him. He imagined he was among the English, and finally ran himself through, and was no more.* Jonquiere, a man of skill and experience in war, succeeded him, and the expectations of the fleet and army were much raised. From this time, the reduction of Annapolis and Nova-Scotia became the object of the expedition.

1746. D'Estournelle kills himself.

The troops were landed, with a view to the recovery of their health, and the Acadians and Indians amply furnished them with provisions. Nevertheless, by dysenteries and a scorbutic, putrid fever, a very great mortality prevailed among them. The Nova-Scotia Indians took the contagion, and by it lost not less than one third of their whole number.†

Mortality among the French and Indians.

Governor Shirley, supposing that he had received certain intelligence of the sailing of admiral Lestock for America, sent off an express, to inform the fleet at Louisburg of the news. On the eleventh of October, the packet was taken by the French, and carried into Chebucto. This, probably, accelerated their sailing, and return directly to France, without attempting any thing against Annapolis, or Nova-Scotia. Two days after they sailed from Chebucto, on the fifteenth, they were overtaken with a severe storm, which continued to increase for two days, so that the fleet was exceedingly scattered. Two only, a fifty and a thirty gun ship, got into the bay of Fundy. The latter came into the bason, and put on shore an express, informing De Ramsay, that the French fleet were returning to France. These ships were discovered from the fort at Annapolis, and the Chester man of war, the Shirley frigate, and a small armed vessel, well manned, went out in chace of them; but they made their escape to France. Thus, after burying two admirals, and nearly half their army, at Chebucto, they returned, without effecting the least enterprise against the colonies. The French burnt the Caribou; the Mars was taken, on her return, by the Nottingham, just as she arrived on the coast of France. The Alcide was driven on shore by the Exeter, and burnt. This was the fate of the grand French armada, sent against New-England.

Oct. 13th, the French fleet sailed from Chebucto, for France.

Such a succession of disasters as pursued the French, from the day they sailed from France, till they returned, is rarely to be found in the history of human events. The restraints put upon this mighty armament, and the protection of New-England, was little less remarkable, than the

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 427, 428. † Douglas, vol. i. p. 388.

defeat of the Assyrian monarch, and the defence of Jerusalem, when, after all his vast preparations, and haughty menaces, he was not suffered to go against her, nor shoot an arrow there. Like him, the enemy returned, with uncommon loss and shame, to his own land. BOOK II. 1746.

The ministry in England well knew of the sailing of this formidable armament; yet seem to have cared very little what might be the consequences to the colonies. The only measure which they appear to have taken in consequence of it, was an order to admiral Townshend, to sail, with his squadron, from the West-Indies, to reinforce commodore Knowles, at Louisburg. These combined squadrons were more than a match for the French fleet, and might have destroyed it, in its distressed circumstances; but they made not the least attempt for its annoyance or destruction. No admiral on the American station this year, appears to have acted with any tolerable zeal or spirit. Indeed, there was no exertion of military skill or prowess; no employment of policy; nor the adoption of a single measure, in Europe or America, which appeared to have the least influence in the preservation of the country. The whole glory of that remarkable salvation which the country experienced, appeared to be due to HIM only, whose kingdom ruleth over all. Pious men saw this in a strong point of light, and, in their most fervent and public devotions, ascribed the glory to HIM.

The preservation of the colonies, to be ascribed wholly to the divine interposition.

Great, indeed, was the disappointment of the colonies, after all their expense and exertions, that the fleet expected from England failed, and that the expedition against Canada was, by that means, wholly defeated. But no sooner was this perceived by governor Shirley, than his enterprising genius projected an expedition against Crown Point, in conjunction with the other colonies. For this purpose, six months provisions, fifteen hundred men, tents, ordnance, and ammunition, were sent on to New-York; but a great sickness, which, at that time, prevailed at Albany, and the alarm spread through the country, by D'Anville's armament, frustrated the design.

A part of these troops were kept in pay until September, 1747. Some were sent from Massachusetts, to reinforce Annapolis. Others were employed for the defence of the frontiers, but a considerable part were wholly inactive.

De Ramsay, who had collected an army of about sixteen or seventeen hundred French and Indians, at Annapolis, receiving intelligence that the fleet was returned to France, decamped, and returned to Minas. His design

BOOK II. 1746. was, to canton his men here, and at Checonicto, that he might have them in readiness to join the armament, which he expected from France, the next spring, for the reduction of Annapolis. Thus ended the campaign of 1746.

October 9th, 1746. When the General Assembly of Connecticut convened in October, it was resolved, that the regiment raised in this colony should be dissolved, as it appeared that his majesty had no further service for them.

As the Rev. Simon Backus, who went chaplain to the recruits sent to Louisburg, died there, and as the vessel in which his clothing, and some considerable presents, sent by gentlemen to his widow, was cast away, and all the property lost, the assembly granted her two hundred pounds, in addition to one hundred pounds, which had been before paid to her by the treasurer.

The expedition against Crown Point having failed, in the fall of the year, a number of principal gentlemen in Massachusetts and New-York, were warmly engaged for a winter campaign, with a view to reduce that fortress.

In consequence of a resolution of the general court of Massachusetts, and the report of the committee of war at New-York, in favour of an expedition at this time, pressing letters were received from governor Shirley, at Boston, and governor Clinton, of New-York, soliciting Connecticut to join with them, and the other colonies, in that enterprise. Governor Law, on the reception of the letters, convoked the assembly on the 28th of January, 1747, at New-Haven, to deliberate on the subject. After the letters had been read before the assembly, and a full discussion of the affair, the assembly declined to engage, or bear any part in the proposed expedition. The reasons alledged against it, were, That a winter campaign would be attended with many and great difficulties, and subject the troops to such fatigues and hardships, as might dispirit, and render them incapable of the services necessary to render the success of the expedition even probable: That the small pox had been among, and, according to the best accounts, was still among the troops of the western and southern colonies; and that their junction with the New-England forces would communicate it to the whole army, and defeat the design: That, supposing the expedition had been wholly laid aside, the government had sent on no provisions to Albany, nor any other articles necessary for such an enterprise; and it was now impracticable to do it in so short a time as had been proposed: That it was very uncertain, whether the western or southern colonies would join in the expedition: That some

General Assembly, Jan. 28th, 1747.

Reasons against the expedition, in winter. Jan. 28th, 1747.

general agreement and plan, on which dependence might have been placed, ought to have been previously fixed upon, but nothing of this kind had been effected: That by a winter campaign, the army might be so weakened, as to render it incapable of the services which his majesty might require of them against Canada afterwards; and that they might thereby incur his majesty's displeasure. BOOK II. 1747.

The assembly, nevertheless, declared, that whenever a probable plan and proper time should be fixed upon for the reduction of Crown Point, they would readily join with the other colonies: and, that whenever his majesty should call their troops into service, they would do all in their power to subserve his designs.*

This assembly resolved on an address, congratulating him on the glorious victory obtained by his royal highness, the duke of Cumberland, over the rebels in Scotland. The legislature express the strongest attachment to his majesty's person, family, and government. They acknowledge the favors which the colony enjoyed under his auspicious reign. They express their utmost abhorrence of that unnatural and wicked rebellion, raised in favor of a popish pretender against the best of kings, the best constitution, and the best government. They manifest great joy, that the rebels had not prevailed to introduce popery and slavery, nor to endanger the protestant interest. They conclude by praying, that the merciful providence which had placed him on the British throne, and given him so long and so illustrious a reign, might still protect his sacred person, subdue his enemies, make his reign prosperous, and continue the crown in his royal and illustrious family to the latest posterity. Address to the king, Jan. 28th.

While these affairs were transacted in this part of the country, a great misfortune happened to a body of troops belonging to Massachusetts. Governor Mascarene, of Annapolis, had represented to the New-England colonies, that a thousand men would be necessary to reinforce that and the neighboring posts, and to drive the enemy from Nova-Scotia. In consequence of this representation, the three colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode-Island and New-Hampshire, agreed to reinforce those posts with that number of men. Three hundred, furnished by Rhode-Island, were shipwrecked on their passage, near Martha's Vineyard. The troops from New-Hampshire, after they were on their passage, put back and never proceeded. These misfortunes led to a still greater one. The Massachusetts troops had been sent on and cantoned in a loose

* Records of the colony.

BOOK II. manner at Minas. De Ramsay having advice of their situation, detached about six hundred men under the command of M. Culon and M. Lacorn, with a view to dispossess them of that post. On the last of January, they surprised, killed and captivated about an hundred and sixty men, who were scattered in small parties. Colonel Noble, who commanded the corps, was among the slain. The main body soon collected, but as they had lost their commander, were inferior in numbers, and had little ammunition, they capitulated, engaging not to bear arms against the French in Nova-Scotia, during the term of one year. They were allowed to march off with six days provisions, arms shouldered, drums beating and colours flying.

1747. Troops at Minas surprised and taken. Jan. 31st, 1747.

Notwithstanding the uncommon misfortunes of D'Anville's fleet, the last year, the French determined to renew their attempts against the British settlements, both in North America and in the East-Indies. With this view, two squadrons were equipped. That for North America, was commanded by De la Jonquiere, governor of Quebec: that destined for the East-Indies, by M. de St. George. The fleets made a junction, early in the spring, and sailed from Rochelle. The whole consisted of six ships of the line, six frigates, and four East-India ships fitted as men of war; with twenty nine merchant ships and transports. The ministry dispatched admirals Anson and Warren, with thirteen ships of the line and several frigates, in pursuit of them. On the third of May, they came up with the French squadron, and commenced a furious attack upon them. De la Jonquiere maintained it with equal courage and conduct, until, overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to strike to the British flag. Ten ships were taken, six ships of the line and the four East-Indiamen. De la Jonquiere, four or five thousand men, some bullion, and large sums of money, were taken with the ships.* Thus did providence once more interpose for the preservation of the English colonies in America.

Preparations of the French.

Defeat of their fleet, May 3d.

De Ramsay, on the advice of the defeat of De la Jonquiere, returned to Canada, and the French gave no further trouble in Nova-Scotia.

During this war, the Canada, Cape Sable, St. John's, Penobscot and Norridgewock Indians were hostile; so that the frontiers did not escape alarm and molestation. They burnt the fort and a number of dwelling-houses at St. George's, and destroyed a great number of cattle. They, in a manner, destroyed Saratoga the last year, and were so troublesome this, that the garrison abandoned the place,

Indians hostile.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xxxix. p. 92, 93.

brought off the stores and ordnance, and burnt the fort. Damage was also done by them on Connecticut river, on the frontiers of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. But the frontiers suffered very little in comparison with what they had done in former wars. The Indians had been much diminished in their numbers, and many had withdrawn to the frontiers of Canada. Sometimes they were kept at home for the defence of the enemy's frontiers, and at others, they were employed in the great enterprises which they designed against the colonies. These prevented their doing the mischief which otherwise they might have done. BOOK II. 1747.

Towards the close of the year, the war languished, and a general inactivity appeared among the belligerents, indicating that they were nearly exhausted, and verging towards a general pacification.

Accordingly, the next April, preliminaries were signed, at Aix la Chapelle, and in a few days, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed. The definitive treaty was completed on the seventh of October following. Prisoners were all to be restored without a ransom, and conquests were to be given up. Thus, after nearly ten years war, in which there had been a vast expense of blood and treasure, the parties had gained nothing. On cool reflection, it could hardly be told for what reasons a war had been undertaken, which had so embroiled and exhausted the nations engaged in it, and occasioned such loss and expense to the colonies. April 30th, 1748. Oct. 7.

Expenses of the colonies in the war.

The northern colonies, including New-England and New-York, during this war, doubtless, expended not less than a million sterling. The bills issued by Massachusetts, for between two and three years of the war, amounted to between two and three millions currency. At the time of emission, five or six hundred pounds were equal to one hundred sterling. Governor Hutchinson supposed, that the real consideration which the government received from the people, was nearly four hundred thousand pounds sterling.* He has given it as his opinion, that, for the term of two or three years of the war, the province of Massachusetts paid two hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides the annual taxes, which were as high as the people could bear. By the account which Douglass gives, the expense of that province in the expedition against Cape Breton, was not less than four hundred thousand pounds sterling; and its entire expense during the war, must have considerably exceeded half a million sterling. The other

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 435.

BOOK II. three New-England colonies, with New-York, probably expended nearly an equal sum. Connecticut, during the
1748. war, emitted about eighty thousand pounds currency. A considerable part of this was new tenor, and the currency of the colony was but little depreciated at the commencement of the war. From the number of troops which Connecticut raised for the expedition against Cape Breton, and that designed against Canada, it appears that the expense of this colony could not have been less, in proportion to its wealth and numbers, than that of Massachusetts: Especially, considering that the colony maintained a garrison in the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts, for the defence of that frontier, and was at the expense of supporting a sloop of war, with about an hundred men.

South-Carolina and Georgia were put to considerable expense, in the expedition against Florida, and in the Spanish invasion. All the colonies suffered in their trade and husbandry.

Towards the close of the war, especially, they sustained very great losses in their shipping and commerce. The
Losses by the French privateers. ships which had been placed on the coast, for the protection of the trade, were called off to form a squadron under admiral Knowles, for the reduction of St. Jago, the capital of Cuba. While the coasts were left bare, the French privateers seized the opportunity, and carried off many of their vessels, without molestation. They became so bold, as to sail up Delaware river, almost to Philadelphia.* They ventured up many leagues into Chesapeake bay, and they sailed up Cape Fear river, in North-Carolina.

In the expeditions against Cuba, and Louisburg, in garrisoning the latter, and in the defence of Nova-Scotia,
Loss of the colonies. New-England lost three or four thousand of her young men. Such were the losses of the two colonies of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, in this, and in the last Indian war, that from seventeen hundred twenty-two, to seventeen hundred forty-nine, a term of twenty-seven years, there had been no increase of the number of their inhabitants. In this time they would, otherwise, have doubled their numbers. At the time when governor Hutchinson wrote his history,† he observes, "It is probable that there would have been two hundred thousand souls more than there are at this time in New-England, if the French had been expelled from Canada an hundred years ago." Such a scourge were the French to New-England. The wars with the French and Indians, first and last, swept off great numbers of the inhabitants of New-York, as well as of New-England.

* Douglass, vol. i. p. 343, 344 and 564. † In the year 1766.

In this war, the colonies had exhibited most striking evidences of their loyalty and zeal for his majesty's service. But neither from these, nor for all their losses and expenditures, did they derive any considerable advantage to themselves. Though it be true, that the crown, in some good part, repaid the bare expense of the expedition to Louisburg, yet this did by no means compensate the country. Nothing was done to compensate its loss of men, nor the damage sustained by the depreciation of the currency, nor its other numerous losses and services. Great Britain engrossed all the advantages of the reduction of Louisburg. It was finally given up, to recover what she had lost in Germany, and to purchase peace for the nation. The large quantities of clothing, arms and ammunition, purchased by the colonies for their soldiery, and for the defence of the country, while it impoverished the colonies, increased the trade of Great Britain, and was no inconsiderable emolument to the parent state. BOOK II. 1748.

During the war, the colonies were obliged to emit such sums in bills of credit, that they were scarcely able to redeem them before the commencement of the next French war. Before the complete redemption of the bills, in the colonies where their credit was the best supported, the depreciation was nearly twenty for one. This was a great injury to commerce, public credit, and the morals of the people, for years after the termination of the war.

CHAPTER X.

The reception of the towns of Woodstock, Suffield, Enfield and Somers, under the jurisdiction of Connecticut; and the grant of the same privileges to the societies and churches in those towns which the ecclesiastical societies and the churches in this colony enjoyed. The opposition made to it by the province of Massachusetts, and means of defence adopted by Connecticut.

ON the running of the line between Connecticut and Massachusetts, an agreement was made with Massachusetts, on certain conditions, that the towns which had been settled by that government, should abide under its jurisdiction. This was matter of great grievance to the inhabitants of those towns, from the time of it until the col-

BOOK II. ony assumed the government over them, and they were admitted to the civil and religious liberty of the other inhab-
1747. itants of the colony. The longer they continued under the government of Massachusetts, and were denied the privileges of the people of Connecticut, the more uneasy they were. Therefore, determining if possible to rid themselves from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and to enjoy the privileges of the other inhabitants of the colony, they preferred a memorial to the general assembly of Connecticut in May, 1747, representing that they had, without their consent, or ever being consulted in the affair, been put under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts: that as they were within the limits of the royal charter, they had a just and legal right to the government and privileges which it had granted; and that they were deprived of their charter rights: that the legislature had no right to put them under another government; but that the charter required that the same protection, government and privileges should be extended to them which were enjoyed by the other inhabitants of the colony. For these reasons they prayed to be taken under the government of this colony, and to be admitted to the liberty and privileges of its other inhabitants.

The legislature, sensible of the weight of the reasons suggested, and willing to grant the petition, provided it could be done amicably, with the consent of the government of Massachusetts, appointed Jonathan Trumbull and John Bulkley, Esq'rs. Benjamin Hall and capt. Roger Wolcott, or any three of them, commissioners, to meet and confer with such gentlemen as should be appointed by the province of Massachusetts bay, at such time and place as should be agreed upon by them, to hear, consider and report to the next assembly after their conference.

The legislature, after a trial of two years, finding that no amicable settlement relative to the claim of jurisdiction over the towns which had preferred their memorial, could be made, and in consequence of the agents of said towns urging that the agreement relative to them was made through mistake: that this government had received no equivalent for the jurisdiction of the said towns: that the inhabitants were thereby deprived of their charter rights: that the agreement never had been completed but in part: and that it never had been confirmed by his majesty: the assembly resolved, "that as it did not appear that ever the said agreement had received, so it never ought to receive the royal confirmation: and that as the respective governments could not give up, exchange or alter their jurisdic-

Resolution of the Assembly relative to

tions; so the said agreement, so far as it respects jurisdiction, is void: And thereupon this assembly do declare, that all the said inhabitants which live south of the line fixed by the Massachusetts charter, are within, and have a right to the privileges of this government, the aforesaid agreement notwithstanding."

BOOK II. 1747.

the towns which had been settled by Massachusetts, May, 1749.

The assembly further resolved, that as there might be some uncertainty, both with respect to the beginning and running of the line, it was necessary to ascertain the same according to the royal charters, to the respective governments. Jonathan Trumbull, John Bulkley, Elisha Williams, and Joseph Fowler, Esq'rs. were appointed a committee, to join with commissioners from the government of Massachusetts, to ascertain and fix the line: and provided that, if the legislature of Massachusetts should refuse to appoint commissioners, or in case they could not agree, that then the agent, in London, be directed to lay the case before his majesty, and pray that he would appoint commissioners, for the purpose of ascertaining and fixing said line.

Oct. 1752; the societies in Woodstock, &c vested with the privileges of other societies.

The legislature, having taken the towns of Woodstock, Suffield, Enfield, and Somers, under the jurisdiction of this colony, and having determined to maintain their charter rights, within two and three years after, ordained, that the ecclesiastical societies in those towns should enjoy all the privileges of such societies, according to the constitution and laws of the colony.

The province of Massachusetts was totally opposed to relinquishing the right of jurisdiction over the towns which had been settled by the inhabitants, and under the government of it. A petition was preferred by the agent of the province to his majesty, in opposition to the proceedings of the legislature of Connecticut. The legislature of Connecticut, suspecting that such a measure would be adopted, had previously desired the governor to make a statement of the case, and prepare all the proofs relative to it, and transmit them to the agent of the colony, in London. He was directed to make the best use of them, which he could, for the defence of the commonwealth, against any motion which might be made in behalf of Massachusetts, for the establishment of any former line or agreement. If it should be judged advisable, and most expedient, by the best counsel he could obtain, to petition for commissioners, to ascertain, and run the line between Massachusetts and Connecticut, according to their respective charters, that he should then adopt that measure.

When they were apprised by letters from their agent,

BOOK II. that Mr. Bolland had preferred a petition to his majesty on the subject, in behalf of the province of Massachusetts,
1752. a committee was appointed to prepare a plan and survey
May, 1755. of the line run by the commissioners in 1713, between the two colonies, and the desire of the said towns to be under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and to enjoy the privileges granted to its inhabitants by the royal charter; and the evidence of their desire at, and ever since the running of the line, in 1713; with all other exhibits which could be serviceable in the case: and directions were given, that they should be transmitted, as soon as might be, to the agent in Great-Britain.*

The colony was successful in maintaining its claims and jurisdiction, and the inhabitants of those towns have uninterruptedly enjoyed the government and immunities of the people of Connecticut, from that, to the present time.

CHAPTER XI.

A Spanish ship arrives at New-London, in distress. The cargo is unladen, and stored in that port. When it was called for by the supercargo, a great proportion of it could not be found. Don Joseph Miguel, the supercargo, refuses to sail, without the whole of his cargo. Petitions the assembly. The resolution of the legislature respecting it. Ferment in the government, in consequence of it.

Spanish ship, 1753.

ABOUT this time an unhappy event took place, dishonourable to the colony, injurious to foreigners, and which occasioned a great and general uneasiness, and many unfriendly suspicions and imputations, with respect to some of the principal characters in the colony. A Spanish ship coming into the port of New-London, in distress, ran upon a reef of rocks, and so damaged the vessel, that it was necessary to unlade her, and put her freight into stores at New-London. The cargo was delivered into the custody of Joseph Hill, Esq. collector of the port of New-London. The supercargo was Don Joseph Miguel de St. Juan. That he might sail with his cargo early in the spring, he obtained a ship of about two hundred tons, and was ready to sail in April. But when he had shipped part of his cargo, other parts of it were withholden from him, or lost, and

* Colony records in the several years to which reference is had.

could not, by any means of his, be found and recovered. As he could obtain no relief, and was determined not to sail without the recovery of his cargo, or some indemnification for the loss of it, he waited until October, and then preferred a memorial to the assembly, representing his arrival in the snow St. Joseph and St. Helena, from Havanna, bound to Cadiz, at the port of New-London; and that he had stored his cargo there, in the custody of Joseph Hill, Esq. the collector; and that when he had procured a vessel in April, and required his cargo, that it might be reshipped, that a considerable part of it was withholden, lost, and embezzled; and praying for relief, or that he might reland that part of his cargo which remained, and secure it at their expense, and, also, that his men might be discharged. BOOK II. 1753. Oct. 1753.

The assembly, after hearing and deliberating on the memorial, resolved, That whatever losses he had sustained, it was either by means to them unknown, or which they were by no means able to prevent. The assembly represented, that nothing appeared to them, but that he might have put all his cargo on board, about the 23d of April, when he shipped part of it: That Joseph Hill, Esq. collector of the port of New-London, had, at that time, delivered his money, and part of his cargo, and they knew not why the residue was not put on board. They resolved, that they could not, according to law, discharge the master and mariners, nor oblige and compel Mr. Hill to receive the goods again into his custody, according to the desire of the petitioner; especially at their own cost and risk, as the petitioner declared that he would be at no expense in the affair. It was declared, That the requests of the petitioner were unreasonable, and, therefore, could not be granted: but, that as protection and assistance were due to a foreigner, cast among them, the assembly did advise the governor to grant all due protection and relief to the said Don Miguel, according to the laws of trade, nature, and nations. The governor was also desired and empowered, in case the said Joseph Miguel should desire it, to direct a full search after any part of his cargo, which might have been embezzled, or lost; and to take all such reasonable measures therein, as should be necessary to do justice in said case.*

Before the meeting of the freemen in April, it was generally known that the Spaniards had been robbed; or, at least, that an important part of a rich and very valuable cargo, had been stolen, embezzled, or, by some means,

* Records of the colony.

BOOK II. lost, or kept back from the owners; and it occasioned a great ferment through the colony. It was imagined, that 1753. it might involve the colony in great difficulties; that it might be obliged to indemnify the owners, and that it would bring a heavy debt upon it; or that it might effect a rupture, and hostilities between the two nations. Others were moved with a sense of honour, sympathy, and justice. They were ashamed and grieved, that, when foreigners, in distress, had cast themselves upon, not only a civilized, but christian people, they had been plundered and injured, as though they had fallen among heathens, thieves, and robbers. All the feelings of covetousness, honour, sympathy, and justice, were touched. Great blame was imputed to some of the principal characters in the colony, especially to governor Wolcott. It was imagined by many, that he had not taken such care, and adopted such measures, to secure the property of those foreigners, and to save them harmless, as he ought to have done. Whether there was any just foundation for faulting him or not, it so disaffected the freemen, that, notwithstanding his former popularity, he lost their suffrages, and Thomas Fitch, Esq. was chosen governor, in his place. Mr. Hill did not escape a share of blame, among others. How such a quantity of stores, of various kinds, should be lost, or embezzled, without his knowledge or privity, and that no thorough search should be made for them, in so many months, is very unaccountable. But where the fault lay, or what became of the lost goods, never came to public view. Nor does it appear that the colony was ever put to any extraordinary expense or trouble, on that account. The war was now commencing, and private concerns were neglected and forgotten; while national interests, of greater moment, and more general concern, engrossed the public mind, both in Europe and America.

CHAPTER XII.

1730.

The history of the College continued from Chapter I. Its state under the rectorship of Mr. Williams, Donations made to it while he presided. He resigns, and the Rev. Thomas Clap was chosen president. A new charter granted. A new college, or Connecticut hall, built. Professor of Divinity settled. Labors and donations. Enemies of the college write against it. Petition the assembly to take it out of the hands of the corporation, appoint visitors, &c. The president appears and pleads the cause of the college before the assembly. Chapel is built. An account of donations is interspersed.

RECTOR WILLIAMS, was a gentleman of solid learning, great prudence, and popular talents. He was rector about thirteen years, during which period, the college enjoyed peace and flourished. A number of valuable donations were made to it. In 1730, the trustees received a deed of 628 acres of land in Salisbury, of Messrs. Fisk and Leavins, in exchange for lands given them many years before, by major James Fitch. The title to it had been controverted, and it was supposed that the trustees had expended nearly half the value of the land in defence of the title.

Grant of Connecticut, 1732.

In October, 1732, the General Assembly made a generous donation of 1500 acres of land to the college; 300 acres in each of the new townships of Norfolk, Canaan, Goshen, Cornwall and Kent. A patent was given in confirmation of the donation in May, 1741.

Dean Berkeley's donations.

The Rev. Dr. GEORGE BERKELEY, then dean of Derry, in Ireland, afterward bishop of Cloyne, made a number of donations to the college. He came into America, with a view to found an episcopal college. He made a purchase of a country seat, with nearly an hundred acres of land, at Newport, in Rhode-Island. He resided there about two years, in which time, he formed a correspondence with rector Williams, and became acquainted with several other principal gentlemen in Connecticut. From them he learned the state and genius of Yale College. He, therefore, while he resided at Newport, made a present of all his own works to the college. He finally gave up the design of founding a college in North America, and returned to London.

After his return, in 1732, he gave the rents of his farm

BOOK II. to the college, to be appropriated to the maintenance of the three best scholars in the Greek and Latin languages, 1732. who should reside at the college, at least nine months in a year, in each of the three years, between their first and second degrees. He directed, that on the 6th of May, annually, or in case that should be the Lord's day, then on the 7th, the candidates should be publicly examined by the president or rector, and the senior episcopal missionary within this colony, who shall be then present; and in case none be present, then by the president only. And that in case the president and senior missionary should not agree in their sentiments, who are the best scholars, the case should be determined by lot. It was further directed, that any surplusage of money which should happen by any vacancies, should be distributed in Greek and Latin books, to such under-graduate students, as should make the best composition, or declamation in the Latin tongue, upon such a moral theme as should be given them.

This donation happily answered the design of the donor, proving a great and lasting incitement in the students to excel in the knowledge of the classics.

At the same time, Dr. Berkeley, in pursuit of his benevolent and noble designs, transmitted to the college the finest collection of books which had ever before, at any one time, been sent into America. It consisted of nearly a thousand volumes, including those which he had sent before; 260 of these were folios, and generally very large. It was estimated that the collection cost at least four hundred pounds sterling.

Mr. Williams, though highly acceptable to the students, and to the colony in general, was nevertheless obliged to resign his office, and leave the college, on account of bodily indisposition. The sea air and southerly winds at New-Haven, so affected his constitution, as, sometimes, to incapacitate him for business. He resigned his office the last of October, 1739. He received the hearty thanks of the trustees, for his good services to the college.

After his resignation, he retired to his seat at Weathersfield. He soon became a member of the assembly, and speaker of the house of representatives. He was further promoted, to be one of the judges of the superior court, and to the command of a regiment, in an intended expedition against Canada. He afterwards went to England, to receive the wages due to himself and his regiment. Having contracted an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Doddridge, and several other gentlemen of distinction, in that country, and married a lady of superior accomplishments, he re-

turned to Weathersfield. Here, after a pious, useful and honorable life, he died, July 24th, 1755. BOOK II.

He received his education at Harvard college, in Cambridge, in New-England, where he was graduated, Anno Domini, 1711. He was well furnished with academical literature, was a thorough calvinist, and is characterized as one of the best of men. Dr. Doddridge, in a letter to a friend, writes thus of him: "I look upon Col. Williams to "be one of the most valuable men upon earth: he has join-"ed to an ardent sense of religion, solid learning, consum-"mate prudence, great candor, and sweetness of temper, "and a certain nobleness of soul, capable of contriving "and acting the greatest things, without seeming to be "conscious of his having done them." 1732. Character of rector Williams.

The trustees, sensible of the great inconveniences which the college had suffered, by the long intervals in which it had been without a rector, proceeded immediately to a new choice, and the Rev. Thomas Clap, minister of Windham, was chosen successor to rector Williams. A council of neighboring elders and churches, advised Mr. Clap to accept the appointment. Mr. Clap viewing it, as the council had done, as a call to greater and more extensive usefulness, complied with their advice.

At a meeting of the trustees, on the 2d of April, 1740, he was installed. He first gave his consent to the confession of faith and rules of church discipline, agreed upon by the churches of the colony of Connecticut, assembled by delegation at Saybrook, in the year 1708; and also gave the trustees satisfaction, with respect to the soundness of his principles, according to their act in 1722. Installation of rector Clap, April 2d, 1740.

The trustees and students were then assembled in the college hall, and the Rev. Mr. Whitman, moderator, made a prayer, and one of the students delivered an oration adapted to the occasion. The moderator then made a speech, committing the instruction and government of the college to rector Clap; and he concluded with an oration.

The committee of the first society in Windham, made application to the trustees to give them a recompense for the removal of their pastor. Upon this, they mutually agreed to refer it to the judgment of three gentlemen of the General Assembly, what compensation they should have. Those gentlemen, considering that the Rev. Mr. Clap had been in the ministry at Windham fourteen years, which in their estimate, was about half the term of a minister's life in general, judged that the society ought to have half the price of his settlement. This was about fifty-three pounds.

BOOK II. sterling. Upon the memorial of the trustees, the General Assembly granted that sum to the people of Windham, as a compensation.

1740.

No sooner had rector Clap entered upon his office, than he endeavored, by all means in his power, to advance the college to as great a degree of perfection as possible. There had never been made a complete body of laws, for regulating the college, nor had the customs and manners of other colleges been sufficiently made known. On the first founding of the college, it was agreed, that where no special provision was made by the trustees, the laws of Harvard college should be the rule. About the time the college was fixed at New-Haven, a short body of laws was drawn up. But this was only in writing, and each scholar, on his admission, was put to the labor of transcribing it. This, upon trial, was found defective, and several of its laws were become obsolete. Rector Clap, therefore, considered it as a business of prime importance, to compile a complete body of laws for the college.

As soon as he was fixed in his post, at the desire of the trustees, he began this business. A large body of laws was drawn up, partly out of the ancient laws of this college, partly from the principal and most important customs which had obtained, partly from the laws of Harvard college, and partly from the university of Oxford. To these, there was an addition of some new ones. This was perused by a committee of the trustees, and by most of them at their own houses; and after several readings before the board of trustees, in 1745, obtained their sanction.

The rector also, about the same time, collected and wrote under proper heads, the customs of the college which had from time to time obtained, and had been established by practice. By these, the rules by which the officers and students of the college should conduct themselves, became better known and fixed, and the government of the college became more steady and uniform, and less sovereign and arbitrary.

Arrangement and catalogues of the library. 1742.

Before this time there had been no convenient arrangement, nor catalogue of the books. The rector arranged all the books in proper order. In honor to the Rev. Dr. Berkeley for his liberal donation, his books were placed by themselves at one end of the library. He also made three catalogues of the books; one as they stood in their proper order on the shelves; another in alphabetical order; and a third, in which the most valuable books were placed under proper heads, according to the subject matter of them; together with figures referring to the number and

place of each book. By which means it might easily be known what books were in the library upon any particular subject, and where they might be found with the utmost expedition. This catalogue was printed, and had a happy influence on the diligence and industry of the scholars in reading them. 1744.

About this time the college received another considerable benefit. The legislature augmented their annual grant to the college, by which the rector was enabled to support three tutors; one to each class, including himself. This removed a considerable inconvenience which the college had before suffered, by one tutor's hearing two classes. It had another benefit; the scholars studied and recited much more than they had done in the preceding years.

Mr. Anthony Nougier, of Fairfield, in 1743, by his last will, bestowed on the college twenty seven pounds sterling, to be put out at interest, the amount of which was principally to be appropriated to the maintenance of the rector and tutors forever. This donation was received the next year, and was employed according to the direction of the donor. Mr. Nougier's donation, 1743.

The college was now become numerous and respectable: it had educated a large number of men, who were pillars in the commonwealth and stars of distinguished lustre in the firmament of the church. The under-graduates amounted annually to eighty or more: as many as twenty upon an average were graduated each commencement. The rector and trustees conceived the idea that their powers ought to be enlarged; and that a new charter should be given, in which the founders and officers of the college should be named, more agreeably to the forms and usages of other colleges. It was imagined that this would make them and their respective offices better known abroad, and give the college a greater importance and respectability. The rector, therefore, who had a very accurate and extensive knowledge of the forms, powers, and usages of colleges, made a draft of a new charter, in which the trustees were incorporated, by the name of the president and fellows of Yale College, in New-Haven. This draft was revised by the honorable Thomas Fitch, Esq. afterwards governor of the colony, approved by the trustees, and ordered by them to be presented to the honorable general assembly for their sanction. It was granted at the session in May, the next year. A copy is here exhibited.

BOOK II. BY THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY of his MAJESTY'S colony of CONNECTICUT, in NEW-ENGLAND, in AMERICA.

1745. Charter of the college. *An Act for the more full and complete establishment of* YALE COLLEGE *in* NEW-HAVEN, *and for enlarging the powers and privileges thereof.*

Whereas, upon the petition of several well disposed and public spirited persons, expressing their desire that full liberty and privilege might be granted unto certain undertakers for the founding, suitable endowing, and ordering a collegiate school within this colony, wherein youth might be instructed in the arts and sciences, the governor and company, in general court assembled, at New-Haven, on the 9th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and one, granted unto the Rev. Messrs. James Noyes, Israel Chauncey, Thomas Buckingham, Abraham Pierson, Samuel Mather, Samuel Andrew, Timothy Woodbridge, James Pierpont, Noadiah Russell, and Joseph Webb, who were proposed to stand as trustees, partners or undertakers for the said society, and to their successors, full liberty, right and privilege to erect, form, direct, order, establish, improve, and at all times, in all suitable ways, to encourage the said school, in some convenient place in this colony: and granted sundry powers and privileges for the attaining the end aforesaid.

And whereas the said trustees, partners or undertakers, in pursuance of the aforesaid grant, liberty and license, founded a collegiate school at New-Haven, known by the name of YALE COLLEGE; which has received the favourable benefactions of many liberal and piously disposed persons, and under the blessing of Almighty God, has trained up many worthy persons for the service of God, in the state as well as in the church.

And whereas, the general court of this colony, assembled at New-Haven, the tenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, did explain and enlarge the aforesaid powers and privileges, granted to the aforesaid partners, trustees, or undertakers and their successors, for the purpose aforesaid; as by the respective acts, reference thereunto being had, more fully and at large may appear.

And whereas, the Rev. Messrs. Thomas Clap, Samuel Whitman, Jared Elliot, Ebenezer Williams, Jonathan Marsh, Samuel Cooke, Samuel Whittelsey, Joseph Noyes, Anthony Stoddard, Benjamin Lord and Daniel Wadsworth, the present trustees, partners and undertakers of the said school, and successors of those before mentioned, have petitioned that the said school, with all the rights, powers, priv-

ileges and interests thereof, may be confirmed; and that such other additional powers and privileges may be granted as shall be necessary for the ordering and managing the said school in the most advantageous and beneficial manner for the promoting all good literature, in the present and succeeding generations. Therefore, BOOK II. 1747.

The GOVERNOR and COMPANY of his majesty's said English colony of Connecticut, in general court assembled, this ninth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, enact, ordain, and declare, and by these presents it is enacted, ordained and declared,

I. That the said Thomas Clap, Samuel Whitman, Jared Elliot, Ebenezer Williams, Jonathan Marsh, Samuel Cooke, Samuel Whittelsey, Joseph Noyes, Anthony Stoddard, Benjamin Lord, and Daniel Wadsworth, shall be an incorporate society, or body corporate and politic; and shall hereafter be called and known by the name of the PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF YALE COLLEGE, IN NEW-HAVEN; and that, by the same name, they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession; and shall and may be persons capable in the law to plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, and answer and be answered unto; and also to have, take, possess, acquire, purchase, or otherwise receive lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, or other estates, to grant, demise, lease, use, manage, or improve, for the good and benefit of the said college, according to the tenor of the donation, and their discretion.

II. That all gifts, grants, bequests and donations of lands, tenements or hereditaments, goods and chattels, heretofore made to or for the use, benefit and advantage of the collegiate school aforesaid, whether the same be expressed to be made to the president or rector, and to the rest of the incorporate society of Yale College, or to the trustees or undertakers of the collegiate school in New-Haven, or to the trustees, by any other name, stile or title whatsoever, whereby it may be clearly known and understood, that the true intent and design of such gifts, grants, bequests and donations, was to and for the use, benefit and advantage of the collegiate school aforesaid, and to be under the care and disposal of the governors thereof, shall be confirmed, and the same hereby are confirmed, and shall be and remain to, and be vested in the president and fellows of the college aforesaid, and their successors, as to the true and lawful successors of the original grantees.

III. The said president and fellows and their successors, shall and may hereafter have a common seal, to serve

BOOK II. and use for all causes, matters and affairs, of them and their successors; and the same seal to alter, break and
1745. make new, as they shall think fit.

IV. That the said Thomas Clap shall be, and he is hereby established the present president; and the said Samuel Whitman, Jared Elliot, Ebenezer Williams, Jonathan Marsh, Samuel Cooke, Samuel Whittelsey, Joseph Noyes, Anthony Stoddard, Benjamin Lord, and Daniel Wadsworth, shall be, and they are hereby established the present fellows of the said college: and that they and their successors shall continue in their respective places during life, or until they or either of them shall resign, or be removed or displaced, as in this act is hereafter expressed.

V. That there shall be a general meeting of the president and fellows of said college, in the college library, on the second Wednesday of September annually, or at any other time and place which they shall see cause to appoint, to consult, advise and act in and about the affairs and business of the said college: and that on any emergency, the president and two of the fellows, or any four of the fellows, may appoint a meeting at the said college, provided they give notice thereof to the rest, by letters sent and left with them, or at the places of their respective abodes, five days before such meeting; and that the president and six fellows, or in case of the death, absence or incapacity of the president, seven fellows convened as aforesaid, (in which case the eldest fellow shall preside,) shall be deemed a meeting of the president and fellows of said college, and that in all the said meetings, the major vote of the members present, shall be deemed the act of the whole; and where an equi vote happens, the president shall have a casting vote.

VI. The president and fellows of the said college and their successors, in any of their meetings, assembled as aforesaid, shall and may from time to time, as occasion shall require, elect and appoint a president or fellow in the room and place of any president or fellow who shall die, resign, or be removed from office, place or trust; whom the said governor and company hereby declare, for any misdemeanor, unfaithfulness, default or incapacity, shall be removable by the president and fellows of the said college; six of them, at least, concurring in said act. And shall have power to appoint a scribe or register, a treasurer, tutors, professors, steward, and all such other officers and servants as are usually appointed in colleges or universities, as they shall find necessary and think fit to appoint; for the promoting of literature, and the well order-

ing and managing of the affairs of said college; and them, or any of them, at their discretion, to remove; and to prescribe and administer such forms of oaths (not being contrary to the laws of England, or of this colony) as they shall think proper to be administered to all those officers and instructors of the said college, or to such and so many of them as they shall think proper, for the faithful execution of their respective places, offices and trusts. BOOK II. 1745.

VII. That the present president and fellows of said college and their successors, and all such tutors and other officers as shall be appointed for the public instruction and government of said college, before they undertake the execution of their respective offices, and trusts, or within three months after, shall publicly, in the college hall, take the oaths and subscribe the declaration appointed by act of parliament, made in the first year of king George the first; entitled an *act for the further security of his majesty's person and government, and the succession of the crown in the heirs of the late princess Sophia, being protestants; and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, and his open and secret abettors;* that is to say, the president before the governor, deputy governor, or any two of the assistants of this colony, for the time being; and the fellows, tutors and other officers, before the president for the time being; who is hereby empowered to administer the same. An entry of all which shall be made in the records of said college.

VIII. That the president and fellows shall have the government, care and management of the said college; and all the matters and affairs thereunto belonging; and shall have power, from time to time, as occasion shall require, to make, ordain and establish all such wholesome and reasonable laws, rules and ordinances, not repugnant to the laws of England, nor the laws of this colony, as they shall think fit and proper, for the instruction and education of the students, and ordering, governing, ruling and managing the said college, and all matters, affairs and things thereunto belonging, and the same repeal and alter, as they shall think fit; which shall be laid before this assembly, as often as required, and may also be repealed or disallowed by this assembly, when they shall think proper.

IX. That the president of said college, with the consent of the fellows, shall have power to give and confer all such honors, degrees or licenses as are usually given in colleges and universities, upon such as they shall think worthy thereof.

X. That all the lands and rateable estate belonging to

BOOK II. the said college, not exceeding the yearly value of five hundred pounds sterling, lying in this government, and
1746. the persons, families and estates of the president and professors, lying and being in the town of New-Haven, and the persons of the tutors, students, and such and so many of the servants of said college, as give their constant attendance on the business of it, shall be freed and exempted from all rates, taxes, military service, working at highways, and all other such like duties and services.

XI. And for the special encouragement and support of said college, this assembly do hereby grant unto the said president and fellows, and their successors, for the use of said college, in lieu of all former grants, one hundred pounds silver money, at the rate of six shillings and eight pence per ounce, to be paid in bills of public credit, or other currency equivalent to the said hundred pounds, (the rate or value thereof to be stated from time to time by the assembly,) in two equal payments, in October and May annually. This payment to continue during the pleasure of this assembly.

In full testimony and confirmation of this grant, and all the articles and matters therein contained, the said company do hereby order, that this act shall be signed by the governor and secretary, and sealed by the public seal of this colony; and that the same, or duplicate exemplification thereof, shall be a sufficient warrant to the said president and fellows to hold, use, and exercise all the powers and privileges therein mentioned and contained.

JONTH. LAW, *Governor.*

By order of said governor and company, in general court assembled.

Sigillum appendens.

GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secretary.*

This ample charter, placed the college in a much more perfect and honorable state than it was in before, and laid the foundation for its advancement to a very useful and honorable university. The grant of an hundred pounds, or an equivalent in bills of credit, was punctually paid for ten years, until the commencement of the French war, and the heavy taxes and burdens which it occasioned. With this salary, president Clap, with his singular economy, lived with dignity.

1746. Mr. Lambert's donation.

Some years since, Mr. Samuel Lambert, a Scotch merchant, of New-Haven, died, and by his will, dated February 19th, 1718, gave the principal part of his estate for the benefit of the college. He directed that ten pounds

should be paid for the building of the college, and the rest to be paid, three pounds sterling to each person graduated at New-Haven, who should settle in the ministry, and empowered his executors to sell the lands for that purpose. But the executors finding the estate involved, by reason of a large debt due from the estate in England, paid only the ten pounds to the trustees, and neglected all payments to the graduated ministers. These, living at a great distance, and some difficulties intervening, did nothing relative to the affair for many years. In the mean time, several of the young ministers grew uneasy, and ventured upon the sale of some of the lands, though they had no right to sell them, and some who undertook it, had no right even to the money; because as the lands were appraised in the inventory, the money would all be run out before it came to them. Some other persons, who had no pretence of any right, got into possession of some other parts of the lands, so as to claim them by possession. With respect to some other parcels of the land, Mr. Lambert had been defrauded by the persons of whom he purchased, as they had no right to the lands which they sold to him. BOOK II. 1746.

As the president was unwilling that the estate should be lost, as to the end for which it was given, he set up a notification in the hall, at the commencement of 1744, desiring those ministers who were interested in the affair, to meet and consult upon it. They accordingly met and appointed a committee, to act in the affair. They soon found it attended with so many difficulties, that they agreed to resign the whole into the hands of the president and fellows. They conceived that they were under a much better capacity of managing it than themselves.

Most of the clergy, who were supposed to have any interest in the affair, freely resigned it up to the president and fellows, to be improved for the benefit of college, in such a manner as they should judge best. The rest of the rights were purchased. In consequence of this, the executors gave to the president and fellows a deed of all the lands of which Mr. Lambert was seized at the time of his death. After very considerable pains and expense, they became finally possessed of one hundred acres of land in Wallingford, and sixty-two acres, lying in five parcels, in New-Haven, exclusive of those sold by the young ministers.

This year, the honorable Philip Livingston, Esq. one of his majesty's council for the province of New-York, made a donation of twenty-eight pounds ten shillings sterling, to be put out at interest, and the interest to be appropriated Donation from Mr. Livingston

BOOK II. to the support of a professor of divinity in Yale College, or to any other use the president and fellows should judge
1746. most for the advantage of the college. The president and fellows were of the opinion, that a professor of divinity would be of the greatest advantage to the college, and appropriated the donation to that purpose. In consequence of this donation, and in honor of Mr. Livingston, the professor of divinity in Yale College, was called the Livingstonian professor of divinity. Four sons of the honorable Mr. Livingston had been educated at this college, which was probably an occasion of his making this donation.

From this time, the president and fellows, it seems, were wishing for, and looking forward to, the settlement of a professor of divinity in the college, and they were concerting measures for its accomplishment, as soon as might be.

The college was now, under the instruction and government of president Clap, flourishing and honourable. His great mind and extensive literature, made it reputable at home and abroad. Its numbers were increased to an hundred and twenty students. More than half this number were obliged, for want of room in college, to live out in private houses. This, on many accounts, was very inconvenient. The president, therefore, projected the plan of erecting a new college house. Upon consultation with several of the fellows, in 1747, he obtained liberty for a lottery, to assist him in the enterprise. By this, five hundred pounds sterling were raised, clear of all charges and deductions.

The president took the whole affair of constructing and building the house, upon himself. He laid the foundation on the 17th of April, 1750, and the outside was completely finished in September, 1752. It was 100 feet long, 40 feet wide, and three stories high, besides the garrets, and a cellar under the whole. It contained thirty-two chambers, and sixty-four studies. It was set back in the yard, that there might be a large and handsome area before it, and toward the north side of the yard, with a view, that, when the old college should come down, another college or chapel, or both, should be set, on a line, to the south of it. Additional lands were also purchased on the north, and on the west, for its better accommodation. It was built of brick,* and made a very beautiful appearance. It was, at that time, the best building in the colony. The whole was performed with great economy and good judgment.

* It took about 230,000 brick, and the cost of the outside was about £1180 sterling.

1748.

To assist the president in building this, the General Assembly, besides granting the lottery in October, 1749, ordered, that 363 pounds, in the hands of Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq. which came by a French prize, taken by the frigate belonging to the government, should be paid to the president, toward building the new college. In October, 1751, the assembly gave further order, that the remainder of the prize aforesaid, and the effects of the frigate, which was sold after the war, amounting to 500 pounds more, should be paid for the same purpose. There were 280 pounds in the hands of Gurdon Saltonstall and Jabez Hamlin, Esq'rs, due to the government on some old accounts, which the assembly, in the session in October, 1754, ordered to be paid into the hands of the president, for his further assistance in erecting the new college hall.

Donations from the colony, for building the new college.

The outside of the house having been finished, principally by the generosity of the government, the president and fellows, at the commencement in 1752, with a view to give it an honourable perpetuation, ordered, that the new college be called, and named, CONNECTICUT HALL, and then walked into it in procession. At the same time, the beadle, by special order, made the following declaration, viz:

New college named.

Cum e Providentiæ Divinæ favore, per Coloniæ *Connecticutensis* munificentiam gratissimam, hoc novum ædificium academicum, fundatum et erectum fuerit; in perpetuam tantæ generositatis memoriam, ædes hæc nitida et splendida AULA CONNECTICUTENSIS nuncrepetur.

Thus in English;

Whereas, through the favour of Divine Providence, this new college house has been built, by the munificence of the colony of Connecticut: in perpetual commemoration of so great generosity, this neat and decent building shall be called CONNECTICUT HALL.

The college was, at this time, greatly increasing in numbers, literature, and reputation. Bishop Berkeley, from time to time, received such information of the management and effect of his generous donations, as met his approbation, and gave him very sensible pleasure. An Irish gentleman, who was present at one of the examinations for his bounty, carried to him two calculations made by his scholars, one of the place of the comet, at the time of the flood, which appeared anno 1680, having a periodical revolution of 575 1-2 years, which Mr. Whiston supposes to have been the cause of the deluge; and another of the remarkable eclipse in the tenth year of Jehoiakim, mentioned by Herodotus, lib. i. chap. 74, and in Usher's Annals;

BOOK II. and gave him a particular account of the order of the college, and the proficiency of the students in the languages,
1752. and other branches of literature. The bishop, therefore, wrote a number of complaisant letters to president Clap. In one of them, not long before his death, he wrote thus:
1751. "The daily increase of religion and learning, in the seminary under your auspicious care and government, gives me a very sensible pleasure, and an ample recompense for all my donations."

The bishop died about this time, in the 73d year of his age. President Clap observes, "This college will always retain a grateful sense of his generosity and merits; and, probably, a favourable opinion of his idea of *material substance*, as not consisting in an unknown and inconceivable *stratum*, but in a *stated union and combination of sensible ideas*, excited from without by some *intelligent* being." He is characterized as one of the chief men of any age, for genius, literature, probity and beneficence.

The college, at this time, was under very flourishing and happy circumstances, on all accounts, except that of religion, which was its most important interest. In this, not only the president and fellows, but the churches and commonwealth, were deeply interested. With respect to this, the college laboured under great disadvantages. The students were obliged to attend in the old meeting-house of the first society, where their external accommodations were far from being agreeable; the Rev. Mr. Noyes was advanced in years, had very little animation, and did not give satisfaction, either as to his language or doctrines. The corporation, sensible of this, as early as the year 1746, voted, "that they would choose a public professor of divinity in the college, as soon as they could procure a sufficient support."

The president in particular, felt himself deeply interested in the affair. He was a witness, every sabbath day, of what kind of instructions the scholars had, and he employed his mind in devising some way in which a support might be obtained for a professor. The lands given to the college in 1732, in the county of Litchfield, were in the most remote and uncultivated part of the colony; and land was so cheap in that county, that none appeared as tenants, upon any terms which were advantageous. They had lain wholly dormant unto that time. The corporation wished, if possible, to turn them to some advantage, and especially for the support of a professor of divinity. The president devised the plan of leasing the lands, for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years; the rent to

Plan of leasing the college lands.

be the interest of the value of the land at that time, at five per centum; to be forfeited, in case of non-payment of the rent, at the annual times appointed, but redeemable within six months after, upon payment of the rent, with the lawful interest upon it. This, president Clap conceived to be most advantageous, both for the landlord and the tenant. The rents would, in the best manner, be secured to the college, and the lands would be free from the trouble and expense of inspection and separation. The tenants, at the same time, had all encouragement to cultivate and improve the lands, as though they were their own. The rents were much higher than those of most other lands, though cleared and fenced. On these terms, several parcels were leased out, from time to time, as opportunity presented. The length of time for which the lands were leased, encouraged people to apply for them, so that, in a few years, a considerable revenue was produced by them. BOOK II. 1751.

The farm given by bishop Berkeley, in Rhode-Island, in 1762, was leased for the same term, and upon the same conditions, as the other college lands. The rent was to be eighteen pounds sterling, and forty rods of stone wall, until the year 1769; then thirty-six pounds, until the year 1810; and after that, 240 bushels of good wheat, until the end of the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years.

From the divided state of New-Haven, and the inconvenience and danger of the scholars attending public worship in the first church and society, the corporation became, more and more, sensible of the necessity of obtaining a professor of divinity in the college. The corporation, therefore, in 1752, voted, "That a professor of divinity in the college, would be, upon all accounts, advantageous; and therefore resolved, that they would endeavour to get a support for such a professor, as soon as may be, by all such ways and means as prudence should direct. They afterwards ordered, that one half of the college lands in the county of Litchfield, should be leased out for that purpose." 1752.

The apprehension of the necessity of the settlement of a learned and orthodox professor of divinity in the college, to preserve orthodoxy, and to exhibit the best specimens of preaching, became general. The legislature, therefore, in October, 1753, took the affair into their consideration, and resolved, "That one principal end proposed in erecting the college, was, to supply the churches in this colony with a learned, pious and orthodox ministry; to which end, it was requisite that the students of the college should Resolution of the assembly, relative to the settle-

BOOK II. have the best instructions in divinity, and the best patterns of preaching set before them; and that the settling a learned, pious, orthodox professor of divinity in the college, would greatly tend to promote that good end and design: and therefore recommended a general contribution to be made in all the religious societies in the colony, for that purpose." But as the French war, and extraordinary taxes, soon after commenced, it was judged best to alter the form, and to seek help by a subscription, which happily succeeded to answer the end designed.

1753. Establishment of a professor of divinity.

The corporation becoming more deeply sensible of the great danger which there was of the corruption of the college with gross errors, and the clergy of the colony generally having the same impressions, the corporation desired the president to undertake the work of a professor of divinity, and to preach to the students, in the college hall, on the Lord's day, until a professor of divinity could be obtained. The general association advised to the same measure. The president, therefore, with the students, withdrew from the first society in New-Haven, and attended public worship in the college hall, under the immediate instructions of president Clap.

The corporation, for the further preservation and security of the religion of the college, upon its original foundation and constitution, adopted the following act.

Act of the corporation, Nov. 21st, 1753.

At a meeting of the president and fellows of Yale College, November 21st, 1753:

PRESENT,

The Rev. Mr. THOMAS CLAP, President.

The Rev. Messrs. Jared Elliot, Joseph Noyes, Anthony Stoddard, Benjamin Lord, William Russell, Thomas Ruggles, Solomon Williams, and Noah Hobart, Fellows.

"Whereas, the principal design of the pious founders of the college, was to educate and train up youth for the ministry in the churches of this colony, according to the doctrine, discipline and mode of worship received and practised in them; and they particularly ordered, that the students should be established in the principles of religion, and grounded in polemical divinity, according to the assembly's catechism, Dr. Ames' Medulla, and Cases of Conscience, and that special care should be taken in the education of the students, not to suffer them to be instructed in any different principles or doctrines; and that all proper measures should be taken to promote the power and purity of religion, and the best edification and peace of these churches.*

* See the records of 1698, 1701 and 1722.

1753.

"We, the successors of the said founders, being in our own judgments of the same principles in religion with our predecessors, and esteeming ourselves bound in fidelity to the trust committed to us, to carry on the same design, and improve all the college estate committed to us, for the purposes for which it was given, do explicitly and fully resolve, as follows, viz.

Resolution of the corporation relative to orthodoxy.

"1. That the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the only rule of faith and practice, in all matters of religion, and the standard by which all doctrines, principles and practices in religion are to be tried and judged.

"2. That the assembly's catechism and confession of faith, received and established in the churches of this colony, (which is an abridgement of the Westminster Confession) contain a true and just summary of the most important doctrines of the christian religion: and that the true sense of the sacred scriptures is justly collected and summed up in these compositions: and all expositions of scripture, pretending to produce any doctrines or positions contrary to the doctrines laid down in these composures, we are of opinion are wrong and erroneous.

"3. If any doubt or dispute should happen to arise about the true meaning and sense of any particular terms or phrases in the said composures, they shall be understood and taken in the same sense in which such terms and phrases have been generally used in the writings of protestant divines, and especially in their public confessions of faith.

"4. That we will always take all proper and reasonable measures, such as christian prudence shall direct, to continue and propagate the doctrines, contained in these summaries of religion, in this college, and transmit them to all future successions and generations; and to use the like measures to prevent the contrary doctrines from prevailing in this society.

"5. That every person who shall hereafter be chosen president, fellow, professor of divinity, or tutor, in this college, shall, before he enters upon the execution of his office, publicly give his consent to the said catechism and confession of faith, as containing a just summary of the christian religion, as before expressed; and renounce all doctrines or principles contrary thereunto; and shall pass through such an examination as the corporation shall think proper, in order to their being fully satisfied that he shall do it truly without any evasion or equivocation.

"6. That since every such officer is admitted into his post upon the condition aforesaid, if he shall afterwards

BOOK II. change his sentiments, entertain any contrary set of principles or scheme of religion, and disbelieve the doctrines
1753. contained in the said catechism and confession of faith, he cannot, consistent with common honesty and fidelity, continue in his post, but is bound to resign it.

"7. That when it is suspected by any of the corporation that any such officer is fallen from the profession of his faith, as before mentioned, and is gone into any contrary scheme of principles, he shall be examined by the corporation.

"8. That inasmuch as it is especially necessary that a professor of divinity should be sound in the faith, besides the common tests before mentioned, he shall publicly exhibit a full confession of his faith, drawn up by him in his own words and phrases, and shall in full and express terms renounce all such errors as shall in any considerable measure prevail at the time of his introduction. And if any doubt or question should arise about any doctrine or position, whether it be truth or error, it shall be judged by the word of God, taken in that sense of it which is contained and declared in the said catechism and confession of faith, as being a just exposition of the word of God, in those doctrines or articles which are contained in them.

"9. That every person who shall be chosen president, fellow, professor of divinity, or tutor in this college, shall give his consent to the rules of church discipline, established in the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of this colony: It being understood, that our ecclesiastical constitution may admit of additions or alterations, in such circumstances as, according to our confession of faith, are to be regulated by the light of nature, and the rules of christian prudence. And it is especially declared, that if any person shall deny the validity of the ordination of the ministers of this colony, commonly called presbyterian or congregational, or hold that it is necessary or convenient that such ministers should be re-ordained, in order to render their administrations *valid*, it shall be deemed an essential departure from our ecclesiastical constitution, and inconsistent with the intentions of the founders of this college, that such a person should be chosen an officer in it.

"10. Yet, we would suppose that it is not inconsistent with the general design of the founders, and it is agreeable to our own inclinations, to admit protestants of all denominations to send their children to receive the advantages of an education in this college: provided, that while they are here, they conform to all the laws and orders of it."

All the fellows who have been admitted since the above

solemn act and declaration, have publicly given their consent to the catechism and confession of faith, in the subsequent form, viz: BOOK II. 1753.

"I, A. B. being chosen a fellow of Yale College, do hereby declare, that I believe that the assembly's catechism, and the confession of faith, received and established in the churches of this colony, and in this college, contain a true and just summary of the most important doctrines of the christian religion; and that the true sense of the sacred scriptures is justly collected and summed up in those compositions. And all expositions of scripture pretending to deduce any doctrine or position contrary to the said doctrines laid down in those composures, I believe are wrong and erroneous, and I will always take all reasonable measures, and such as christian prudence may direct, in my place and station, to continue and propagate the doctrines contained in those summaries of religion in this college, and transmit them to all future successions and generations: and use the like measures to prevent the contrary doctrines from prevailing in this society.

"I do also consent to the rules of church discipline, established in the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of this colony."

1754. The design of the president and fellows to establish a professor of divinity.

As it was the design of the president and fellows, to establish a professor of divinity in the college as soon as possible, and have the college under his instructions on the sabbath, as well as at other times, the president wrote and published, in 1754, a small tract, entitled, *The Religious Constitution of* COLLEGES, a very learned, cool piece, containing no reflection or unfriendly insinuation, with respect to any man, or any body of men. His design was to show the origin and design of colleges, their rights and privileges. That they formed distinct religious societies, and had professors of divinity to preach to them, and carry on a distinct and separate worship by themselves. That both the students and officers were prohibited, by heavy penalties, from attending any worship but their own, in their universities. The president observes, that it is a maxim which runs through all moral nature, that every distinct society, founded for religious purposes, is, or at least may be, a distinct worshipping assembly.

Colleges as distinct societies, have a right to worship by themselves

He insisted, that as religious worship, preaching and instruction on the sabbath, was one of the most important parts of the education of ministers; it was more necessary that it should be under the conduct of the authority of the college, than any other part of education: That the preaching ought to be adapted to the superior capacity of

BOOK II. those, who are to be qualified to be instructors of others; and upon all accounts superior to that, which is ordinarily
1754. to be expected, or indeed requisite for a common parish: and that it was more necessary that the governors of college should nominate its preacher, than any other officer or instructor. He observed, that they were bound by law, and the more sacred ties of conscience and fidelity to their trust, committed to them by their predecessors, to pursue and carry on the design of the pious founders of the college, which they could not do, unless they could choose their own officers, and direct the manner of preaching to the students: That they had, therefore, for about seven years, been providing a fund for a professor of divinity in the college, and that from the unhappily divided state of New-Haven, of late years, the necessity of a professor appeared still greater; that they had, therefore, desired the president, with such assistance as he might be able to obtain, to carry on the work of a professor of divinity, by preaching in the college hall, every Lord's day, until a professor of divinity could be obtained. This, he said, they were warranted to do, from the original nature, design and practice of colleges and universities, which were superior societies for religious purposes; and also from several special clauses in the acts of the General Assembly; that the students might have the advantage of such preaching and instruction, as was best adapted to their capacity, state and design. He well observed, that neither of the three societies in New-Haven, would be willing that the college should choose a minister for them; that it was less reasonable that they should choose a minister for the college, or that the college should be obliged to attend on such preaching as either of them should choose, as it was a religious society of a superior, a more general and important nature: That no society or body politic could be safe, but only in its having a principle of self preservation, and a power of providing every thing necessary for its own subsistence and defence: That without this, the college might be subjected to such preaching as was contrary to the minds of the legislature and the generality of the people, as well as to the design of the founders.

There were at this time a number of people in the colony, who appeared inimical both to the government and to the college, and employed their tongues and pens against both; and all manner of objections which could well be conceived, were brought against the college.

By some it was pretended, that the design of colleges was to teach the arts and sciences only; and that religion

was no part of a college education: and therefore, that no religious worship ought to be upheld, or enjoined by the laws of the college; but that every student should be allowed to worship how and where he pleased, or as his parents and guardians should direct. The president observed in reply, that there was not, probably, a college upon earth, upon such a constitution; without any regard to religion. That it was known, that religion, and the religion of these churches in particular, as to doctrine and discipline, was the main design of the founders of this college: and that this their successors were obliged to pursue.

On the design of colleges.

It was pretended that every student might be obliged to attend on some meeting in town, where he should choose, or his parents should order, and that a monitor might be appointed to each meeting in the town, with penalties for non-attendance. To this it was replied, that to all who understood the nature of college government, such a scheme must plainly appear impracticable: That it was absolutely necessary that the governors of the college should be present, and strictly observe the attendance and behavior of the students with their own eyes: That when any parent put a child to school, or into another family, or society, he resigned his parental authority and government, so far as related to the order and constitution of that society: That no parent can have a right to put his child to be a member of any society, and then order him to break the laws and rules of it: that this would be destructive to the very nature and constitution of all societies. That if parents had a right to order what worship their children should attend at college, it would take the power of governing the college, as to religion, its most important interest, wholly out of the hands of the authority of the college; and there might be as many kinds of religion, in the college, as there were different opinions of parents. That the parents might be Jews, or Arians, or of such other religion, as the authority of the college could not tolerate. That parents at a distance, could not govern their children at college. It was impracticable. They could not give such a just system of rules as the authority of the college could and ought to put in execution.

Liberty of conscience.

It was urged, that liberty of conscience ought to be allowed to all, to worship as they please.

The reply to this was, that the college acted upon the principles of liberty of conscience in the fullest sense. That any man, under the limitations of the law, might found a college or school, for such ends and purposes, and with such conditions and limitations, with respect to those who

BOOK II. were to enjoy the benefit of it, as he in his conscience should think best; and that his conscience, who has the
1754. property of a thing, or gives it upon conditions, ought to govern in all matters relative to the use of it; and not his conscience who receives the benefit; who has no right to it, but according to the will and conditions of the proprietor, or donor; and that liberty of conscience in him, who is allowed to take the benefit, extends no further, than to determine whether he will accept it upon those conditions. That to challenge the benefit without complying with the conditions, would be to rob the proprietor of his property, and right of disposal.

The great design of founding this school, was to educate ministers in our own way; and to attain that end, the founders, and their successors, apprehended it to be necessary that the students should ordinarily attend upon the same way of worship: and should they give up that law and order, the college would serve designs and purposes, contrary to those for which it was originally founded. This, in point of conscience and fidelity to their trust, they could not permit. In this point, the college exercises no kind of power, or authority, but that only which results from the natural liberties and privileges of all free and voluntary societies of men; which is, to determine their own design among themselves; and the conditions of their own favors, and benefits to others.

Church of Eugland. It was pleaded, that the students ought to attend the worship of the church of England; or so many of them as shall see cause, or as their parents shall order, or permit. That the church of England is the established religion of this colony; and that those who do not conform to it are schismatics.

In answer to this, it was observed, that the act of parliament in the common prayer book, for the establishment of the church of England, was expressly limited to England and Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed: That it was a well known maxim in law, that the statutes of England did not extend to the plantations, unless they are expressly mentioned: That it was presumed that no such act could be found with respect to the colonies in America.

It was also said, that governor Yale and bishop Berkeley, who were churchmen, made large donations to this college.

It was replied, that when any donation is given after the foundation is laid, the law presumes, that it was the will of the donors that their donations should be improved

according to the design of the founders. The law presumes, that every man knows in that thing wherein he acts.* And since by law, the statutes of the founders cannot be altered,† it presumes that the donor had not any design to do it. And there was not the least reason to suppose that the governor or bishop expected any alteration should be made in the laws of the college, or any deviation from the design of the founders, towards the church of England, or in any other way. 1754.

And since there was not the least reason to suppose that they expected or desired, that upon their donations any alteration should be made in the laws of the college, it was conceived that there was no obligation to do it in point of gratitude.

The income of the farm at Rhode-Island, given by the bishop, was not appropriated to any religious use; but to the best scholars in Latin and Greek, which appropriation ought be sacredly and inviolably observed, as well as the design of the founders.

Yet it was declared that the corporation had a just sense of the generosity of those gentlemen; and for that and many other reasons, were willing to do all that they could to gratify the gentlemen of the church of England, consistent with the design of the founders; and particularly had given liberty, to those students who have been educated in the worship of the church of England, and were of that communion, to be absent at those times when the sacrament was administered, in that church; upon Christmas, and at some such other times, as would not be an infraction of the general and standing rules of the college.

It had been further pleaded in respect to the church of England, that there were a number of that profession in the colony, who contributed something to the support of the college.

With respect to this, it was allowed, that when a community was jointly at some public charge, it is equitable, that the benefit of each individual should be consulted, so far as it was consistent with the general design and good of the whole, or of the majority. And though it was impossible that such a benefit should be mathematically proportioned, to each individual, yet this college had educated as many episcopal ministers and others, as they desired or needed, which had been a sufficient compensation, for their paying about an halfpenny sterling per man, for the annual support of the college. And it might continue to be as serviceable to them as it had been, if they

* Jacob's Dict. † Wood's, 113.

BOOK II. pleased; as the orders of it remained substantially the same.

1754. It was further observed, that this college was founded, and in a good measure endowed, many years before any donations were made by churchmen, and before there was so much as one episcopal minister in the colony.*

This tract was written by the president, with a view to show the rights of colleges, as distinct societies, and the practice of their worshipping, as such societies, by themselves; to vindicate the authority of the college, in what they had already done, in ordering a distinct worship in the college, on the Lord's day, and to prepare the way for the settlement of a professor of divinity in the college. It was written in the most cool and unexceptionable manner possible. It, however, gave great uneasiness to a certain class of men in the colony; and especially the establishment of a professor, and a distinct worship in the college. There were some principal men in New-Haven, and in other parts of the colony, who were opposed to the assembly's catechism, and to the confession of faith, and, indeed, to all confessions and formulas of doctrine. They, therefore, became fixed, strong opposers to the college, to the president, and to the settlement of a professor. They were displeased with the resolves and declaration of the corporation, at their meeting, in November, 1753, with a view to preserve the orthodoxy of the college, and inviolably to maintain and prosecute the design of its founders.

Professor nominated, 1755. The president and fellows, agreeably to their former resolutions in September, 1755, nominated the Rev. Mr. Naphtali Daggett, pastor of a church on Long-Island, to be professor of divinity. Upon application to the presbytery, he was dismissed from his charge; and, in the November following, came to New-Haven, and preached in the college, with general approbation.

Installed, March, 1756. On the 3d of March, 1756, the president and fellows met, and spent a day in his examination, with respect to his principles in religion, his knowledge in divinity, cases of conscience, scripture history and chronology, antiquity, skill in the Hebrew language, and various other qualifications for a professor. In this examination, he gave full satisfaction to the corporation. The next day, he preached a sermon in the college hall, upon the text, 1 Corinth. ii. 2. "For I determined not to know any thing among you, save JESUS CHRIST, and him crucified." He gave his full and explicit consent to all the doctrines contained in our catechism, and confession of faith, and to the rules

* President Clap's religious institution of Colleges.

of church discipline established in the churches of this colony. He also exhibited a full confession of his faith, of his own composition; and expressly renounced the principal errors prevailing in those times; agreeably to the act of the corporation, Nov. 21st, 1753, which has been before recited. Thus, after preaching about four months in the college, and the preceding examination and formalities, he was inaugurated and installed professor of divinity, in Yale College, by the reverend corporation. BOOK II. 1756.

About the same time, Mr. Gershom Clark, of Lebanon, generously gave thirty-three pounds ten shillings sterling, to be put out at interest, for the use of a professor of divinity. The interest of this, with that of Mr. Livingston's donation, before mentioned, with the rents of the college lands, which the corporation had agreed to lease for that purpose, were sufficient for the annual support of the professor.

President Clap had previously purchased and given a lot of land, for the use of a professor of divinity, for the time being, who should be settled and continued according to the act of the corporation, November 21st, 1753, and constantly preach in the college hall, or chapel, except in the vacations.

A considerable number of the principal gentlemen of the colony, in approbation of the settlement of the professor, for his encouragement, and the benefit of the college, generously entered into a subscription, or contribution, for the purpose of building the professor a house, under similar limitations.* This was raised in June, 1757, and completely finished the next summer. It cost 285 pounds sterling. The president, with all proper formalities, in the presence of a considerable number of gentlemen, convened on the occasion, put the professor in possession of it; declaring that it was built for the use of a professor of divinity in the college, who should preach all the doctrines contained in our catechism and confession of faith; and that in case he, or his successors, should hold, teach, or maintain any contrary doctrine, he, or they, would have no right to any use or improvement of it. The solemnity was then concluded with prayer, and singing a psalm. 1757.

At a meeting of the corporation, June 29th, 1757, they examined, and approved, all the accounts of the receipts and disbursements of money, for building Connecticut Hall. The president's accounts examined, June 29th, 1757.

* The governor, deputy governor, gentlemen of the council, president Clap, numbers of the corporation, and others of the clergy, were subscribers. A list of them, and of their respective donations, is preserved in president Clap's history of the college.

BOOK II. Then, in view of the great care, labour, and generosity of the president, they passed the following vote, viz:

1757. Thanks of the corporation to the president.

"Whereas the Rev. President Clap hath had the care and oversight of building the new college, called Connecticut Hall, and laying out the sum of 1660 pounds sterling, which appears to have been done with great prudence and frugality; and the college built in a very elegant and handsome manner, by means of his extraordinary care, diligence, and labour, through a course of several years: all which the said president has generously given for the service of said college. And the said president having also, of his own proper estate, purchased a lot for the professor of divinity, which has cost 52 pounds, lawful money, and given it to the college, for the said use for ever: This corporation think themselves bound, and do accordingly, render their hearty and sincere thanks to the Rev. President Clap, for these extraordinary instances of his generosity: And as a standing testimony thereof, voted, that this be entered on their records."

At the same meeting, the tutors and a number of the students, made the following application, viz:

"Whereas this reverend corporation, of their paternal care and goodness, have settled a professor of divinity in this ecclesiastical society, whom we receive as an able minister of the New Testament; we, the subscribers, members of this society, having been admitted members, in full communion in sundry churches, and consenting to the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of this colony, as agreeable to the word of God, in doctrine and discipline; are desirous to attend upon the ordinance of the Lord's supper, under the administration of the reverend professor; and to walk together in stated christian communion, and holy subjection to all the ordinances of Christ; and desire the approbation and sanction of this reverend body."

The corporation approved of this application, and, in consequence of it, the professor preached a sermon in the hall, adapted to the occasion; and the sacrament of the Lord's supper was attended, with all proper solemnities, on the 3d of July, for the first time in Yale College. It hath ever since, on the first Lord's day in each month, been administered in the college hall, or in the chapel, agreeably to the practice of the colleges in England. The state and constitution of the college, was, by these means, rendered much more perfect and agreeable. The professor was an instructive and excellent preacher: his sermons were enriched with ideas and sound divinity; were doctrinal, experimental, and pungent. He was acceptable to the legislature, clergy, and people in general.

Notwithstanding, the settlement of a professor in the college, and the administration of the ordinances in it, as a distinct ecclesiastial society, it was a very disagreeable and wounding affair to a certain class of men in the colony. They became enemies to the constitution of the college, and irreconcilable enemies to the president, notwithstanding his extraordinary care, labors, and generosity towards the college. They wrote one pamphlet after another against the college; against its constitution, against the president and the government of the college. It was insinuated that there was corruption in the treasury, and that the money belonging to the college was embezzled or misapplied. Much was said against the government of the college being in the hands of the clergy. It was urged that visitors ought to be appointed by the legislature to examine the accounts and affairs of the college. One of the writers who employed his pen and talents against the college, was Dr. Gale of Killingworth, a gentleman well known to be opposed to the doctrines contained in the assembly's catechism, and in the Westminster and Savoy confessions of faith. The other gentlemen who were reputed to be writers against the college, lay under the imputation of being unfriendly to those doctrines. The same class of men wrote against the government of the colony at the same time, and insinuated that there was mismanagement with respect to the affairs of the public treasury. When the dispute afterwards arose, relative to the ordination at Wallingford, the writers in vindication of Mr. Dana and the ordination council, introduced the affairs of the college, expressed their resentment against the writer of the *Religious institution of colleges*, and their disapprobation of the forming a church in the college. Several answers were written to those writers against the college, stating the accounts, and correcting their mistakes and misrepresentations; but they would not be satisfied. BOOK II. 1758.

In May, 1763, nine gentlemen preferred a memorial to the honorable General Assembly, in which they represented, that the General Assembly were the founders of the college; and as such, had a right to appoint visitors, and reform abuses, if any were found. This right, the memorialists suggested, ought to be seasonably, and most explicitly vindicated and asserted; or otherwise the college might become too independent; and therefore prayed that the said assembly would pass an act, to authorise an appeal from any and every sentence given by the authority of the college, to the governor and council of this colony, for the time being: and that the assembly would immediately is- 1763. Memorial against the college.

BOOK II. sue forth a commission of visitation, enabling some suita-
ble persons to inquire into all the affairs of said college;
1763. and either of themselves rectify abuses, which they may discover; or make report of what they shall find, with their opinions thereon, to the said assembly, at their next session.

Counsel for the memorialists. The counsel for the memorialists, were Jared Ingersoll and Samuel W. Johnson, Esquires, the two most learned and famous attornies, at that day, in the colony. Great expectations were formed by the enemies of the college from this measure, and the great ability of their counsel; and its friends were not without fears and anxieties. Gentlemen from different parts repaired to Hartford, to hear the pleadings. That class of people, who had been so long and so strongly opposed to the college, flattered themselves with the pleasing prospect of bringing the college to their feet, and of amply reaping the fruit of their past labors.

President Clap viewed the cause of too great consequence to be trusted in any hands but his own; and judged it his duty, in faithfulness to the founders of the college, to the truth, and to the best interests of the churches, to employ his talents for the defence of the college, and to plead the cause himself, in the face of all opposition.

Their pleading. The council for the memorialists, alledged, that the General Assembly founded the college, by giving a charter, in the year 1701; which contained a donation of about sixty pounds sterling, to be annually paid out of the public treasury; and by sundry subsequent donations: especially five tracts of land, in the year 1732: and that the present assembly, as successors to the founders, had a right of visitation by the common law. They further alledged, that such an appeal, and visitation, were very necessary to preserve the good order and regulations of the college, upon many accounts, and particularly to preserve orthodoxy in religion.

The president replied with great respect to the assembly, and with such knowledge in the law, as commanded respect and admiration from all who heard him.

The reply of the president. That the General Assembly, in their legislative capacity, had the same authority over the college, and all the persons and estates belonging to it, which they had over all other persons and estates in the colony, he readily conceded; and all that power which was necessary for the good of the college, or the general good of the community. And further, that an especial respect and gratitude were due to them, as its greatest benefactors; yet, he alledged,

that they were not to be considered as founders or visitors in the sense of the common law. That the first trustees, undertakers and inspectors, who were nominated by the ministers with the general consent of the people, and by compact became a society or *quasi* corporation, (as lord Coke expresses it) nearly two years before they had a charter, were the founders of the college; and that they formed it, by making a large and formal donation of books, above a year before they had a charter from the government. That the college had a being, not only in *fieri*, in the purpose and intention of the undertakers (as lord Coke says*) but in *esse*, by the donation of books, money and land, actually made to it, before it had a charter. That major Fitch, of Norwich, made a donation, in writing, to the undertakers, of six hundred acres of land, and some materials to build a college house, in the time of the sitting of the assembly, some days before the charter was given; and this donation he made to the collegiate school, as already set up, by the great pains and charges of the ministers. That the king, by giving a license to found a college, does not thereby, in law, become the founder *in sensu dotationis*; and that he only is the founder of those colleges or hospitals, to which he makes the first donation for founding. That lord Coke distinguished between *fundator incipiens* and *fundator perficiens*; and said that he only is the founder *quoad dotationem*, (to whose heirs or successors the law gives a right of visitation) who makes the first donation.† And the right of visitation arises in law, from the interest which the founder has in the college or hospital by his donation. For if it be essentially perverted from the design for which it was given, the donation became void, and reverted to the donor or his heirs. The first donation only created the founder, and all subsequent donations were presumed in law to be given for the same end and design with the first, unless some particular limitation be expressly made.

BOOK II. 1763.

That if a common person makes a donation to found a college or hospital, though ever so small, and the king afterwards endows it with large possessions, yet the common person is the founder, and not the king.‡

That a *license* to found, and a charter of incorporation, are in their own nature distinct; either may be first, in law; and may either precede or succeed the first fundamental donation.

When the fundamental donation is made before the license to found, there the license is only a formal and ex-

* Coke 10 Rep. † Coke 10 Reports. ‡ Wood's Institutes.

BOOK II. 1763. plicit confirmation from the crown, of what was before done by the general license given by the common and statute law; by which every man may give his estate for public, pious and charitable uses, upon such conditions and regulations, as he shall see cause.* And the feoffees in trust are the legal proprietors of such donations, according to the conditions and limitations with which they are made; and have a legal right to hold and lease, and to dispose of the profits as a *quasi corporation*, for those particular purposes: and may, by a long course of stated and regular conduct, become a complete legal corporation, by prescription. And the king's charter or license only makes or declares that to be a legal corporation, at the first, which may become such, by immemorial usage and custom.

In a license to found, the words FOUND, ERECT, or any words of the like import, are indifferent in law, and sufficient to make a foundation; and in the first charter or grant to the college, these words are promiscuously used and applied to the first trustees only. The first charter plainly supposes ten trustees, partners or undertakers antecedently existing; and a school already founded in fact, (though not fully and completely so in law) by donations of lands, goods and monies, before given; and therefore gives them a full legal right, liberty and privilege to proceed in erecting, endowing and governing the school which they had a general and imperfect right to do by the common law. And the charter declares them able a legal capacity to "demand, hold and possess, all s lands, goods and monies as have heretofore been give (as well as those which might hereafter be given) for t founding, erecting and endowing the said school."

And there is no limitation; that their giving to the first trustees a right to receive sixty pounds of the public treasury a year after, and annually, and to improve it at their discretion for the good of the school, should be deemed the founding of it; to be sure not in such a sense as to annul the former foundation; much less could any endowments made thirty years after, make them the founders in the sense of the common law. Besides, the preamble to the charter of 1745, expressly says, that the first trustees founded the college.

Further, with respect to an "appeal from all and every sentence given by the authority of the college, to the governor and council of this colony for the time being," as prayed for by the memorialists, the president observed,

* See 39 Eliz. chap. v. and the laws of Connecticut.

that it would retard and obstruct all the proceedings of the authority of the college; That it was found by universal experience, that in all instances wherein liberty of appeal is allowed, the judgment appealed from is of no force or efficacy; except that which may arise from the extraordinary trouble and charge of bringing the case to trial in the court to which the appeal is made: That such a constitution would take the government of the college wholly out of the hands of those in whom it was originally vested; and be contrary to the charter. That such an universal liberty of appeal, especially in criminal cases, was not allowed in any community whatsoever; and that in those few instances in which appeals are allowed in some other colleges, they are under peculiar conditions and restrictions. BOOK II. 1763.

With respect to the power of visitation, the president observed, that by the common law it was expressly limited to the statutes of the founder;* which are the conditions or limitations of the use of the founder's donation; and the visitor can do nothing but rectify those things which are plainly repugnant to those limitations; or claim a forfeiture. But as no such statutes made by the General Assembly, can be found, such visitors would have no power at all, or be altogether arbitrary, like the visitors sent to Magdalen college by king James II.

If it should be supposed, that there is any need of any overseers, under the name and title of visitors, the first trustees and their successors may be properly denominated such; and in the first plan of the college, they are expressly called inspectors. That to have visitors over visitors, or inspectors, would make endless trouble and confusion. That matters of property must be determined by the stated executive courts, according to the course of the common law, but to erect any new kind of court over the affairs of the college, which are committed to the president and fellows, would be an infringement on their charter. Though the General Assembly still retain such a supreme power, as that if there should be any plain breach of trust, cognizable by a court of chancery, or any such misconduct in the corporation, as should be plainly detrimental to the public good, they may rectify it in their legislative capacity.

The last great public good pretended to be aimed at by the memorialists, was the preservation of orthodoxy in the college. This was a mere pretence. The petitioners and their abettors well knew, that the most effectual measures had been taken to preserve the orthodoxy of the college,

* Lord Raymond's Reports, vol. i. p. 7.

BOOK II. and that it was secured in the most effectual manner, in an entire conformity to the design and will of the founders, 1763. and to the religious constitution of the colony. This was the grand difficulty, and the principal cause of their opposition to the college. There were, at that time, numbers of leading men in New-Haven, and in other parts of the colony, who were strongly opposed to the doctrines contained in the confession of faith, and in the catechism: especially to the doctrines of the decrees, of the divine sovereignty, of election, original sin, regeneration by the supernatural influence of the divine Spirit, and the perseverance of the saints. They were opposed to all confessions of faith, and some of them wrote against them. Two, or more, even of the corporation, were supposed to be among this number. The president well knew them.* In his reply, therefore, to this part of the memorial, he observed,

That, whatever was the occasion or design of it, he was glad that such an important point was moved. That it was well known, that the president and fellows, or trustees, had, from the beginning, shewn a proper care and zeal to preserve orthodoxy in all the governors of the college; and to such a degree, as to be disagreeable to some gentlemen of late; who had, on that account, endeavoured to obstruct the government and flourishing state of the college. That the orthodoxy of it was settled and secured upon the best foundation that human wisdom, directed by the general rules of God's word, could devise. That, according to the original design of the founders of the college, the president, fellows, professor of divinity, and tutors, are to be admitted only upon condition of their consent to the confession of faith, agreed upon by the churches of the colony, anno 1708, and established by the laws of the government. That there was not the like security of the orthodoxy of visitors, or any other in the civil order, except his most excellent majesty; who, by the act of union, was obliged to consent to the Westminster confession of faith, received in the church of Scotland, as being agreeable to the word of God, and containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the reformed churches. And that, as the governors of the college were satisfied that the body of the honourable assembly were fully orthodox, so they were entirely easy under their superintendence, relying, principally, upon the care of the great Head of the church; yet they could not have the same security in any other order of men, who might be substituted by them. And that one

* The president with the fellows had attempted to examine one of the corporation, but he would not submit to it.

principal reason why they opposed all innovations in the constitution and government of the college, was, lest they might hereafter have an ill influence upon its orthodoxy; which the president and fellows, according to the trust reposed in them by the founders, and by the General Assembly, were fully determined to maintain and preserve, to the utmost of their power. BOOK II. 1763.

When the pleadings and arguments of the memorialists, and of the president, had been fully heard and considered, there were but a very small number of the General Assembly, who were of the opinion that they were the founders of the college, or that the orthodoxy of it was in danger. The assembly, therefore, acted nothing upon the memorial.

The memorialists, and their whole party, were greatly disappointed and chagrined, and the president got much honour by the defence which he made of the college. He appeared to be a man of extensive knowledge and real greatness. In points of law, especially as they respected colleges, he appeared to be superior to all the lawyers, so that his antagonists acknowledged that he knew more, and was wiser than all of them. The question relative to the assembly's being the founders of the college, and having a right of visitation, has never been publicly disputed since, and it is believed that it never will be again.

About this time, the Rev. Jared Elliot, of Killingworth, in his last will, gave seven pounds ten shillings sterling, to be put out at interest, and the interest of it to be expended in purchasing books for the library, from time to time, at the discretion of the president and fellows.

While these affairs had been transacting, the president proposed the scheme of building a new hall, or chapel, for the greater convenience of the college. This, notwithstanding all the opposition which had been made to it, was in a very flourishing state. Though the country had been involved in a long and expensive war, and the burthens had been great, yet the number of the students, for several years, had been not less than an hundred and seventy. It became, therefore, extremely inconvenient to hold all religious and scholastic exercises in the old college hall, and to use it also as a dining room, which had been the custom. The library, at the same time, was become too small to contain the number of books and the apparatus. A successful subscription for that purpose, had been set forward; and in April, 1761, the foundation of the chapel was laid, and the outside was nearly finished that summer. It was built with brick, fifty feet long and forty feet wide, with a steeple and galleries, in which are three rostra, for ora-

BOOK II. tions, disputations, &c. with a library over the whole. It was erected near the south end of the brick college, or
1764. Connecticut Hall, with a view, that when another college should be built, it might be set near the south end of the chapel, ranging in a line with the other collegiate buildings.

The chapel was opened in June, 1763, by a sermon, preached by the professor, in the presence of the president and fellows, and a large number of other gentlemen, who assembled on the occasion. The president and fellows voted, that the chapel should, hereafter, be used for the religious and scholastic meetings and exercises, for which the old college hall had been used before. The cost of the building thus far, was about seven hundred and fifteen pounds sterling.* The conveniences of it were found to be very many and great. It was not finished at this time. A desk only, and some seats, were prepared for present use. The president and fellows had not money, at that time, to proceed any further; but subscriptions and means, not long after, were found for finishing it with a handsome steeple, which was an ornament, not only to the building, but to the town.

Richard Jackson, Esq. member of parliament, and agent for the colony of Connecticut, gave a hundred pounds towards finishing the chapel.

A considerable number of gentlemen in New-Haven subscribed generously towards erecting the steeple.

* £183 was raised by subscription.
£286 10s. was paid out of the college treasury.
£245 13s. 9d. out of the treasury of the colony.
A list of the principal subscribers for building the chapel, may be seen in president Clap's history of the college, published in 1766.

CHAPTER XIII.

1738.

Difficulties arise at Milford, on the account of Mr. Whittelsey. Debates and heat in the council, called to ordain him. There was such opposition to his ordination, that the council, at first, could not agree to ordain. But afterwards, on certain conditions, agreed upon by the parties, proceed to his ordination. The minority, who opposed his ordination, fulfil the condition mutually agreed upon. But the majority would by no means comply with it. They, on the contrary, by all means opposed their aggrieved brethren. The minority, some time after, having qualified themselves according to law, separated from the first church and society, and held a distinct meeting by themselves. As the association would give them no advice, or countenance, they put themselves under the presbytery. They call and ordain Mr. Prudden. Obtain a release from taxation by the first society. They are vested with the privileges of other ecclesiastical societies, and obtain their proportion of the parsonage lands.

THE church and town of Milford, had been peculiarly happy in a long succession of worthy pastors, under whose ministry they had enjoyed great peace and satisfaction, until nearly the close of the life of that learned, pious and venerable man, the Rev. Samuel Andrew. But now, by reason of age and many infirmities, he was rendered unable to perform the labours of the ministry, and Mr. Samuel Whittelsey, son of the Rev. Mr. Whittelsey, of Wallingford, had been invited to preach in the town, and to settle in the work of the ministry, as colleague pastor with Mr. Andrew. This occasioned an unhappy division in the church and town. Though there was a majority for Mr. Whittelsey, yet there was a strong and respectable minority in opposition to his settlement. The opposition arose on account of his religious sentiments. The people in the opposition, conceived that Mr. Whittelsey was not sound in faith, but had imbibed the opinions of Arminius. They were not satisfied and edified with his preaching, as they wished to be. They could not choose him for a minister, either for themselves, or for their children. Division in Milford.

When the ordaining council came together, the people in opposition to the settlement of Mr. Whittelsey, appeared so strong, and urged their objections with so much apparent concern and conscientiousness, that a majority of

BOOK II. the council were against the ordination, under the then present circumstances. This occasioned a great division
1738. and animosity in the council. Mr. Whittelsey's friends urged the ordination with great warmth and engagedness. Mr. Whittelsey's father, who had more influence than any other man in the council, pressed the ordination of his son with great zeal and vehemence. Mr. Noyes, Mr. Hall, of Cheshire, Mr. Stiles, and some other of the ministers in the council, were very much at his devotion. Besides, Mr. Hall was brother in law to his honour, esquire Law, then deputy governor of the colony, who was the principal man in the majority for the ordination. These were the eldest ministers in the council, and did not know how to bear opposition from younger men, and from the messengers of the churches. The debate in the council was, therefore, managed with unusual heat and engagedness.* His honour, the deputy governor, was at the head of the majority, who insisted on the ordination. In these circumstances, the minority were under very great disadvantages, with respect to a fair and impartial hearing, and decision of the case. It, however, appeared to a majority of the council, so unadvisable to ordain against such a minority, that a vote for the ordination, under the then present circumstances, could not be obtained.

The council at first against ordaining.

In this state of the business, it was necessary to find some expedient, which might induce the majority of the council to concur in the ordination of the pastor elect; to bring the parties to some compromise, which might, in some measure, ease the minority, and afford a more favourable prospect of preserving the union of the church and town. For this purpose, the following proposal was made: That the minority should hear Mr. Whittelsey six months longer, with a view to obtain satisfaction with respect to his doctrines, and manner of preaching; and that, if they did not, in that time, obtain satisfaction, that then the church and town should call and settle another man, whom they should choose, as a colleague pastor with Mr. Whittelsey, to preach one half the time. To this the parties mutually agreed. This appeared to give a fair prospect of peace and harmony in the town, if the parties would do their duty, and fulfil their agreement. It would give time and opportunity for Mr. Whittelsey to satisfy the minority, and to lay a foundation for a peaceful and extensively useful ministry, if he would come forward, and

* I have been told by one of the elders, who was a member of the council, that the debate was with so much passion, that fists were doubled on the occasion.

preach the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, and experimental, heart religion. Mr. Whittelsey would have strong inducements to do this, for the good of the church and town, for his own honour, peace, and usefulness. As neither of the parties could wish to be at the expense of supporting two ministers, there were motives to influence both to be at peace. At the same time, a way was provided, for the relief of the minority, if they should not obtain satisfaction, and for the preservation of the union of the church and town, by the agreement of the majority to settle another man, who should be agreeable to their brethren. In these views the council proceeded to the ordination of Mr. Whittelsey.* BOOK II. 1738.

Upon agreement of the parties, the council ordain.

The minority continued to hear Mr. Whittelsey, not only the whole term of six months, but for nearly two years, wishing, if possible, to obtain satisfaction, and continue in union and peace with their brethren, as they had always before done. But, on a full and patient hearing of Mr. Whittelsey, and taking all proper pains for satisfaction, they became more fixed in their opinion of his unsoundness in principle, and of deficiency in experimental preaching, than at the time of his ordination. They judged, that, in faithfulness to God, themselves, and their children, they could no longer continue solely under his ministry. They, therefore, in 1740, applied, first to the church, and then to the town, for relief, according to the original agreements. But neither would the church, nor the town, take any measures for the settlement of another man, as colleague with Mr. Whittelsey. They were entirely satisfied with him themselves. He had been examined, and approved, as sound in the faith, was a gentleman of respectable talents, of gravity, and unblemished morals. They judged that their brethren, of the minority, therefore, had no just grounds of uneasiness; but ought to be satisfied, as well as themselves. They had postponed their application for another pastor, much beyond the time agreed upon. They could not, therefore, by any arguments be prevailed upon to settle another man, nor to adopt any means for their relief or satisfaction. So far were they from this, that they opposed all their measures for relief, in any way whatsoever.

The minority fulfil their agreement.

The majority utterly refuse a compliance.

Reasons of their refusal.

Finding, by sad experience, that no relief was to be obtained from their brethren of the church and town, they made application to the association for advice, as they wished to proceed regularly in obtaining what they esteemed the true preaching of the gospel, for themselves and

* Mr. Whittelsey was ordained.

BOOK II. children. But the association would give them no advice, nor countenance. This consisted, in a considerable part, of those leading gentlemen who had so zealously urged the ordination of Mr. Whittelsey, without any agreement between the parties. They had since examined, approved, and ordained him. Objections against him, as not orthodox and experimental, with them, could have no weight. To be consistent with themselves, they could not but consider the minority as unreasonable, and faulty, in their uneasiness and opposition. They, doubtless, as well as the church and town, judged, that the settling of another pastor was unnecessary, and would be an unreasonable and unprofitable burthen on the people. They might judge that the agreement had better be broken than kept. In these circumstances, nothing favourable to the minority could be expected from them.

1740. The association will give no advice to the minority.

After a state of controversy and perplexity, for about a year longer, they qualified themselves, according to law, as a soberly dissenting society, and obtained leave of the county court to worship by themselves. They then separated from the first church and society, and held their first meeting by themselves, on the first sabbath in December, 1741. The next year they built them a decent house for public worship. In 1743, they put themselves under the presbytery of New-Brunswick. The brethren, who had been members of the first church in Milford, were formed into a church state upon the presbyterian plan, and made choice of a ruling elder. But the first society opposed and oppressed them. They taxed them for all society expenses, for about twelve years after the ordination of Mr. Whittelsey; and annually made them pay to his support, and for all other society purposes, no less than themselves. They also excluded them from all benefit in their proportion of the parsonage lands. It was not until the session of the General Assembly in 1750, that they were able to obtain a release from taxation by the first society. Both the town and association made all the opposition to them in their power. They took measures to prevent their obtaining preaching, either by candidates, or regularly ordained ministers. By the advice and assistance of the presbytery, they procured a learned and pious young gentlemen, Mr. Samuel Finley, afterwards president of the college in New-Jersey, to preach for them; but governor Law, taking advantage of the persecuting laws then in force, ordered him to be carried from constable to constable, and from one town to another, until he should be conveyed out of the colony.

They separate, and worship by themselves.

Released from taxation.

The Rev. Mr. Pomeroy, of Hebron, preached to them occasionally, and he was arrested by a civil officer and carried to Hartford to answer for his conduct before the General Assembly. The association of the county of New-Haven, frowned upon and even censured those who preached to them, and who assisted in forming them into a distinct church. 1747.

They, nevertheless, endured their troubles with patience and perseverance, until, at length, they obtained Mr. Job Prudden, a pious young gentleman, who had graduated at Yale College, in 1743, to preach with them. In his talents, preaching, meek and prudent conduct, upon proper trial, they were entirely and universally satisfied. He was ordained by the presbytery of New-Brunswick, in May, 1747. The association of New-Haven county, were so displeased with their brethren of the presbytery, in countenancing the minority, afterwards called the second society, and ordaining their pastor, that they passed a censure upon them.* This seems to have been inconsistent with the heads of agreement, which had been received as part of the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony. In this, the united ministers, formerly called presbyterian and congregational, expressly say, "We agree that particular societies of visible saints, who, under Christ their head, are statedly joined together, for ordinary communion with one another in all the ordinances of Christ, are particular churches, and are to be owned by each other, as instituted churches of Christ, though differing in apprehensions and practice in some lesser things."† Mr. Prudden ordained.

Notwithstanding all the opposition made to this people, continuing united in the calvinistic doctrines, and in the love of experimental preaching, and having in Mr. Prudden, a prudent, laborious and faithful pastor, they increased and became respectable. Affairs and opinions were much altered in the colony, men of different views and feelings were chosen into the assembly, and in the session in May, 1760, they were vested with the same privileges as other ecclesiastical societies in the colony enjoy. Ten years after, in May, 1770, they obtained, by an act of the General Assembly, their part in the parsonage lands.

Though at the time of the separation there was great animosity, and there were hard thoughts and unhappy feelings between the two societies, yet their differences are now overlooked and forgotten. The pastors and churches are united in doctrine and brotherly love.

* Records of the association of the county of New-Haven.

† Heads of Agreement, Article II. of churches and church members.

1742.

CHAPTER XIV.

Separation at New-Haven. Causes of it. Councils called by the people who were dissatisfied with the Rev. Mr. Noyes. The doings of those councils. The call and installation of the Rev. Mr. Bird.

SOON after the commencement of the religious awakening, in Connecticut and New-England, there arose a great uneasiness and dissatisfaction, in a considerable number of the first church and congregation in New-Haven, under the preaching and administrations of their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Noyes. Though he had the gift of prayer, and was edifying in that part of worship, yet he was unanimating and unpopular in his preaching. His language was vulgar, and his zealous calvinistic hearers did not consider him as so plainly and faithfully preaching the doctrines of human depravity, of regeneration by the supernatural influences of the divine Spirit, and of its absolute necessity that men might be saved; of effectual calling and justification by faith only, as a minister of the gospel ought by all means to do. They did not conceive him as making proper distinctions between true and false religion, and preaching in such a manner as had a tendency to show to hypocrites and secure sinners, their danger and misery. From the manner of his preaching, especially on sacramental occasions, suspicions arose, that he did not hold the real divinity of the Saviour. Besides, he appeared wholly unfriendly to the religious awakening and concern in the country, and to the zealous and experimental preachers by whom it was promoted. He excluded them from his pulpit, and openly approved of the persecuting laws and measures of the civil authority of that day. These were all matters of grievance to them. They could not hear such preaching at home as they desired, nor could they go abroad without giving offence. After repeated conversations with Mr. Noyes on their grievances, and much pains to obtain satisfaction, they could obtain none either in private conversation, nor by his preaching in public. They drew articles of charge or grievance and presented them to Mr. Noyes, desiring that they might be communicated to the church and society, and solicited a mutual council, to hear and give advice in their difficulties. But instead of this, their grievances were greatly increased by Mr. Noyes' leading his church to vote in the Say-

brook platform, and at the same time excluding some from the privilege of voting in the affair. In these circumstances, as they could not obtain a mutual council, nor any redress of their grievances, they took benefit of the act of toleration, and separated from the worship and ordinances in the first church, to which they originally belonged, and set up a distinct worship by themselves. They professed their desires, however, to have their grievances heard by a mutual council; but Mr. Noyes would not consent. Therefore, soon after their separation, they proceeded to call a council of their own. It consisted of the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Cooke, John Graham, Elisha Kent and Joseph Bellamy. They convened at New-Haven, on the 5th of May, 1742. After a full hearing of the aggrieved brethren, they came to the following resolution, in effect, That the first church in New-Haven were, by their own religious and solemn profession and confederation, a particular church of Christ, vested with all powers necessary for their own confirmation, government and edification, long before, until and at the time of the Synod at Saybrook, in 1708, and consequently were not dependent on it, nor any thing consequent thereon. BOOK II. 1742.

That according to the original constitution and confederation, members had been admitted to full communion, in gospel ordinances and church privileges; that said church ever continued, in fact, upon their original footing and ecclesiastical regimen, till the 23d of last January, when the Rev. Mr. Noyes, secluding a number of the brethren from a meeting then held, led the rest of the brethren to vote a conformity to Saybrook platform, which they considered as breaking in upon, and depriving them of their long and peaceably enjoyed privileges. That the pastor of the church and their brethren, by this means, had forced the aggrieved brethren, to take benefit of the act of toleration, that they might enjoy their ancient rights and privileges. That as said aggrieved brethren had now qualified themselves according to that act, they stood fair to be reinstated in their former powers and privileges, according to their original constitution.

They also further resolved, that they saw no inconsistency for ministers well approving of any other ecclesiastical constitution, yet to afford all needful assistance to others of different sentiments, in matters extra essential, on their calling for their help. That others had acted on the same principles; particularly the congregational ministers in Boston.*

* These had assisted in the ordination of a baptist minister.

BOOK II. 1742. That upon the desire of their brethren, seeing their way clear to proceed to reinstate themselves, as aforesaid, under the conduct of this convention, we are ready on the morrow (in case the day be set apart to fasting and prayer) to attend the business openly in the place appointed for their public worship.

Church formed.

Accordingly the next day was attended as a day of solemn fasting and prayer. Two sermons were delivered; one in the forenoon by Mr. Graham, and the other in the afternoon by Mr. Bellamy. At the same time, eighteen brethren and twenty-five sisters, forty-three in the whole, subscribed the confession of faith and church covenant, which had been used in the ancient church of New-Haven, from the beginning; and on their being distinctly read, publicly and expressly gave their assent and consent to them. They also publicly declared and covenanted in the following manner, viz:

Declaration and profession.

"Whereas, in addition to other grievances too tedious and unnecessary here to enumerate, of which we would not willingly perpetuate the memory, a considerable part of the first church in New-Haven have lately, viz. on the 25th day of January last, under the conduct of their present pastor, voted a conformity to the Saybrook platform, and in consequence of it, (to show more plainly the design of said vote) at the same time, by their vote, carried to the standing consociation of this county a complaint against sundry members of said church, thereby owning a juridical and decisive authority in the said stated consociation, contrary to the known, fundamental principle and practice of said church, time out of mind, which has always denied any juridical or decisive authority under Christ, vested in any particular persons or class, over any particular congregational church confederated as this:

"We the subscribers, members of said church, firmly adhering to the congregational principles and privileges on which the said church was founded, and hath stood unshaken from the beginning, through successive generations, until the 25th day of January last, being by the said innovations hereunto necessitated, apprehend ourselves called of God, in company, to vindicate our ancient rightful powers and privileges, and to put ourselves into a proper capacity for the enjoyment thereof, upon the ancient footing. And for that purpose, do now, under the conduct of divine providence, humbly sought, by fasting and prayer, assume a church state of the gospel, on the ancient basis of that church, whereof we stood members, in fact, as well as of right, until the unhappy period above mentioned,

wherein the pastor and a number of the brethren with him, went off from the ancient foundation as aforesaid. BOOK II.

"And we, with all affection invite others, the members of said church, who do or may see just cause of grievance at the said innovations, to join with us in asserting our ancient rightful powers and privileges broken in upon. 1742.

"We solemnly declare our belief of the christian religion, as contained in the sacred scriptures, and with such a view thereof, as the confession of faith has exhibited, which is hereunto annexed, fully agreeing, in substance, with the confession of faith owned by said church, time out of mind, heartily resolving to conform our lives unto the rule thereof, that holy religion, as long as we live in this world.

"We solemnly renew a religious dedication of ourselves to the LORD JEHOVAH, who is the FATHER, the SON and the HOLY SPIRIT; and avouch him this day to be our GOD, our FATHER, our SAVIOUR and LEADER; and receive him as our portion forever.

"We give up ourselves anew unto the blessed JESUS, who is the LORD JEHOVAH, and adhere to him, as the head of his people in the covenant of grace, and rely on him as our prophet, priest and king, to bring us unto eternal blessedness.

"We renewedly acknowledge our everlasting and indispensable obligations to glorify our GOD, in all the duties of a godly, sober and righteous life; and very particularly in the duties of a church state, as a body of people associated for an obedience to Him, in all ordinances of the gospel; and we thereupon depend on His gracious assistance for our faithful discharge of the duties thus incumbent on us.

"We desire and intend, and (with dependance on His promised and powerful grace) we engage anew to walk together as a church of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, in the faith and order of the gospel, so far as we shall have the same revealed unto us, conscientiously attending the public worship of GOD, the sacraments of the New Testament, the discipline of His kingdom, and all His holy institutions in common with one another, and watchfully avoiding sinful stumbling blocks and contentions, as becometh a people, whom the LORD hath bound up together in the bundle of life. At the same time, we do also present our offspring with us unto the LORD, purposing, with His help, to do our part in the methods of religious education, that they may be the Lord's.

"And all this we do, flying to the blood of [redacted] everlasting

BOOK II. covenant for the pardon of our many errors, praying that the glorious Lord who is the great Shepherd, would prepare and
1742. strengthen us for every good work, to do His will, working in us that which will be well pleasing to Him, to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen."

Upon these solemn transactions, the Rev. Mr. Cooke, in his own name, and in the name of the ministers and churches composing the council, owned them as a true church of Christ, and declared his readiness, on the desire of said church, to assist them as such.

This council advised this newly formed church to make application to a convention of ministers, who were expected to meet at Weathersfield the next week, for advice to some suitable person, to be improved by them as a preacher; and for their further improvement, if they should desire it. The said convention advised them to the Rev. Mr. Wheelock as a suitable person to assist them in their ministerial affairs.

The church accepted the advice, and voted to make application to him, that (on the consent of his church and congregation) he would make them a visit, and employ his ministerial labors among them for a time, and with some aspect to a future fixed improvement there, if providence should open the way for it. Upon this advice and application, Mr. Wheelock made them a visit the beginning of June, and continued with them about a month; and, by the vote of the church, preached to them, presided in their meetings, examined and admitted members to full communion. But as he was peaceably settled, greatly esteemed and beloved among his own people, it did not appear to be his duty to remove from them. Such additions were made to the church that, in about two months from its formation, the number of members amounted to between seventy and eighty persons.

The church invited Mr. Graham and Mr. Bellamy to preach to them by turns. The church also voted that all orthodox and approved ministers and candidates should be invited to preach with them. But for about eight or nine years the church, and the congregation adhering to them, were under very depressed and difficult circumstances. Mr. Noyes and his church and congregation were opposed to them. This was the case with the president and corporation of the college, and with the association of the county of New-Haven. No person, whether ordained minister or candidate, could preach to them without incurring their displeasure and frowns. There was at this time a very general and great opposition in the colony, to the people

called new lights, a name generally given to zealous people, who appeared to love animated, heart-searching and experimental preachers. There were doubts in the minds of many as to the regularity of their proceedings; whether they had sufficient cause for their separation, or whether they had taken all proper means, and waited with due patience for a redress of their grievances. Separations in churches were dangerous, and very sinful, unless in cases of real necessity, where there were just grounds for them; and after all proper means had been taken, and sufficient patience exercised to obtain redress without success. For these reasons they were unable to obtain any stated preaching, and the administration of the ordinances for many years. Sometimes they had preaching; at others they had none. This was their condition until the year 1751. At this time, receiving intelligence that the Rev. Mr. Bird, who had been minister at Dunstable, in the province of Massachusetts, had been dismissed from his pastoral labors at that place, and that he was a suitable person for a people in their circumstances, they made application to him, requesting his labors among them. Accordingly he made them a visit in May, and after preaching with them about three months, received an unanimous invitation, both from the church and congregation, to settle with them in the work of the evangelical ministry. He gave them an encouraging answer, provided that the present difficulties could be removed. Book II. 1751.

For this purpose a council was chosen and called; who convened at New-Haven in Sept. 1751. Council at New-Haven, Sept. 3d, 1751.

The gentlemen present were the Rev. Messrs. Philemon Robbins, Joseph Bellamy, Eleazer Wheelock, Samuel Hopkins, and Benjamin Pomeroy, with their churches.

Upon a full hearing of the aggrieved church, of the articles of charge or grievance exhibited against Mr. Noyes, to him and the greater part of his church, and of the frequent proposals which they had made to Mr. Noyes, of referring all their grievances to a mutual council, and of the great pains they had taken to obtain one; and how Mr. Noyes had, in all instances, entirely refused, and of the long time they had been in their aggrieved and unhappy circumstances, and also of their declared willingness to make any reasonable confession of whatever mistakes or misconduct into which they had fallen, in their separation from the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Noyes, and from their brethren of the ancient church of New-Haven, the council resolved to this effect; that as the articles of charge against Mr. Noyes were made known to him, and the greatest Hearing and resolutions of the council, Sept. 3d, 1751.

BOOK II. part of the first church in New-Haven, before they voted in the Saybrook platform, and as the aggrieved brethren were
1751. not allowed to vote in that case; and as they had absolutely refused all subjection to the Saybrook platform, and as the reasons of their separation, mentioned in said charge, yet remained unsettled, that their request of counsel and advice, was reasonable. They also professed their willingness to afford them their assistance. But, considering the great importance of the case, especially in the town of New-Haven, and that so many of the churches applied to were, by the providence of God, prevented from attending the council, it was their opinion, that it was expedient to adjourn, that an addition might be made to the council; and the church were advised to apply to a number of suitable churches, for that purpose. The council then adjourned to the 15th day of October.

In the mean time, probably by the advice of council, the following confession was exhibited to the Rev. Mr. Noyes, and the first church in New-Haven.

"To the Rev. Joseph Noyes, pastor of a church of Christ in New-Haven. To be communicated.

"Reverend and beloved,

Declaration and confession of the aggrieved.

"We the subscribers, who, some years since, withdrew from the public preaching of the word and ordinances in said church, for reasons which we then thought to be just, weighty, and reasonable, which we delivered in writing to said pastor, to be communicated; and which causes we do still think to be just, weighty, and reasonable. As to those of you who do not think as we do, we would endeavour to entertain charitable thoughts of, notwithstanding, and desire the same candour from you; remembering, that the great God alone is Lord of the conscience; and that both you and we must stand or fall at his impartial tribunal. Nevertheless, considering the public relation we stood in with you, our brethren, we should have exhibited to the pastor, in writing, the articles of our grievances, to be published to you; and, after waiting a reasonable time, he neglecting his duty, should have complained to some neighbouring church or churches, for relief, before withdrawing from your fellowship and communion; which conduct would have been our duty: neglect whereof we readily condemn; together with all heat and bitterness of spirit, that has, at any time, appeared in any of us towards you, or any of you, as being offensive to God, and unbecoming to christians: for which we ask your forgiveness; begging an interest in the prayers of all God's children, that we may behave, for the future, as becometh the gospel

of Christ. Upon the whole, we think, that, afterwards, we used all possible endeavours to bring matters to a proper issue; but not succeeding, we thought it to be for the glory of God, the peace of our own souls, and for our edification, to be, with others, a distinct society. BOOK II. 1751.

"We conclude, wishing you all needed blessings."

On the 15th of October, the council convened, at New-Haven, according to adjournment. It consisted of the elders following, with their churches.

John Graham, Jedediah Mills, Philemon Robbins, Daniel Humphreys, Ebenezer White, Eleazer Wheelock, Benjamin Pomeroy, Benajah Case, Joseph Bellamy, Samuel Hopkins, James Sprout, Jonathan Lee, and John Searle.

The council was large and respectable. Some of the churches sent two messengers.

When the council had chosen the Rev. Mr. Mills their moderator, and opened with prayer, they immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Noyes, acquainting him with their convention, and that if he had any communication to make, they were ready to receive it. Messrs. Bellamy and Hopkins were appointed to wait on Mr. Noyes, with said letter.

October 16th, the council proceeded to a formal hearing of the proceedings and state of the congregational church and society; the papers containing their transactions were laid before them; and the committee were fully heard relative to them. At the same time, the General Assembly held their session in New-Haven, and the governor and council judged the affair of such importance to the town of New-Haven, and to the colony, that it ought to be heard by a mutual council. While, therefore, the council were employed in hearing, they received a copy of a vote of the General Assembly, advising that the affair before them should be heard by a mutual council.

In consequence of this advice, the Rev. Messrs. Mills, Wheelock, and Bellamy, with several of the messengers, were chosen a committee to wait on their honours, the governor, deputy governor, and council, and to represent how repeated proposals of that nature had been made to Mr. Noyes, and what great pains had been taken, for a number of years, to obtain a hearing before a mutual council, and how Mr. Noyes, in all instances, had refused. They made a full representation of the facts. The governor and council, nevertheless, advised that one offer more should be made him, and that one would be sufficient.

The council then voted, that the same committee, with the addition of Mr. Graham, should confer with Mr. Noyes,

BOOK II. to know whether he would comply with the advice of the honourable General Assembly, or not. The committee 1751. reported, that Mr. Noyes said, he had a great regard to the fifth commandment, but he did not thank the assembly for what they had done. That he looked upon them as infallible as the pope. He said such a council was inconsistent with the constitution and the light of nature; and, directing himself to one of the committee, said, What if you and I had a controversy, and you should choose three men, and I should choose three, and they should strip and fight it out, what good would that do us? He liked government, he said, but he did not like arbitration. What ground, said he, do you find in scripture for it?

The committee reported it as their opinion, that Mr. Noyes would not comply with the advice of the assembly, and that he had given sufficient intimations of it. The next morning, however, while the council were hearing the report of their committee, a letter was received from Mr. Noyes, purporting, that he would call his church together, and consult the matter advised to by the General Assembly; and that he would discourse with the committee of the parish, and prosecute the affair as fast as Providence would allow.

As it was judged that this letter gave no certain evidence that Mr. Noyes would comply with the advice of the assembly, the committee of the church and society, in company with two members of the council, Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Lee, waited on him, with the following letter.

"To the Rev. Joseph Noyes, of New-Haven.

"Reverend Sir,

"We the subscribers, a committee of those who have taken benefit by the act of toleration, and their adherents, having had a sight of your letter to the Rev. Mr. Mills, of this 17th of October, wherein you give general hints of a compliance with the advice of the honourable assembly to a mutual council, &c.; but observing you do not expressly declare your own compliance, nor propose immediately to call your church together, nor fix any time for that purpose, we cannot receive it as a proper compliance with said advice; and considering what fair prospects of this nature, in times past, have been frustrated, and a large ecclesiastical council is waiting for your answer, out of whose hands we are utterly unwilling to take the affair, until we see, at least, a proper security that said advice shall take effect, and the members of said mutual council be agreed upon, and the time and place of their convention fixed. As we, therefore, and our party, fully comply with

said advice, we desire you would, without delay, call your church together, for said purpose. Short of this, we cannot look upon as a compliance. Expecting an express and plain answer, we subscribe," &c. BOOK II. 1751.

"October 17th, 1751."

To this Mr. Noyes replied,

"Gentlemen,

I have read your paper of this day; and in answer, say, the advice of the honorable assembly, is to the society and church in this place, whose minds I do not know. So far as it concerns me, I propose to prosecute it, and to lay it before my church as soon as providence will allow me, and confer with the society's committee on the affair.

Gentlemen, I am, &c. JOSEPH NOYES."

With the letter above, was brought the following testimony into the council, attested by Mr. Bellamy, Mr. Lee and the committee, amounting to the number of seven persons.

"We the subscribers, desired Mr. Noyes expressly to say for himself, whether he would, on his part, comply with the advice of the honorable assembly, and expressly promise to lay it before his church, because the above answer seemed to leave that matter in doubt, and we wanted a certain information. We put the question to him near ten times, will you comply or not? He used several evasions, and finally declared, I will not say that I will comply: and he refused to promise to lay it before the church."

On this testimony, the council unanimously voted, that Mr. Noyes' answers, comparing his letters and conversation with the committee, were evasive.

The next day, October 18th, the council, after a long conference, considering how long and how often they had attempted to obtain a direct answer from Mr. Noyes, and could obtain none, voted to proceed to the business for which they had been more immediately called.

They also voted, that according to the best light they could obtain, the first church in New-Haven was a congregational church until Mr. Noyes, in 1742, led a great part of it to vote in Saybrook platform. They also voted, that according to what light they had obtained, the confession made to Mr. Noyes and his church was satisfactory.

The Rev. Mr. Bird then presented himself for examination, and having given full satisfaction, as to his principles and ministerial qualifications, was installed, October 18th, 1751.

Just as the council were going to the installation of Mr. Bird, the following letter was presented by the Rev. Mr. Noyes.

BOOK II. To the Rev. Mr. MILLS, &c.

Gentlemen,

1751. Perceiving that what I have wrote is not rightly understood, I again say, I have no mental reserves. I look upon it my duty to prosecute the advice of the honorable assembly. Shall do it to my utmost: propose to call a church meeting the beginning of the week. I have sent for the society's committee to speak with them this evening. Let there be no misunderstanding. In great haste, I am, gentlemen, yours, &c. JOSEPH NOYES.

P. S. I hope you will do nothing to defeat the advice.

J. N.

The council determined, that this letter was unseasonable, and proceeded to the installation. They advised however, that the aggrieved church, though Mr. Noyes had for so many years refused to comply with their request for a mutual council, and had treated the advice of the honorable assembly no better, yet that they should always stand ready to join Mr. Noyes and his church in calling a mutual council.

Soon after the installation of Mr. Bird, Mr. Noyes' church appointed a committee to prosecute the affair of a mutual council; and in consequence of it, a committee was appointed by Mr. Bird's people. The committees met and agreed on the men for a council, but they could not agree on the articles which should be laid before them. So nothing further was ever acted in the affair.

Mr. Bird was a popular man, made a manly appearance, spoke well, and had a very great talent, especially in speaking at the grave, on funeral occasions. The society had peace and flourished under his administration. In the session of the assembly, at New-Haven, October, 1759, it was made a distinct ecclesiastical society, by the name of White-Haven, seventeen years from the separation from Mr. Noyes, and eight from the installation of Mr. Bird.

CHAPTER XV.

French war in 1755. *Reasons of it. Colonel Washington's expedition. Convention at Albany. Expeditions against Nova-Scotia, fort du Quesne, Crown Point and Niagara. Exertions of the Northern colonies, especially of Connecticut. Success in Nova-Scotia. Defeat of general Braddock. General Johnson defeats Baron Dieskau and takes him prisoner.*

SUCH was the restless spirit, intrigue and deceit of the French court and nation, that the colonies had but short intervals of peace, while their great enemy had any settlements in this country. Even in these intervals, how fair soever they spake, they were constantly encroaching on their territories, giving new occasions, and making preparations for war. Though the whole country of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia, had been expressly ceded to Great-Britain, by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, and that cession had been confirmed by all subsequent treaties, yet the French renewed their claim to a considerable part of that country, and in several places were erecting fortifications and placing garrisons. While the colonists were vigorously pursuing the arts of peace, and exerting themselves, by industry, economy and the extension of their settlements, to recover themselves from the losses and impoverishment which they had sustained in the former war, the French were encroaching no less on their northern and western, than on their eastern frontiers. They were attempting to compass them with a line of posts and fortifications, in such a manner, as would enable them, with their Indian allies, to harass and alarm the country, on their frontiers, for an extent of a thousand miles or more. At the same time, it would establish an easy and constant communication between their settlements in Canada, and on the Mississippi, and command the trade of all the western Indians. At the northward, they had encroached far on the English, by their settlements and fortifications at Crown Point, and they were advancing to Ticonderoga. At the westward, they were not only attempting to complete a line of forts from the head of the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, but were encroaching far on Virginia. French encroachments. 1749.

While under the auspices of peace, agriculture and commerce flourished in the colonies, the Indian trade drew many of the wandering traders, from Virginia, far into the Reasons of the war.

BOOK II. inland country beyond the great mountains. Here they found themselves in a very pleasing climate, fruitful, and
1751. watered with many navigable rivers. It was conceived that these advantages, in conjunction with the Indian trade, would amply compensate for its distance from the sea. A settlement was therefore immediately contemplated on the Ohio. A number of noblemen, merchants and planters, of Westminster, London and Virginia, named the Ohio company, obtained a charter grant of six hundred thousand acres, on and near the Ohio river. In pursuance of the terms of their patent, the lands were surveyed, about two years after the grant, and settlements were soon made.

The governor of Canada had early intelligence of the transactions of the company, and was alarmed with the apprehension, that they were prosecuting a plan, which would effectually deprive the French of the advantages which they derived from their trade with the Twightwees, and, what was much worse, would cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana. The French claimed all the country from the Mississippi, as far in upon Virgina, as the Alleghany mountains. This claim was founded on the pretence, that they were the first discoverers of the river. To secure their claims and preserve the communication between their two colonies, Canada and Louisiania, they had not only erected a fort on the south side of lake Erie, but one about fifteen miles south of that, on a branch of the Ohio; and another at the conflux of the Ohio and the Wabash. Nothing could be more directly calculated to dash the favorite plan of France than the settlement of the Ohio company.

The governor of Canada therefore wrote to the governors of New-York and Pennsylvania, complaining, that the English traders had encroached on the French, by trading with the Indians, and threatening, if they should not desist, that he would seize them wherever they should be found.

The Indian trade had been managed principally by the Pennsylvanians; but the Ohio company were now about to divert it to a different channel. They contemplated the opening of a road to Will's creek, and the conducting of it, by the Potomac, directly to Virginia. The Pennsylvanians, under the influence of selfishness, gave information, from time to time, both to the French and Indians, of the transactions and designs of the Ohio company. The governor of Canada, therefore, put his menaces into execution. The French and Indians seized the British traders among the Twightwees, and carried them to their fort

on the south side of lake Erie. The Twightwees resenting the injury done to the British traders, who were their allies, made reprisals on the French, and sent several of their traders to Pennsylvania. The French nevertheless continued their claims, and strengthened their fortifications. BOOK II. 1754.

The Indians, at the same time, jealous that settlements were about to be made on their lands without purchase, and without their consent, threatened the settlers. These claims and threatenings of the French and Indians, struck at the very existence of the Ohio company. Complaints therefore were made to lieutenant governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and the province began to interest itself warmly in the affair. The Indians were in some measure satisfied, by a pretended message from the king. Major Washington was dispatched to M. St. Pierre, commandant on the Ohio, to demand the reasons of his hostile conduct, and at the same time to insist on the withdrawal of his troops. A party of Virginians were also sent forward to erect a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela.

The French commander denied the charge of hostility, and, so far from withdrawing his troops, he made an absolute claim of the country, as the property of the French king, and declared that, agreeable to his instructions, he would seize and send prisoner to Canada, every Englishman who should attempt to trade on the Ohio, or any of its branches.

Before the Virginians had completed their designed fortifications on the Ohio, the French came upon them, from Vinango, in great force. They had an army of a thousand men, and eighteen pieces of cannon, and drove them from the country. They then erected a regular fort on the very ground where the Virginians had begun their fortifications. They gave it the name of Fort du Quesne. In these ravages, the French destroyed all the English traders but two, and plundered them of skins and other property to the amount of twenty thousand pounds.* This fortress very much commanded the entrance of the whole country on the Ohio and the Mississippi. These measures gave a general alarm to the colonies, and also to Great-Britain.

The Virginians driven from the Ohio.

Merchants killed and plundered.

It was easily foreseen, that if the French should unite Canada with their settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi, by possession of that vast country which lies between them, that the colonies would not only sustain the loss of a great part of their country, and all share in the Indian

* Kidder's Hist. vol. xl. p. 71.

BOOK II. trade; but that, in time of war, their frontiers must, to a very great extent, be exposed to continual alarm and danger. The defence of such a frontier, of more than a thousand miles, would be in a great degree impracticable, as well as ruinously expensive. On the contrary, could the designs of France on Nova-Scotia and the Ohio be defeated, it would entirely disunite their colonies, and as the entrance into the one is, in the winter season, shut up by frost, and the entrance into the other is difficult, it would make them of much less value. It was also foreseen that the fortune of these colonies would immediately and very greatly affect the West-Indies. As both nations had a clear comprehension of these points, they were equally determined to maintain their respective claims.

1754.

The British ministry were no sooner apprised of these claims and outrages of the French, than they instructed the Virginians, by force of arms, to resist their encroachments. Orders were given also that several independent companies, in America, should assist the Virginians. Major Washington was advanced to the rank of colonel, and appointed to command the troops, from Virginia, destined to remove the encroachments of the French on the Ohio. On the first notice, captain James Mackay marched with his independent company, from South-Carolina, to the assistance of the Virginians. Two companies were ordered from New-York on the same service. Colonel Washington, without waiting for the companies from New-York, determined to advance with the Virginians and Mackay's company, consisting of about four hundred men. In May, he fell in with a party from fort du Quesne, under the command of one Jamonville, whom he totally defeated. De Villier, who commanded at fort du Quesne, incensed at this defeat, marched against him with a body of nine hundred men, besides Indians. The colonel had thrown up some imperfect works, which were, with propriety, termed fort Necessity; hoping to defend himself in his post, till he should be reinforced by the companies expected from New-York. In these works he made so brave and obstinate a defence, that De Villier, finding he had desperate men to combat, offered him an honorable capitulation. This he accepted, and retreated with his party to Virginia.

Colonel Washington's expedition.

May 28, defeats Jamonville.

Is afterwards overpowered and capitulates.

The same year, instructions had been sent from the Lords of trade and plantations, recommending a meeting of commissioners from the several colonies, to concert a plan of union and defence against the common enemy: and in his majesty's name to effect a league of friendship between the colonies and the Indians bordering upon them. The colo-

Recommendation from the Lords of trade and plantations.

nies, generally, manifested a cheerful compliance with the recommendation. But as, in former wars, some colonies had done much, and others scarcely any thing, to the great injury of the common cause, it was now earnestly wished, that each colony might be obliged to do its equal proportion. It was also desired, that the five nations of Indians, who had been under particular governors or provinces, and had, too often, been influenced to measures subservient to individuals, or to particular colonies, rather than to such as were beneficial to the general interest, might be under some general direction, and contribute to the safety and welfare of the colonies collectively. BOOK II. 1754.

The General Court of Massachusetts presented their desires to governor Shirley, that he would "pray his majesty, that the affairs relative to the six nations, and their allies, might be put under such general direction, as his majesty should judge proper: that the several governments may be obliged to bear their proportion of defending his majesty's territories against the encroachments of the French, and the ravages and incursions of the Indians." April 10.

Agreeably to the recommendation of the lords of trade and plantations, a convention, in the summer, of the governors and principal gentlemen of the several colonies, met at Albany. The commissioners from Connecticut, were the honourable William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, and Elisha Williams, Esq'rs. It was the unanimous opinion, that an union of the colonies was absolutely necessary for the common defence. The convention proposed this plan:—"That a grand council should be formed, of members chosen by the assemblies, and sent from all the colonies; which council, with a governor general, to be appointed by the crown, should be empowered to make general laws, to raise money, in all the colonies, for the defence of the whole."* It was the general opinion, that, could such an establishment be effected, the colonies would be competent to their own defence, against the combined force of the French and Indians. Some of the colonies, in former wars, had defended themselves against them, unassisted by Great-Britain, or their sister colonies. Their united force, therefore, they judged would certainly be sufficient. Plan of union proposed by the convention, June 14th.

The commissioners from Connecticut were wholly opposed to the plan. They imagined that it was dangerous to the liberties of the colonies, and that such a government would not act with that dispatch and energy which might be reasonably expected by his majesty. It was also ima- Opposed by the commissioners from Connecticut.

* See the articles of agreement, in the Appendix, No. I.

BOOK II. gined, that it might bring a heavier debt on the colonies.

1754. When the commissioners reported the plan to the General Assembly in October, at New-Haven, it was opposed, and totally rejected, by the legislature. They resolved, "That it is the opinion of this assembly, and it is hereby declared to be the opinion thereof, that the limits of the proposed plan of union, are of too large extent to be, in any good manner, administered, considered, conducted, and defended, by a president general and council; and that a defensive war, managed by such a government, having so large a frontier, will prove ruinous to it. That the same, in course of time, may be dangerous and hurtful to his majesty's interest, and tend to subvert the liberties and privileges, and to discourage the industry of his majesty's good subjects, inhabiting these colonies; and, therefore, that no application be made, in behalf of this colony, to the parliament of Great-Britain, for an act to form any such government, on the said proposed plan, as is therein expressed; and that reasons be offered against any such motion."

Rejected by the assembly, Oct. 10th.

Reasons of its rejection.

Measures adopted to prevent its taking effect.

"Resolved by this assembly, That his honour the governor be desired, and he is hereby desired, to send the agent of this colony at the court of Great-Britain, the resolution of this assembly concerning the plan of union proposed by the several colonies, who met at Albany, on the 14th of June last, to concert proper measures for the general defence and safety of his majesty's subjects in said governments; and that he, likewise, send said agent the reasons considered and offered by this assembly, concerning the said plan of proposed union of the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, for their mutual defence, &c. And, also, to send the representation of the state of the colonies of North-America, in relation to the French; to be used and improved by the said agent, upon any consideration that may be had on said plan: And that the agent aforesaid, be directed, that, in case any of the other colonies aforesaid, shall make humble application for an act of the parliament of Great-Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including the said colonies, to be administered, in manner and form, as is proposed in said plan, he move the parliament to be heard by learned council thereon, in behalf of this colony: And that the reasons aforementioned, with any other arguments that may appear just and reasonable in

the case, be insisted on, and in the most advantageous manner urged, to prevent any such act being made or passed in the parliament of Great-Britain."* 1754.

The assembly further resolved, That the governor should watch all the steps which the other governments should take, relative to the said plan: That he should prepare whatever might be necessary for its prevention: That he should urge any further reasons against it, which his own mind might suggest: That he would suggest alterations in various parts; particularly, that the government should be lessened, and divided into two districts: that the proportions allotted to each colony were unjust: and that he would show in what respects the liberties of the people would be infringed: that he would prepare the evidence of the facts, and send them to the agent, with whatever else might be necessary on the subject.

The colony was greatly alarmed by this general plan of government, and spared no pains to ward off the evils which they feared; but their exertions were unnecessary, and their fears soon subsided. The plan was as far from meeting the approbation of the British ministry, as that of the legislature and people of Connecticut, though for reasons very dissimilar. They were too cautious to trust such powers with the Americans.

They had formed a very different plan. It was, that the governors of the colonies, with one or more of their councils, should form a convention, to concert measures for the general defence, erect forts, and raise such numbers of men as they should judge necessary; and that they should draw on the British treasury, for such sums as should be requisite to reimburse their expenses. The colonies, at the same time, were to be taxed by parliament, to pay the whole. This was a subtile contrivance, to provide for favourites, sap the liberties, and engross the wealth of the colonies, and fix them down in perpetual poverty and slavery. But the colonies too well knew the imprudence and rapacity of kingly governors; their embezzlement of public monies; their ignorance of the true state of the country; and their want of affection for the people; and how many of them came to America to make their fortunes; tamely to commit their liberty, property, and safety to their management. They were as far from resigning their property into the hands of the parliament, as the parliament were from trusting too much power in the hands of the Americans. In the colonies, the plan received no countenance, but met their universal disapprobation.

* Records of the colony, October session, 1754.

BOOK II. 1755. On the reception of the news of colonel Washington's defeat, the British court remonstrated against the conduct of the French in America; but, receiving nothing but evasive answers and professions of peace from the court of France, gave orders for a vigorous preparation for war. The colonies were directed to arm and act with united exertions against the enemy. Four expeditions were planned: one against the Ohio, under the command of general Braddock; a second against Nova-Scotia; a third against Crown Point, and a fourth against Niagara.

General Braddock embarks for America, Jan. 1755.

The expedition against the French on the Ohio was judged the most immediately urgent. General Braddock therefore embarked at Cork, about the middle of January, with fifteen hundred regulars, for Virginia. After a passage of about six weeks, he arrived at the place of his destination.

The French, while they spoke nothing but peace, made vigorous preparations for the support of their claims in America. Early in the spring they had a powerful armament ready for Canada. It consisted of twenty ships of the line, besides frigates and transports. On board were four thousand regular troops, with great quantities of military stores. The troops were under the command of Baron Dieskau.

Admirals Boscawen and Holburn, with seventeen ships of the line, and seven frigates, with six thousand land forces, were dispatched to watch the motions of the enemy. Admiral Boscawen sailed directly for Newfoundland. Soon after his arrival, the French fleet, under the command of M. Bors de la Mothe, came also nearly to the same station. But the thick fogs which prevail on the coast, especially in the spring, prevented the fleets from discovering each other. One part of the French fleet escaped up the river St. Lawrence, while the other part went round and got into the river by the straights of Bellisle. But while the English squadron lay off Cape Race, the southernmost part of Newfoundland, two French ships, the Alcide, of sixty-four guns, with four hundred and eighty men, and the Lys, pierced for sixty-four guns, but mounting twenty-two only, having on board eight companies of land forces, fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, and after a smart engagement, which lasted some hours, were taken. On board were found a considerable number of officers, engineers, and about eight thousand pounds in money. The other French ships and troops arrived safe in Canada, and were the principal means of the misfortunes which for some time attended the English colonies.

In the spring, the colonies, especially the northern, were all actively engaged in making preparations for the several expeditions to be carried into execution. Special assemblies were called, and messengers sent from one colony to another, to learn each others measures, and to form some general plan of operation. In consequence of letters received from Sir Thomas Robinson, one of his majesty's principal secretaries, the general assembly of Connecticut was convoked on the 8th of January. The letters expressed his majesty's pleasure, that a considerable number of troops should be raised by the colonies for the defence of his majesty's dominions in America; and that his majesty would dispatch several regiments from England to co-operate with the colonies for their defence, and the removing of the encroachments which had been made upon them. Connecticut was called upon in particular to exert herself in the common cause.

1747. General Assembly, Jan. 8th, 1755.

The assembly acknowledged in the most grateful manner their sense of his majesty's regard for the security and welfare of his subjects in these parts of his dominions. They also manifested their cheerful compliance with his majesty's requisitions in all the particulars in which they had been made known unto them. The governor was authorised to comply with every act and thing which had been signified, at the expense of the government. To meet the extraordinary expense which might arise, it was enacted that seven thousand five hundred pounds lawful money should be forthwith emitted. The bills were emitted at five per cent interest, to be called in on the 8th of May, 1758. As a proper fund for sinking said bills, a tax of two pence on the pound, lawful money, was levied on the polls and rateable estate of the colony, as exhibited in the list which should be brought in to the assembly in 1756: to be collected and paid into the treasury by the last day of August, 1757; and it was appropriated to the sole purpose of sinking the bills.

In consequence of proposals from governor Shirley, and the general court of Massachusetts, another special assembly was called, in March. The proposal was to raise an army of five thousand provincials, including governor Shirley's regiment of one thousand, in the following proportions: Massachusetts 1200, New-Hampshire 600, Rhode-Island 400, and Connecticut 1000 men. The original plan was, that this army should act against the French at Crown Point, to erect another fort in its vicinity, and to prevent further encroachments in that quarter, and, as far as might be, to remove such as had been made.

BOOK II. 1755. The assembly considered the proportion of men assigned them, to be far too great; yet to show their zeal for his majesty's service and their regard for the public interest, they voted to raise a thousand men, as had been proposed. They considered the extensive frontiers which Massachusetts had to defend, and that the province of New-York might be attacked in different places, and the vast importance of defending the country in the present juncture; and determined there should be no failure on their account. The governor was further authorised, on the first intimation from the commanders in chief that the army needed a reinforcement, to send forward 500 men more, with the utmost dispatch. The assembly also directed the governor to write to the other colonies, to make the same provision for reinforcing the army, should it be necessary, and that it should be in proportion to the numbers they were respectively to furnish.

Special assembly, March 13, 1755.

Resolutions for raising an army.

To meet the exigences of the war, the assembly ordered that all the outstanding bills in the possession of any person should be brought in, to a committee appointed for the purpose of receiving them, and that orders should be given the persons who brought in said bills, on the treasurer of the colony, to the amount of the value of said bills, made payable at certain times fixed by the assembly, with the lawful interest until the times of payment. Ample funds were provided by taxes to make payment of the notes for the money called in, and for the reimbursement of the expenses of the war. Twelve thousand and five hundred pounds lawful money was emitted in bills, with interest at five per cent.

At this assembly, all the officers of the army were appointed, their wages and those of the common soldiers were fixed, and all proper measures adopted to forward the expedition. William Johnson, of New-York, was appointed general of the northern army, and colonel Phinehas Lyman, one of the magistrates of Connecticut, was appointed major-general. The first Connecticut regiment was commanded by general Lyman. His lieutenant-colonel was John Pitkin. The second regiment was commanded by Elizur Goodrich, Esq. Nathan Whiting was lieutenant-colonel.

Resolve of the assembly relative to the Susquehanna company.

At the session in May, upon the petition of Phinehas Lyman, Roger Wolcott, Jun. Samuel Gray, and Abraham Davenport, Esq'rs. and others, their associates, to the number of about eight hundred and fifty, known by the name of the Susquehannah company, by their agents, Geo. Wyllys, Daniel Edwards, Samuel Talcott, Thomas Sey-

mour, and Eliphalet Dyar, representing that the colony, according to the express limits of its royal charter, is in extent from the Narraganset Bay on the east, to the south sea on the west, and from the sea shore on the south, to the line of the Massachusetts province on the north; that within and towards the western part of its limits, are and time immemorial have been, large numbers of the Indian nations, commonly called the six nations, dwelling, improving and claiming a large extent thereof: That a certain large parcel of such their claim, situate and lying on the waters of the Susquehannah, about seventy miles north and south, and from about ten miles east of said river, extending westward two degrees of longitude, they the said Indian nations, not finding necessary for their own use, have, for very valuable considerations, been induced to relinquish, and to sell to the petitioners: and that some well ordered plantation, in so near a neighborhood to the said nations, might most likely be a means to cement and fix them in friendship with his majesty's subjects: and that they the said Indian nations are desirous such settlement might be promoted and carried on, as being conducive to their interest and safety; and therefore praying the consent of this assembly, that his majesty, if it should be his royal pleasure, would grant said land to the petitioners and their associates, thereon to erect and settle a colony, for the effectually securing said Indians in his majesty's interest, and the defence of his majesty's dominions in North America, with liberty of further purchases of said Indians, to said purpose, as occasion may be:

BOOK II. 1755.

Resolved by this assembly, that they are of opinion that the peaceably and orderly erecting and carrying on of some new and well regulated colony, or plantation, on the lands above mentioned, would greatly tend to fix and secure the said Indian nations in allegiance to his majesty, and friendship with his subjects; and do accordingly hereby manifest their ready acquiescence therein, if it should be his majesty's royal pleasure to grant said land to said petitioners, and thereon erect and settle a new colony, in such form and under such regulations as might be consistent with his royal wisdom; and also take leave humbly to recommend the petitioners to his royal favor in the premises.

The expedition against Nova-Scotia, was under the command of colonel Monckton. He was the first in the field. The province of Massachusetts, early in the spring, sent on a considerable number of men to Nova-Scotia; and about the last of May, the colonel proceeded up the

BOOK II. bay of Fundy with a good body of troops, covered by three frigates and a sloop of war, under the command of
1755. captain Rouse, with a design to dislodge the enemy from that quarter. On his arrival at Malagash, he found the passage up the river defended by a large number of French troops, Acadians and Indians. Four hundred were placed in a log house, with cannon mounted. The rest of the troops were defended by a strong breast-work of timbers thrown up around the block-house. But, the English attacked them with such order and gallantry that, after an action of about an hour, the enemy abandoned their works, and the passage up the river was opened. The army advanced, and on the twelfth of June, invested the French fort called Beausejour. This, after a bombardment of four days, was taken. The French had twenty-six pieces of cannon mounted, and ample supplies of ammunition. The garrison were sent to Louisburg, on condition of not bearing arms in America, for the term of six months. As soon as the fort was provided with a proper garrison, the colonel marched further into the country, and reduced another French fort on the river Gaspereau, which runs into the bay of Verte. This was the principal magazine for supplying the French, Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries for war. Here, therefore, were large quantities of provisions and stores of all kinds, for the victorious army. The colonel then proceeded to disarm the Acadians, to the number of about fifteen thousand men. They were pretty generally removed from that part of the country. Great numbers of them were brought into New-England.

Meanwhile, captain Rouse, and the ships under his command, sailed to St. John's river, to dislodge the enemy from that post. At the mouth of the river, they were erecting a new fort. But on his approach they burst their cannon, blew up their magazine, and as far as time would permit, destroyed their works, and then abandoned the post to the English. Thus, by this successful expedition, Great Britain became possessed of the whole country of Nova-Scotia, and its tranquillity was restored, and put on a firm establishment.

The two expeditions against Crown Point and Niagara, were forwarded with great exertion and dispatch, by the colonies of New-England and New-York. The troops for each of these enterprises, were ordered to rendezvous at Albany. Most of them arrived at the place of their destination before the end of June. Generals Johnson and Lyman found themselves at the head of an army of between

five and six thousand men. Besides, they were joined by Hendrick, sachem of the Mohawks, with a considerable body of Indians. Major-general Lyman soon marched with the main body of the army, along Hudson's river, as far as the carrying place, about fourteen miles south of the south end of lake George. General Johnson tarried at Albany, to forward the artillery, batteaux, and other necessaries for the enterprise. At the carrying place, where the artillery, provisions, stores and batteaux were to be landed, it was judged necessary to erect a fort, and to cast up entrenchments to secure them, in order to keep up their communication when they should advance, and provide for a retreat whenever it should be necessary. The accomplishment of these works, with the transportation of the cannon, provisions, stores and batteaux, employed the army five or six weeks, before they could be in readiness to advance to the lake.

BOOK II. 1755. The northern army under Johnson and Lyman, advance towards the lake.

While the New-Englanders were humbling the French in Nova-Scotia, and advancing towards Crown Point, general Braddock had been slowly making preparations for the expedition against the French on the Ohio. Though this, with the ministry, was the favorite expedition, and though the general arrived soon enough to have begun his operations early in the spring, yet it was the tenth of June before he commenced his march from fort Cumberland, which the Virginians had built at Will's Creek. This, it has been said, was owing to the dilatoriness of the Virginians, whom he had employed as contractors for his army. They were nearly three months in procuring provisions, horses, and a sufficient number of waggons, for the conveyance of his baggage. Some waggons were procured from Pennsylvania, and yet but about half the number for which he had contracted were procured for his service. He began his march with about two thousand two hundred men. When he had advanced as far as the great meadows, he received the intelligence that the French, at fort Du Quesne, were in expectation of a reinforcement of five hundred men. This induced him to quicken his march; and that he might proceed with greater expedition, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the provisions and heavy baggage; while he pressed forward with such provisions and necessaries as were barely sufficient for him, until colonel Dunbar should bring up the rear.

General Braddock's expedition.

Before the general's departure from England, much pains had been taken to make him cautious, and to prepare him for his command. Colonel Napier furnished him with an

Precautions given him.

BOOK II. excellent set of instructions, which he had received from the duke of Cumberland. Indeed, the duke in person frequently admonished him to be particularly watchful against an ambush or surprise. When he was on his march, colonel Washington intreated him, with earnestness, to suffer him to precede the army and scour the woods with his rangers; but the general treated this generous and necessary proposal with contempt. He rashly pressed on, through thickets and dangerous defiles, without reconnoitering the woods, or obtaining any proper knowledge of the country through which he was to pass. By the eighth of July, he had advanced nearly sixty miles forward of colonel Dunbar, and within twelve or fourteen miles of fort Du Quesne. In this situation, his officers, especially Sir Peter Halket, earnestly intreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians in his army, as an advanced guard, against ambuscades and surprise. But he was too haughty and self-sufficient, to derive any benefit even from the experience or wisdom of the greatest characters.

1755.

The next day, without any knowledge of the enemy, or any of the precautions to which he had been so repeatedly advised, he pressed on until about twelve o'clock, when, all on a sudden, he was saluted with a heavy and deadly fire in front, and on the whole of his left flank. The enemy artfully concealed themselves, and reserved their fire, until the whole army had time to enter the defile. Though the yell and fire of the enemy were tremendous, yet there was scarcely one of them to be seen. The suddenness of the attack, the horrible scream of the Indians, and the slaughter made by the first fire of the enemy, threw the advanced guard into the utmost panic, so that they, rushing back upon the main body, threw the whole of the regular troops into irretrievable confusion. The general exhibited the greatest intrepidity and imprudence. Instead of retreating from the defile, and scouring the thickets with his cannon, or ordering the Virginians to drive the enemy from his flanks, he remained on the spot, giving orders for the few gallant officers and men who remained with him, to form regularly and advance to the charge of their invisible enemy. But, as the enemy kept up an incessant and destructive fire, his officers and men fell thick about him. Five horses were soon killed under him; but his obstinacy seemed to increase with his danger: until, at length, he received a musket ball through his right arm and lungs. As he fell, those who remained, fled in great confusion. The general was carried from the field, by the bravery of lieut. colonel Gage and another of his faithful officers.

Defeated, July 9th.

The artillery, ammunition, baggage, and the general's cabinet, with all his letters and instructions, fell into the hands of the enemy. The latter of these were sent to France, and the French court availed itself of them in their memorials and declarations. The general died of his wounds four days after his defeat. Thus the loss of his own life, and the ruin of a fine army, were but the natural consequences of his unparalleled self-sufficiency, imprudence and obstinacy. The enemy consisted of about four or five hundred men only, and these were chiefly Indians. The whole were not a match even for the Virginians, had they been allowed to fight in their own way. BOOK II. 1755. Dies July 13th.

One of the most remarkable circumstances of this unfortunate expedition remains yet to be told. The Virginia militia, who had been despised by the general, and kept in the rear, though equally exposed with the regular troops, amidst all the dismay and confusion, stood firm and unbroken. They alone advanced against the enemy; and, under colonel Washington, covering the retreat, seem to have saved the regulars from total destruction.

The loss of officers and men was very great. Sir Peter Halket was killed at the head of his regiment, by the first fire. The general's secretary, son of governor Shirley, fell soon after. The loss of officers much exceeded the common proportion. The whole loss was not less than seven or eight hundred men.* Loss of men.

The flight of the army was so precipitate and extraordinary, that it never stopped until they met the rear division. This, on their junction, was instantly seized with the same general panic which affected the main body; and though no enemy had been discovered in pursuit of them, yet the army continued retreating, without making any stand, or considerable halt, till it reached fort Cumberland, which was little less than a hundred and twenty miles from the place of action. Had the troops, even at this distance, so recovered their spirits as to have made a stand, they might, in some measure, have guarded the frontiers, and prevented those devastations, murders, and barbarities, which the French and Indians, during the rest of the summer, perpetrated on the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania. But, instead of adopting this prudent and salutary measure, colonel Dunbar, who succeeded in command, leaving the sick and wounded at this post, under the care of the Virginians, marched off, with fourteen hundred men, to Philadelphia.† Extraordinary panic and retreat.

* Rider says he lost half his army. Hist. of England, vol. xl. p. 110.
† Rider, vol. xl. p. 111.

BOOK II. 1755. The northern army, under general Johnson, having brought on their artillery, batteaux, and provisions, to the carrying place at fort Edward, towards the last of August, advanced fourteen miles to the south end of Lake George. Here preparations were making, with all possible dispatch, for crossing the lake, as soon as the cannon, batteaux, and stores could be brought on. In the mean time, the army was encamped on a rising ground, covered, on its flanks, with a thick wood and swamp, by the lake in the rear, and having, in the front, a breast-work of trees. While the army was encamped in this situation, the Indian scouts, whom the general sent out daily to make discoveries, brought him intelligence of a large body of the enemy advancing from Ticonderoga, by south bay, towards fort Edward. There was a garrison of five hundred men, of the New-York and New-Hampshire troops, under the command of colonel Blanchard. Immediately on the reception of this intelligence, the general, comprehending the design of the enemy, to destroy the provisions and stores at fort Edward, and cut off the retreat of the army, sent expresses, one after another, to the colonel, acquainting him with his danger, and ordering him to call in all his detached parties, and to keep his whole force within the fort and entrenchments. About midnight, one of the expresses returned, with an account that the enemy were advanced within four miles of fort Edward. A council of officers was called; and, agreeably to their opinion, early in the morning, a party of a thousand men, with Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem, and his Indians, were detached to intercept the enemy. The party was commanded by colonel Williams, of Massachusetts, and colonel Whiting, of Connecticut. Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French, marched from Ticonderoga, with a view to cut off the garrison at fort Edward; but when he had advanced within a few miles of the fort, he received information, that it was fortified with cannon, and that the camp, at the lake, had neither lines nor cannon. This, with the universal desire of his officers, determined him to attack the main camp. As he was advancing within about three miles of it, his advanced parties discovered the corps under colonel Williams, and immediately laid in ambush to surprise him. Notwithstanding the vigilance and keen sight of the Indians, the whole party were drawn into the snare. The enemy instantly rose, and, from every quarter, poured in upon them a tremendous fire. Colonel Williams, the Indian sachem, and many other officers and men, instantly fell. Under these disadvantages, and pressed with supe-

In August, the northern army advanced to the lake.

Detachment under colonel Williams.

Colonel killed.

rior numbers, it was with the utmost difficulty, that colonel Whiting, who succeeded in the command, extricated his men from this dangerous defile, and secured his retreat into the camp. The enemy pressed so hard, that many fled singly, and some whole companies soon followed their example. To prevent an entire overthrow, the whole were obliged to retreat with as much haste as possible. BOOK II. 1755. Detachment repulsed, Sept. 6th.

At the same time, the firing was heard in the camp, which was judged to be at three or four miles distance, and it appeared to approach nearer and nearer. From this circumstance, it was rightly conjectured, that the detachment was repulsed, and retreating into camp. The alarm being thus given, the utmost exertions were instantly made to give the enemy a proper reception. A few cannon had been brought on; but they were at the south landing of the lake, half a mile or more from the breast-work. Parties were sent to bring forward such pieces as could be moved with the greatest facility and dispatch. Fugitives from the retreating detachment, soon came running into the camp. These were followed by company after company, in the utmost hurry and disorder. The whole party were soon in; and the enemy following close upon them, appeared in regular order, advancing towards the centre of the camp. At about thirty rods distance, they made a little halt, and commenced the attack with a brisk and heavy firing of platoons. The Canadians and Indians covered the flank of the regular troops, and maintained a brisk, but irregular fire. The dismay and disorder with which the detachment retreated, the reports of the loss sustained, and of the great number of the enemy, with the bold countenance and regularity with which they made the attack, for a few minutes, caused such a general panic, that it required the utmost exertions of the generals and officers to keep the men at the lines. But they had received but a few fires before their spirits began to rise, and they fought with great resolution. The lines became one continual blaze and roar. Some pieces of artillery began to play, and so intimidated the Canadians and Indians, that they were scattered, and retired behind trees and bushes, at too great a distance to do execution. Baron Dieskau, finding that he could make no impression on the centre of the camp, moved first to the left, and then to the right, attempting, by every exertion of military art and prowess, to force a passage. Nevertheless, as he was not supported by his irregulars, and as from every part of the lines, which he attempted to penetrate, he received a heavy and destructive fire, he was obliged to give over his at- Battle at lake George, Sept. 6th.

BOOK II. tempts. The provincials, perceiving that the fire of the enemy abated, and that they were in confusion, leaped 1755. their breast-works, and attacked on all sides, with such resolution and firmness, as put them to an entire rout.

B. Dieskau defeated and taken.

When the action commenced the number of the enemy was about two thousand. Of these about seven hundred were killed, and thirty made prisoners. Among the latter was Baron Dieskau himself, who was found a little distance from the field, dangerously wounded, supporting himself by the stump of a tree.

The loss of the provincials was about two hundred. These were principally of the detachment under colonel Williams. Of this there were killed, besides privates, colonel Williams, major Ashley, six captains and several subalterns. Among the slain was the brave king Hendrick, and about forty of his warriors. The only officer of distinction killed in the attack on the camp, was the gallant colonel Tidcomb, who about ten years before had signalized himself at the siege of Louisburg. General Johnson and major Nichols were wounded.

M'Ginnes defeats a party of the French.

The next day, captain M'Ginnes, marching from fort Edward with a detachment of a hundred and twenty New-Hampshire men, as a reinforcement to the camp, discovered between three and four hundred of the remains of the enemy sitting by a pond not far from the place where colonel Williams had been defeated. Though his numbers were so inferior to the enemy, yet he made such dispositions, and attacked them with such impetuosity and good conduct, that, after a sharp action, he put them to flight. They fled with so much precipitation as to leave many of their packs and other articles to the conquerors. The brave captain however, unfortunately received a wound, of which he died a few days after his arrival in the camp.*

Small circumstances occasion the victory.

Several small circumstances, which seem to have been merely providential, probably saved fort Edward and the army, and occasioned the defeat of the enemy. The report of a prisoner whom the French had taken, that the camp was entirely defenceless, without lines or cannon, determined the general to make the attack on the main army, and probably saved fort Edward. That they made not the attack a few days sooner, when the camp was, in fact, in the situation which the prisoner reported; and that the enemy began the attack at so great a distance, as rendered their fire in a great measure ineffectual, until the provincials had recovered their spirits and were prepared to make a manly resistance, were very favorable circumstan-

* Rider's Hist. vol. xi. p. 120.

ces. Had the enemy reserved their fire and advanced directly to the lines without hesitation, it is not improbable that they might have obtained a complete victory with less loss than they finally sustained. Had not the provincials strengthened their camp with lines, and brought on their cannon at that very juncture, or had any of these circumstances been otherwise than they were, the army might have been lost. It is the glory of providence, by small means and circumstances, to produce great events. BOOK II. 1755.

The action at the lake gave a general alarm to the country, and the generals called for reinforcements from the several neighboring colonies. Connecticut immediately raised and sent on two regiments, consisting of fourteen hundred men, so that the colony had in actual service between two and three thousand men. Before the battle, general Johnson had written to governor Fitch, desiring a reinforcement. A special assembly was called on the 27th of August, and the legislature resolved to raise two regiments to consist of seven hundred and fifty men each. The officers were appointed and the reinforcement was forwarded with all possible dispatch.* In a little more than one week from the alarm, the regiments were raised, equipped and marched for service. Special Assembly, Aug. 27.

Though the army was, with great expedition, sufficiently reinforced, yet the necessity of strong fortifications and garrisons at the carrying place, and at the lake, in which provisions and stores might be safely lodged, and by which the communication between the army and Albany might be kept up, now appeared more strongly than it had ever before done, on account of the danger in which the army had so lately been involved. It was from Albany only that they could be supplied with provisions, or be reinforced upon any emergency. It was by keeping open this communication that the retreat of the army could be secured. It was therefore judged unsafe to pass the lake until a good fort was erected at the south landing of lake George, and the works at fort Edward were strengthened, and rendered more complete. Necessity of erecting fortifications.

It was easily foreseen that by the time the necessary preparations could be made, it would be too late to proceed to Crown Point the present campaign, and all thoughts of it were thrown aside. But that every thing might be in the best state of readiness as soon as the spring should open, the army addressed itself with the utmost diligence to complete the works designed. A fort was erected at lake George, and the works at fort Edward were completed.

* Records of the colony.

BOOK II. 1755.

The army was employed in these services until the latter part of November. The troops then decamped, and, except those who kept garrison, returned to their respective colonies.

Though the expedition had failed as to its main object, yet it had been conducted with great labor, spirit and prudence. The colonists had advanced far through an almost trackless wilderness: they cut and made roads through heavy forests, fought one battle, and gained the victory over regular troops. They had built a great number of boats and batteaux, erected two forts, furnished them with cannon, stores and all necessaries, at a great distance from the old settlements. It could hardly have been reasonable to expect that they could have done more. They were highly applauded by his majesty and the whole nation. The general received from his majesty the honor of being created a baronet, and from the parliament a present of five thousand pounds.*

General Johnson promoted.

The expedition against Niagara was commanded by governor Shirley, and consisted of two thousand five hundred men. But his preparations were so deficient and dilatory, that nothing of any great importance was effected. It was nearly the middle of July before the first division of his army marched from Albany. The governor did not arrive at Oswego until the 18th of August, and it was the last of the month before the artillery and rear division arrived. The great distance between Albany and Oswego rendered the transportation of provisions, ammunition and stores an exceedingly difficult task. On the news of general Braddock's defeat, many of his boatmen dispersed and ran home. For this reason a sufficient quantity of provisions could not be carried on for the troops. Therefore, though several good vessels and a great number of boats had been built to convey the army across the lake to Niagara, and though the general had brought on a fine train of artillery, he could not proceed for want of provisions. As late as the 26th of September, he had not sufficient provisions to proceed with six hundred men only. Besides, the rainy season was come on, and it was judged impracticable. The rest of the season was spent in erecting two new forts. The ground on which the old fort was built, in 1727, was chosen, rather for the agreeableness of its situation than for defence against a regular siege. One fort was built on the east side of the river Onondaga, called fort Ontario. This was about four hundred and fifty yards from the old fort, and was designed to command

* Rider's Hist. vol. xi. p. 121.

that and the entrance of the harbor. The other was four hundred and fifty yards west of the old fort, called Oswego. Colonel Mercer and seven hundred men were left at Oswego, to garrison the forts; and on the 24th of October the rest of the army decamped and returned to Albany. BOOK II. 1756.

Thus ended the campaign of 1755. Notwithstanding the prodigious exertions of the colonies, the French were not dispossessed of a single fortress, nor of the least portion of territory, either on their northern or western frontiers. They and their Indian allies, not only ravaged the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania during the summer, but they continued plundering, burning and laying them waste, murdering and captivating the inhabitants during the whole winter.* Ravages in Virginia and Pennsylvania. 1756.

It will doubtless appear very extraordinary, if not in a measure unaccountable, that while New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey, were raising such powerful armies, the wealthy and numerous colonies of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, should suffer a small number of French and Indians thus to harass and lay waste their frontiers. This was occasioned by a combination of circumstances; principally on account of their numerous slaves, and the divisions and animosities between the colonies themselves, and between their governors and the people. The great number of slaves in those colonies diminished their strength, and rendered large draughts of men from them dangerous. The colonies had different and clashing interests. Pennsylvania was entirely opposed to the Ohio company and Virginia, for reasons which have been mentioned. Her inhabitants seem rather to have encouraged the French and Indians at first, and to have wished them success. Afterwards, when they began to feel the effects of their inhumanity, a misunderstanding between them and governor Morris, the royal and proprietary governor, entirely frustrated their best concerted plans. When the general assembly of the province saw the absolute necessity of erecting fortifications and of maintaining a standing military force, for the defence of their western frontier, and passed a bill for raising the sum of fifty thousand pounds for that purpose, he absolutely refused giving his assent to it, because, the estates of the proprietors were taxed equally with the estates of the inhabitants. He insisted that he had express orders from the proprietors to oppose all taxes upon their lands. The assembly judged it reasonable that the proprietaries should pay an equal tax with themselves, as their estates were equally exposed

* Rider's History, vol. xi. p. 127.

BOOK II. and would be equally benefitted by the common defence, and could not be prevailed upon to alter the form of the bill. Nothing could therefore be done.

1756.

Between the Virginians and governor Dinwiddie, there were violent animosities, on account of his rapacity and extravagant fees for grants of land. They carried the matter so far as to prefer a complaint to his majesty against him.

Maryland was less exposed than the other two colonies, and was not zealous in carrying on the war. While the other colonies would not unite in their own defence, it could not be expected that she would undertake it separately. Under the influence of these circumstances no effectual defence was made, and the enemy ravaged with impunity.

In the mean time, his majesty was so well pleased with the zeal and services of New-England, and of some of the neighboring colonies, that he recommended it by a message to the house of commons, to take into consideration, the faithful services of the people of New-England, and of some other parts of North America, and grant them a suitable reward, as an encouragement. In consequence of his majesty's recommendation, the parliament voted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for those purposes.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Campaign in 1756. War proclaimed. British generals appointed. Troops raised by Connecticut. Plan of the campaign in 1756. The British generals, Abercombie and lord Loudon, arrive in America. The reception of his lordship. Dilatory and unaccountable conduct of the generals. Colonel Bradstreet is attacked by the enemy and defeats them. Oswego invested and taken, by general Montcalm. Loss at that post. Comparison between the campaigns in 1755, and 1756. The enemy continue their ravages in the southern colonies.

ALL the hostilities of the preceding years had been carried on without any proclamation of war by England or France. The latter, during the whole time, had made the most pacific professions. But, notwithstanding,

War proclaimed.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xl. p. 151, 152.

Great-Britain, on the eighteenth of May, proclaimed war against France. Early in June, the king of France, in his turn, proclaimed war against Great-Britain. 1756. Book II.

As governor Shirley had not answered his majesty's expectations the last year, and as he determined to make his principal efforts in America, where the first hostilities commenced, and where it was conceived the strongest impressions could be made, general Abercrombie was appointed to succeed him. But, as it was judged that a general command over all the operations in North America, would subserve the general interest, the earl of Loudon was appointed commander in chief of that department of the war. Besides his general command, he was appointed governor of Virginia, and colonel of a royal American regiment, to be raised in this country. He was viewed as a nobleman of amiable character, and had formerly distinguished himself in the service of the nation. He was vested with great powers, little short of those of a viceroy.

Great expectations were now formed, of a vigorous and successful campaign. The northern colonies exhibited a noble zeal in his majesty's service, and had their respective quotas of troops early in the field. Connecticut, in particular, raised two thousand five hundred men, which was double the number required by the commander in chief, as the proportion of the colony in the service of that year. This was done, that the service might not suffer, as it was expected that some of the southern colonies, would not send into the field the number of men allotted to them.† About seven thousand provincials, well prepared, were seasonably in the field. But the conduct of the general was dilatory, and spiritless in the extreme. Though general Abercrombie took his departure for America in March, he did not join the army until the latter part of June. The earl of Loudon, who was to direct the grand plan of operations, never left England until the last of May. By this time he ought to have been in America, and to have opened the campaign. The plan of operation in America this year, had been concerted by a general council of war at New-York. It was to attack Niagara and Crown Point. To facilitate these operations, a body of troops was to be detached up Kennebec river, to alarm the capital of Canada. These enterprises were to have been effected by the northern colonies, in conjunction with a body of regular troops. At the same time, the southern colonies, assisted by several regular regiments, were to besiege fort Du Ques-

Plan of the campaign.

† Reasons of the colony why the British colonies should not be taxed by parliament, p. 30.

BOOK II. ne, on the Ohio. The plan was extensive; but, the colonies united, with men of skill and enterprise to lead them, were well able to have carried it into execution. Niagara, without doubt, was one of the most important posts in North America. Its situation was on the south side of lake Ontario, at the very entrance of the strait which joins this to lake Erie, and forms the only water communication between them. This was the grand link, which connected the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana. It was the only way by which the Indians, for several hundred miles from the north west, could pass with safety, to the southern parts of America; or by which the Indians, south of the lake, could communicate with those north of it. Whoever commanded this post, must, in a greater or less degree, not only influence and command the five nations, and the Indians north of the lake, but all those scattered on the banks of the Wabash and the Mississippi. By possessing this post, all communication between Canada and the Ohio would be cut off, and the English would, in a great measure, command all the Indians on their western frontiers. At the same time, it would very greatly facilitate the reduction of the enemy's fortresses on the Ohio, and all their other posts south of the lakes.

Importance of the post at Niagara.

Crown Point, on which the French commenced their works, about the year 1731, secured the absolute command of lake Champlain, and guarded the only passage into Canada. It was through this lake, by the route of Crown Point, that the parties of French and Indians made their bloody incursions upon the frontiers of New-England and New-York. This brought the enemy much nearer to the colonies, and served them as a place of retreat, on emergencies. It furnished them with provisions and ammunition at hand, and greatly assisted them in their works of destruction. The reduction of this post would render the frontiers of the northern colonies, in a great measure secure. The enemy would be driven back into his own territories, north of the lakes, and the way would, the next campaign, be opened into the heart of Canada.

Description of Crown Point.

These objects ought to have inspired the generals and the whole army with the utmost spirit, and to have produced the utmost expedition; but the generals appeared to possess neither. General Abercrombie pretended to be waiting for two regiments from England. At length they arrived, and on the twenty-fifth of June, the general proceeded to Albany. Here he found himself at the head of six regular regiments, and a number of independent companies; the New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, and

some other troops,* amounting to ten thousand men, well appointed, in health and high spirits. But with this fine army, such an one as had never before taken the field in America, nothing of consequence was undertaken. Neither of the proposed expeditions were even attempted, nor were the out posts seasonably reinforced and defended. BOOK II.

Meanwhile, the enemy acted with vigour and dispatch. They had not only time to make preparations against future attacks, but to carry on offensive operations. Even before this period, they reduced a small fortress in the country of the five nations. The garrison, consisting of twenty-five Englishmen, were massacred, in the midst of those Indians who had long been considered as the allies of Great-Britain and her colonies. At the same time, they carefully watched all the motions of the English. Having received intelligence, that a considerable convoy of provisions was on the way from Schenectady to Oswego, they laid an ambush in the woods and thickets on the north side of the Onondaga river, to intercept and cut off the party. But soon having information that the convoy was past, they determined to wait the return of the detachment. This was commanded by colonel Bradstreet, an officer of courage and enterprise. He had been apprehensive of such an event, and was not unprepared. As he was sailing along the river, with his batteaux, in three divisions, he was saluted with the Indian war whoop, and a general discharge of musketry, from the north shore. He immediately ordered his men to land on the opposite shore, and, with part of them, he took possession of a small island. The enemy instantly forded the river, and attacked him; but he gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon repulsed. Having intelligence that another body of the enemy had crossed the river, a mile higher up, he advanced against them, with two hundred men, and attacked them, sword in hand, with such resolution, that those who were not slain upon the spot, were driven into the river, and considerable numbers were drowned. Hearing that a third party had passed still higher up the river, he marched against them with all possible dispatch, and put them to a total rout. In these actions, which lasted about three hours, about seventy of his men were killed and wounded. About twice that number of the enemy were killed, and seventy taken prisoners.

Colonel Bradstreet attacked, but defeats the enemy, July 3d.

From them colonel Bradstreet obtained the intelligence,

* Rider's History of England, vol. xli. p. 16. There were beside, in the garrisons at Oswego, and the forts above Albany, more than two thousand men, an army, in the whole, of twelve thousand men.

BOOK II. 1756.

that a large body of the enemy had taken post on the east side of lake Ontario, furnished with artillery, and all implements for the siege of Oswego. The colonel returned immediately to Albany, and gave information of the approach of the enemy. General Webb, with one regiment, had orders to hold himself in readiness to march to the relief of that post. But on the twenty-ninth of July, when lord Loudon arrived at Albany, he had not begun his march. By this time, general Winslow, with about seven thousand of the New-England and New-York troops, had advanced to the south landing of lake George. They were in high spirits, perfectly harmonious, and waited with impatience to be led to the attack of Crown Point. Great numbers of batteaux-men lay at Albany, Schenectady, and other places convenient for the service. The generals had about three thousand men with them at Albany. With such a force, men of skill and enterprise might have penetrated into the heart of Canada. But the British generals, with the greatest part of the regular troops, remained at Albany until the middle of August, if not until some time after. General Webb never began his march till the twelfth of the month.

Inactivity of the British generals.

Meanwhile, the marquis de Montcalm invested the forts at Oswego, with about three thousand men, regulars, Canadians, and Indians. He blocked up the harbour with two large armed vessels, and posted a strong party on the roads between Albany and the forts, to cut off all intelligence and succour from the army. Having made the necessary preparations, on the 12th of August, he opened his trenches before fort Ontario, which had been built on an eminence, for the purpose of securing fort Oswego, which it overlooked and commanded. The English, firing away their shells and ammunition, the very next day spiked up their cannon, and unaccountably retired across the river, into fort Oswego, where they were much more exposed than they were in the fort which they had abandoned. The enemy having possessed themselves of this commanding ground, soon began an incessant fire on fort Oswego. On the thirteenth, colonel Mercer, who commanded, was killed with a cannon shot; the officers were divided in opinion, and the garrison was panic struck; so that the enemy made an easy conquest of one of the most important posts which the English had in America. On the fourteenth of August, the garrison capitulated. A hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, fourteen mortars, great quantities of ammunition and warlike stores, two frigates or sloops of war, which had been built to cruise on the

Montcalm besieges Oswego.

It surrenders August 14th. Losses at Oswego.

lake, and to cover the troops in the expedition designed against Niagara, two hundred boats and batteaux, with a garrison of sixteen hundred men, were delivered into the hands of the enemy.* The victors immediately dismantled the forts, and carried off this grand booty to strengthen their own lines and fortresses on the lake and river. BOOK II. 1756.

By the fall of this post, the enemy obtained the sole command of the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the whole country of the five nations, which it was designed to cover. The settlements at the German flats, and that fine tract of country on the Wood creek and Mohawk rivers, were laid open to their incursions. Consequences of its fall.

When general Webb had advanced as far as the carrying place between Mohawk river and Wood creek, he received the news of the capture of Oswego. Apprehensive of an attack from the enemy, he began to fell trees and cast them into the river, and to render it impassable, even by canoes. The enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and dreading an attack from him, used the same precaution to prevent his advancing. He was left, therefore, to retreat in the same leisurely manner in which he had advanced.

Lord Loudon now pretended, that the season was too far advanced to attempt any thing against the enemy, though it was now nearly three months to the usual time for the decampment of the army. The troops were advanced to the south end of lake George, and might, at any time, within a very few days, have made an attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

He spent the remainder of the season in pretended preparations for an early campaign the next spring. The forts Edward and William Henry, were made more defensible, and furnished with numerous garrisons. The provincials returned to their respective colonies, and the regular troops, who were not employed in the garrisons, went into winter quarters, at Albany. Thus ended the northern campaign of 1756. Campaign breaks up.

The last year the provincials, under their own generals and officers, had performed immense labour, in clearing and making roads through a wilderness; advanced far on the enemy; erected forts, built ships, many hundreds of boats and batteaux; defeated one army of the enemy, and taken their general captive. They had, also, made grand preparations for the opening of the campaign, at the earliest period, this year. They took the field at an early day in the spring, ready for an attack upon the enemy. Comparison between the campaigns of 1755 and 1756.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xli. p. 15, 21. Wright's History of the French War, vol. ii. p. 17, 18.

BOOK II. 1756.

But the British generals, with the finest army ever collected before in America, with the advantage of roads and rivers cleared for their passage to the very enemy, and all the preparations of the last year, lost one of their most important posts, advanced not one foot upon the enemy, nor effected any thing honourable or important.

Conduct of the southern colonies.

The management of affairs in the southern colonies, was not more fortunate than it had been in the northern. Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, did not resolve on any regular plan of defence. Fort Grenville, on the confines of Pennsylvania, was surprised and taken. The French and Indians, in small parties, made frequent incursions into the frontier settlements of these colonies, committing many shocking murders on the defenceless inhabitants, without regard to the distinction of character, sex, or age.

In South-Carolina, the slaves were so much more numerous than the white inhabitants, that it was judged unsafe for them to spare any of their troops abroad, upon any general enterprise. Great expectations had been formed of the earl of Loudon and general Abercrombie. In the principal towns through which his lordship passed, the first characters flocked round him, and, with great ceremony, congratulated him on his safe arrival. At New-Haven, the Rev. President Clap, and the principal gentlemen of the town, waited on him, in the most respectful manner. The president presented his lordship with their joint congratulations on the safe arrival of a peer of the realm in North-America. How prodigious, then, was their disappointment, how cutting their chagrin, when they found that these very men, from whom they had expected so much, had disconcerted and dashed all their plans, and had employed ten or twelve thousand men, through the summer, in doing nothing?—and, through their inactivity, lost more men by idleness and disease, than probably would have been lost in a vigorous, active campaign, in which they might have engaged in severe and hard fought battles, and have done the most essential services to their country? It was not difficult to discern that the enemy had nothing to fear, and the colonies nothing to expect, from such men, but loss and disappointment.

General disappointment.

CHAPTER XVII. 1757.

Preparations for the campaign in 1757. *The plan of operation in America changed, and Louisburg becomes its only object. This was reinforced, and the expedition postponed. Fort William Henry is taken by the French. The country is alarmed and great reinforcements of the militia sent forward to Albany and fort Edward. The campaign closes with loss and shame. The provincials lose all confidence in the British commanders.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the disappointments of the last year, the British parliament made great preparations this year, for a vigorous prosecution of the war in America. In May, admiral Holbourn and commodore Holmes, sailed from Cork for America, with eleven ships of the line, a fire ship, and bomb ketch, with fifty transports, having on board more than six thousand regular troops. This powerful armament arrived safely at Halifax, the ninth of July. The land force came out under general Hopson.

The colonies expecting, after such preparations, that their troops would have been led on directly to the conquest of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, had been zealously raising their full complement of men. Connecticut, which had raised more than double her proportion, again had her whole quota seasonably raised. Great therefore was the mortification of the colonies when, to their surprise, they found that the design against Crown Point was laid aside, and that the reduction of Louisburg was the only object of the expedition. They were unwilling that their troops should be removed out of the colonies and employed against Louisburg. It appeared to them extremely impolitic, after the expense of so much time and money, in preparations for an expedition to the northward, now to lay it aside. Such inconsistency and fluctuation appeared to them childish, and calculated to prevent the accomplishment of any thing decisive or important. Beside, it did not appear safe for the colonies to draw off their troops. They had not been able, the last year, with an army of nearly twelve thousand men, to maintain their ground. The enemy were now stronger than they were the last year. By the loss of Oswego, all the western country was laid open to their ravages. There was reason to fear that the frontier posts would be swept away

BOOK II. one after another, and that all the preparations which had been made for an early attack on the enemy, would be lost
1757. with them. Besides, the enemy would have another year to fortify and strengthen their posts, and to render the reduction of them much more hazardous and difficult.

July 9th. The colonies were obliged to submit, and lord Loudon sailed from New-York for Halifax, with six thousand land forces, and there made a junction with Holbourn and Hopson. Here was now an army of twelve thousand men, exclusive of officers, aided by a powerful fleet; but they were so dilatory in their measures that, before they were ready to sail, the Brest fleet, with seventeen sail of the line, besides frigates and transports, arrived at Louisburg. The garrison was so reinforced as to amount to nine thousand men. On the reception of this intelligence, it was judged inexpedient to proceed, and the expedition was given up.*

Expedition against Louisburg is given up.

Had the earl of Loudon been a man of enterprise, had he wished to distinguish himself in his majesty's service, or to have rendered himself popular in the colonies, he might have conducted this powerful army to Ticonderoga, and carried all before him, in that quarter. At least, he might have sent on large detachments for the defence of the frontiers. With his Prussian majesty, an Amherst, or a Wolfe, these would have been but natural and common atchievements. But he returned leisurely to New-York, and effected nothing.

The British generals, in America, did more, in two years, by the pusillanimity, weakness and inconsistency of their councils, to injure the colonies, than the French could have done with all their force. The provincials would, probably, have advanced to Crown Point the last year, and made themselves masters of the country south of lake Champlain. They would undoubtedly have kept their own posts and prevented the evils which followed. The British generals and officers not only lost Oswego, but they destroyed the fortifications at the great carrying place; and filled Wood Creek with logs and trees. They cut off all communication between the colonies and the five nations, the only body of Indians which preserved the appearance of friendship to them. They abandoned their whole country to the mercy of the enemy. Nothing could be done to prevent their collecting the Indians, from all quarters, to act against the colonies.

Monsieur Montcalm, did not neglect to improve the advantages he had gained, and which the conduct of the Brit-

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlii. p. 6, 7.

ish generals afforded him. Finding that the troops were drawn off to Halifax, he at once determined on the siege of fort William Henry, and the destruction of the vessels, boats, and batteaux, at the south landing of lake George. Bodies of Indians, with his whole force, were collected for this purpose. BOOK II. 1757.

Colonel Monroe, who commanded at fort William Henry, having intelligence that an advanced party of the enemy lay at Ticonderoga, detached colonel Parker with four hundred men to surprise them. Having landed at night, not far distant from the enemy, he sent three boats to reconnoitre, directing them where to meet him in a general rendezvous. The enemy, waylaying and intercepting the boats, obtained a perfect knowledge of the colonel's designs, and concerted measures to decoy him into their hands. They laid an ambush behind the point where they knew he designed to land, and having been reinforced to nearly double his numbers, they sent three boats to the place appointed for the general rendezvous. The colonel mistaking them for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, and was instantly surrounded by the enemy. They attacked him on all sides with such incessant violence, that seventy privates and two officers only made their escape. Colonel Parker defeated.

Elated with this success, Monsieur Montcalm hastened to the seige of fort William Henry. Having drawn together all his forces from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, with a greater number of Indians than the French had ever employed on any other occasion, he passed the lake and regularly invested the fort. The whole army consisted of nearly eight thousand men. The garrison consisted of about three thousand, and the fortifications were said to be good. At fort Edward, scarcely fourteen miles distant, lay general Webb, with four thousand troops. The regular troops at the two posts, were probably more than equal to the regular force of the enemy. A considerable proportion of their army consisted of Canadians and Indians. Yet, in about six days, was this important post delivered up into the hands of the enemy. All the vessels, boats, and batteaux, which, at so much expense and labor, had been for two years preparing, fell into the power of the enemy. Though general Webb had timely notice of the approach of the enemy, yet he never sent to alarm the country, and bring on the militia. He never reinforced the garrison, nor made a single motion for its relief. So far was he from this, that he sent a letter to colonel Monroe, who commanded the fort, advising him to give it up to the enemy.* Montcalm intercepted Fort William Henry besieged, Aug. 3d. Fort William Henry taken, Aug. 9th.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlii. p. 9, 12: and Wright's Hist. of war, vol. i. p. 41.

BOOK II. the letter, and sent it into the fort to the colonel. He had acted the part of a soldier and made a brave defence; but having burst a number of his cannon, expended a considerable part of his ammunition, and perceiving that he was to have no relief from general Webb, he capitulated on terms honorable for himself and the garrison. It was, to march out with arms, baggage, and one piece of cannon, in honor to colonel Monroe, for the brave defence he had made. The troops were not to serve against the most christian king under eighteen months, unless exchanged for an equal number of French prisoners. The French and Indians paid no regard to the articles of capitulation, but falling on the English, stripped them of their baggage and few remaining effects; and the Indians, in the English service, were dragged from the ranks, tomahawked and scalped. Men and women had their throats cut, their bodies ripped open, and their bowels, with insult, thrown in their faces. Infants and children were barbarously taken by the heels, and their brains dashed out against stones and trees. The Indians pursued the English nearly half the way to fort Edward, where the greatest number of them arrived in a most forlorn condition.* It seems astonishing, that between two and three thousand troops, with arms in their hands, should, contrary to the most express stipulations, suffer these intolerable insults.

1757.

Part of the garrison murdered.

When it was too late, general Webb alarmed the country, and put the colonies to great expense in sending on large detachments of the militia for the defence of the northern frontier. The sudden capture of the fort, the massacre made by the enemy's Indians, and suspicions of general Webb's treachery, and an apprehension that general Montcalm would force his way to Albany, put the country into a state of great alarm and consternation. People were never more alarmed during the war. At the same time, there was never a more general and manly exertion. Connecticut detached and sent on, in a few days, about five thousand men. She had raised and sent into the field, fourteen hundred before, which was more than her proportion. Large reinforcements were marched on to Albany and fort Edward from New-York, and the other colonies. General Webb, notwithstanding the great numbers of men with which he was reinforced, did not make any effectual provision for the defence of the frontier settlements. No sooner was one expedition finished by the enemy, than another was undertaken. Soon after the reduction of fort William Henry, the enemy, with fire and sword, laid waste

The country alarmed.

German flats destroyed.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xiii. p. 14. Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 41.

the fine settlements at the German flats, and on the Mohawk river. BOOK II.

On the American station there were nearly twenty thousand regular troops, and a large number of provincials in service; and yet one fortress and settlement after another were swept away; and every where the enemy rioted and triumphed with impunity. The army spent the remainder of the campaign in inactivity. The provincials, as the season for winter quarters approached, returned to their respective colonies. The regular troops were stationed at Albany and fort Edward. Thus ended the inglorious campaign of 1757. 1755.

By this time, under the repeated losses they had sustained, the colonies had very much lost their confidence in the British commanders in America. They for two years had witnessed their dilatory measures, their inconsistency, want of foresight and a spirit of enterprise, and had such bitter experience of the consequences, that they considered them as utterly disqualified for the important command which they held. To their incapacity and pusillanimity wholly, did they impute the loss of Oswego, fort William Henry, and their other losses on the frontiers. The colonies lose their confidence in British generals.

Notwithstanding all the reinforcements which France had sent to Canada, they, every campaign, had a force much superior to the enemy. Had they been men of military genius, skill and enterprise, instead of the losses they sustained, they might have led on their troops to conquest and glory. Had the colonies been left to themselves, they would probably have done better. The first year of the war, when left to themselves, their achievements were honorable and useful to the nation: but now they had sustained two years of great expense, which had been worse than lost. Indeed, such were the ministry, and the men whom they employed, that misfortune and disaster attended them in almost every quarter of the globe.* A British historian observes, with respect to this third campaign in America, "That it ended to the eternal disgrace of those who then commanded the armies, and directed the councils of Great-Britain."

* There was one exception: admiral Watson and colonel Clive acted with great magnanimity and success upon the Ganges, in the East-Indies.

1758.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Change of men and measures. Plan of the campaign in 1758. The colonies encouraged again to exert themselves. Extraordinary exertions of Connecticut. Armament against Louisburg. Its siege and capture by general Amherst. Army under general Abercrombie. Its defeat at Ticonderoga. Frontenac taken by colonel Bradstreet. Expedition against du Quesne—taken by general Forbes. The general's death at Philadelphia.

BY this time, the dispute relative to the Ohio, Crown Point, and territory in America, had involved a great part of Europe in the flames of war. It had kindled in both the Indies, and extended its destructive influence beyond the Ganges. The disappointments and losses of the British nation for a succession of years, and its present exigences, absolutely demanded a change of men and measures. Men of capacity and enterprise were necessary to retrieve its honor, and prevent its ruin. By a most happy turn in providence, those incomparable men, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Leg, and their friends, had been chosen and established in the ministry, and had time to concert their measures, and choose the men to carry them into execution. Now therefore, every thing relative to the nation, in Europe and America, took a new and surprising turn. Now men were brought forward, upon whose fidelity, skill, and spirit of enterprise, confidence might be placed.

Notwithstanding the disappointments and losses of the past years, they determined on the reduction of Louisburg, with a view of cutting off the communication between France and Canada, of destroying the French fishery, and of securing the trade and fisheries of Great-Britain, and her colonies in America. At the same time, to gratify the colonies and to draw forth their whole strength into exertion, they also determined on expeditions against Crown Point and fort du Quesne.

Intimations of his majesty's designs, and of his expectations from the colonies, were, at an early period, given to them by letters from the right honorable Mr. Pitt. These were written in a style which animated their courage, and drew forth their most spirited exertions. The people of Connecticut, in particular, exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner.

A special assembly was convened on the 8th of March,

at New-Haven, when the right honorable Mr. Pitt's letter was communicated to the legislature, importing, that his majesty had nothing more at heart than to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign, and by the most vigorous and extensive efforts, to avert, by the blessing of God upon his arms, the dangers impending over North-America; and not doubting but his faithful and brave subjects here would cheerfully co-operate with and second, to the utmost, the large expense and extraordinary succours supplied by his kingdom, for their preservation and defence: And that his majesty, judging that this colony, together with Massachusetts Bay, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, New-York and New-Jersey, were able to furnish 20,000 men, to join a body of the king's forces for invading Canada, and carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's possessions; and that it was his majesty's pleasure, that, with all possible dispatch, there be raised as large a body of men as the number of inhabitants would allow, to begin the operations of the campaign, as soon as practicable. And that no encouragement might be wanting to so great and salutary an attempt, that strong recommendations would be made to parliament, to grant compensation for the expenses of said provinces, according as their active vigor and strenuous efforts should appear justly to merit.

1758. A special assembly, March 8, 1758. Mr. Secretary Pitt's letter.

The legislature resolved, That, notwithstanding this colony, when acting with the several provinces aforesaid, in the three several expeditions undertaken the preceding years, against Crown Point, hath raised a much greater number of men than its just proportion, in comparison with what they then raised, by means of which the number of men is greatly diminished and its strength much exhausted, yet that nothing be wanting, on the part of this colony, to promote the great and good design proposed by his majesty, and relying on his royal encouragement, 5000 good and effective men, including officers, shall be raised within this colony, as soon as may be, for the service aforesaid. It was resolved at the same time, that the assembly is sensible, that it is really more than the number of men this colony can allow, without great difficulty; and much exceeds this colony's proportion, even of twenty thousand men, when compared with the other provinces.

Resolves of the legislature.

It was resolved that the said 5000 men should be formed into four regiments, consisting of twelve companies in each regiment. That there should be one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major and one chaplain to a regiment. The honorable Phinehas Lyman, Esq. who had a general's

Officers appointed.

Book II. command in 1755, Nathan Whiting, Esq. Eliphalet Dyar, Esq. and John Read, Esq. were appointed colonels, to command the respective regiments.* The Rev. Messrs. George Beckwith, Joseph Fish, Benjamin Pomeroy and Jonathan Ingersoll, were appointed chaplains.

1758.

To encourage the speedy enlistment of men for the service, the bounty was increased much beyond what it had been in former years. All proper measures were adopted to raise the troops with expedition, and to have them seasonably in the field.

To provide for the expense of such a number of troops, the assembly enacted that thirty thousand pounds lawful money in bills of credit, at five per cent interest, should be immediately printed: and that for a fund for the sinking of said bills, a tax of eight pence on the pound should be levied on the grand list of the colony to be brought in, Anno Domini, 1760. It was provided, however, that such monies as should arrive from Great-Britain for the reimbursement of the expenses of the war, should be applied, by the treasurer, for the purpose of sinking the said bills, and that, if a sufficient sum should arrive before the time fixed for the payment of said tax, to sink the whole, that then said tax should not be levied, and that the act respecting it should be null and void.

That the treasurer might be able to pay the troops on their return from the public service, the assembly laid a tax of nine pence on the pound on the whole rateable estate of the colony, according to the list brought in to the assembly in October last, and ordered that it should be collected by the last of December then following. And as it was uncertain whether money would arrive, sufficient to reimburse the expenses of the colony, in season, a committee was appointed to borrow the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds, to be paid before the 20th of May, 1761. For an ample fund to repay the sum to be borrowed, a tax of five pence on the pound was levied on the list which should be brought in to the assembly in 1759, to be paid into the treasury by the last of December, 1760. It was enacted also, that any of the notes given for the money borrowed, might be received in payment of said tax. But, as considerable sums of money were expected from England, for provisions, furnished for the troops under the command of lord Loudon, in 1756, it was enacted that

* Each colonel was allowed forty pounds for his table, and the decent support of his chaplain. Their wages as colonels, and captains for one company, was fifteen pounds per month. The bounty for each man who would equip himself for the field was four pounds. The wages were the same as in the preceding years.

said money, as fast as it should arrive, should be applied to discharge the notes given for the money borrowed; and that, if a sufficient sum should seasonably arrive to discharge all the notes, that then said tax should not be collected. Book II. 1758.

That nothing might be left undone, which could be attempted for his majesty's service, the commissioners appointed in October, to meet those from the other colonies, were now authorised to meet them at Hartford on the 19th of April, or as near that time as might be, to consult on measures for the general safety, and to excite the several colonies to the most vigorous and united exertions to carry his majesty's designs into execution.* As it appeared by Mr. Pitt's letter, that major general Abercrombie was chief commander of the troops for the northern expedition, the governor was desired to give him the earliest information of the measures adopted by the colonies, and their vigorous preparations for an early and successful campaign.

Armament for the reduction of Louisburg, sails from England, Feb. 19th.

While the colonies were employing the most vigorous exertions for an early campaign, such effectual measures had been pursued in England, that, in February, the armament designed for the reduction of Louisburg, was in readiness, and sailed for America. Admiral Boscawen commanded the naval, and general Amherst the land operations. Under general Amherst, was brigadier general Wolfe. These were men of singular characters. General Amherst had the coolness and abilities of the Roman Fabius, while general Wolfe possessed the magnanimity and fire of the Scipios. From such men, great achievements might reasonably be expected; and their successes equalled the most sanguine expectations.

Departed from Halifax, May 28th.

Admiral Boscawen and general Amherst, with the armament under their command, arrived safely in America; and on the 28th of May, the whole fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, with about fourteen thousand troops on board, took its departure from Halifax, and on the second of June appeared before Louisburg. For six days the landing of the troops was impracticable. The surf was so great, that no boat could live near the shore. On every part of the coast, where a landing was judged possible, the enemy had made entrenchments; and, in places most convenient for the purpose, they had erected batteries and mounted cannon. During the whole time after the discovery of the fleet, until the landing of the troops, the enemy employed themselves in strengthening their lines. These they manned with a numerous infantry.

June 2d, appears before Louisburg.

* Records of the colony for March 8th, 1758.

BOOK II. General Amherst, with a number of his officers, reconnoitered the shore.

1758. The troops land, June 8th.

On the eighth, the weather became more favourable, though there was yet a great swell and surf. The general, determining not to lose a moment, seized the opportunity. Before the break of day, the troops were embarked in three divisions. The admiral and general made their dispositions with consummate judgment. To distract the enemy, and draw their attention to different parts, the dispositions were made in this manner:—The divisions on the right, and in the centre, were designed only for feints, while that on the left, was appointed for the real attack. This was commanded by general Wolfe. Before the landing, five frigates, and some other ships of war, commenced a furious fire, not only on the centre, but on the right and left of the enemy, to rake them in their flanks. When these had fired about fifteen minutes, general Wolfe pressed to the shore. The enemy reserved his fire until the boats were nearly in shore, and then poured upon them the united blaze and thunder of their musketry and cannon. Many of the boats were overset, and others dashed in pieces. Some of the men were thrown, and others leaped into the water; and while some were killed, and others drowned, the main body, supported and animated by the noble example and conduct of their commander, pushed to the land, and with such order and resolution rushed on the enemy, as soon put them into confusion, and drove them from their entrenchments. When general Wolfe had made good his landing, the centre division having moved to the left, and the right following the centre, the landing was completed in excellent order.

For many days, the weather was so bad, and the swell and surf so great, that scarcely any of the artillery or stores could be landed. It was with great difficulty that even the tents, provisions, and implements for the siege, were got on shore. The weather was so bad, at the time of landing, and during the siege, that a hundred boats were lost in the service. The enemy had five ships of the line, and one or more frigates, in the harbour, and could bring their guns to bear upon the troops, in their approaches. The ground was exceedingly bad; in some places rough, in others boggy, wet, and miry. These obstacles, with a brave resistance from the enemy, caused the siege, for some time, to proceed slowly. But no discouragements were judged insurmountable, by such generals as Amherst and Wolfe. By the twelfth of June, general Wolfe had secured the point called the light-house battery, and all

the posts in that quarter. On the twenty-fifth, he had si- BOOK II.
lenced the island battery; but the shipping in the harbour
kept up their fire upon him until the twenty-first of July. 1758.
One of the ships then took fire, and blew up. This set two others on fire, which burnt to the water's edge. This was to the enemy an irreparable loss.

By this time, general Amherst had made his approaches near to the city; so that he was in good forwardness to make lodgments on the covered way. The town, in many places, was consumed to the ground, and in others, was much damaged. The fire of the enemy greatly languished, yet no proposals of capitulation were made. One bold action more was necessary to bring them to terms. That was, to destroy, or bring off, the ships remaining in the harbour. For this purpose, the admiral sent in a detachment of six hundred men, under the command of two enterprising young captains, Laforey and Balfour. Between the 25th and 26th of the month, under the darkness of the night, they made their way through a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, and, sword in hand, took the two ships. One ran aground, and was burnt; the other they rowed out of the harbour, in triumph.

The next morning, the governor proposed terms of ca- Louisburg taken, July 26th.
pitulation. The garrison, consisting of five thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven men, surrendered prisoners of war. One hundred and twenty-one cannon, eighteen mortars, and large quantities of stores and ammunition, were taken. The enemy lost five ships of the line and four frigates, besides other vessels. St. John's, with Louisburg, was given up, and the English became masters of the whole coast from St. Lawrence to Nova-Scotia.* This was the most effectual blow to France, which she had received since the commencement of the war. It was a deep wound to her navy, and especially to her colonies and interests in America. It very much cut off her communication with Canada, and greatly facilitated the reduction of that country.

As the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was a favorite object with the northern colonies, they made early and great exertions for carrying it into effectual execution. Besides the assistance which they gave to the reduction of Louisburg, they furnished about ten thousand troops for the northern expedition. These, in conjunction with between six and seven thousand regular troops, had,

* Rider's Hist. vol. xliii. p. 127, 135. Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 95, 103. General Amherst's journal of the siege of Louisburg, and articles of capitulation. At St. John's, 4100 inhabitants submitted and brought in their arms.

BOOK II. by the beginning of July, got into lake George more than a thousand boats and batteaux, a fine train of artillery, provisions, and every thing necessary for an attack on the fortresses of the enemy.

1758.

The northern army embark for Ticonderoga.

On the fifth of July, the army, consisting of fifteen thousand three hundred and ninety effective men, embarked in nine hundred batteaux, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, for Ticonderoga. Besides, there were a number of rafts, on which cannon were mounted, to cover the landing of the troops. Early the next morning, they landed at the north end of lake George, without opposition. The army formed in four columns, and began their march for Ticonderoga. But as the woods were thick, and the guides unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns falling in one upon another, were entirely broken. In this confusion, lord Howe, advancing at the head of the right centre column, fell in with the advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of a battalion of regulars and a few Indians, who had deserted their advanced camp near the lake, and were precipitately fleeing from our troops; but had lost their way, and were bewildered in the same manner as they were. The enemy discharged, and killed lord Howe the first fire. The suddenness of the attack, the terribleness of the Indian yell, and the fall of lord Howe, threw the regulars, who composed the centre columns, into a general panic and confusion; but the provincials, who flanked them, and were more acquainted with their mode of fighting, stood their ground and soon defeated them. The loss of the enemy, was about three hundred killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken. The loss of the English was inconsiderable as to numbers, but in worth and consequences, it was great. The loss of that gallant officer, lord Howe, was irreparable. From the day of his arrival in America, he had conformed himself, and made his regiment to conform, to that kind of service which the country required. He was the first to endure hunger and fatigue, to encounter danger, and to sacrifice all personal considerations to the public service. While he was rigid in discipline, by his affability, condescending and easy manners, he conciliated affection, and commanded universal esteem. Indeed, he was considered very much as the idol and life of the army. The loss of such a man, at such a time, cannot be estimated. To this, the provincials attributed the defeat and unhappy consequences which followed.

Lord Howe killed, July 6th.

July 7th.

As the troops for two nights had slept little, were greatly fatigued, and needed refreshment, the general ordered them to return to the landing place, where they arrived at

eight in the morning. Colonel Bradstreet was soon after detached with a strong corps, to take possession of the saw mill, about two miles from Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. Towards the close of the day, the whole army marched to the mill. The general having received information, that the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of about six thousand men, and that a reinforcement of three thousand more was daily expected, determined to lose no time in attacking their lines. He ordered his engineer to reconnoitre the ground and intrenchments of the enemy. It seems that he had not so approached and examined them as to obtain any proper idea of them. He made a favorable report of their weakness, and of the facility of forcing them without cannon. On this groundless report, a rash and fatal resolution was taken, to attack the lines without bringing up the artillery. BOOK II.

The army advanced to the charge with the greatest intrepidity, and for more than four hours with incredible obstinacy maintained the attack. But the works where the principal attack was made were eight or nine feet high, and impregnable even by field pieces; and for nearly an hundred yards from the breast work, trees were felled so thick, and so wrought together with their limbs pointing outward, that it rendered the approach of the troops in a great measure impossible. In this dreadful situation, under the fire of about three thousand of the enemy, these gallant troops were kept, without the least prospect of success, until nearly two thousand were killed and wounded.* They were then called off. To this rash and precipitate attack succeeded a retreat equally unadvised and precipitate.† By the evening of the next day the army had retreated to their former encampment at the south end of lake George. Defeat at Ticonderoga, July 8th. July 9th.

Nothing could have been more contrary to the opinions, or more mortifying to the feelings of the provincials, than this whole affair. They viewed the attack upon the lines without the artillery as the height of madness. Besides, it was made under every disadvantage to the assailants. The enemy's lines were of great extent, nearly three quarters of a mile. On the right of the common path towards south bay, and especially on the north, they were weak and of little consideration. In both these quarters they might have been approached under the cover of a thick

* Of the regulars were killed 464; of the provincials 87: in the whole 548. Of the regulars were wounded 1,117; of the provincials 239: in the whole 1,356. There were missing 29 regulars and 8 provincials. The whole loss in killed, wounded and missing, was 1,941. General Abercrombie's return.

† Wright's History, vol. i, p. 109, 113. Rider's, vol. xliii, p. 136, 141.

BOOK II. wood. The army was sufficiently numerous to have attacked the lines in their whole extent once, or at least in
1756. a very great part of them, and to have drawn their attention to various parts of their lines. But, unhappily, the attack was made upon a small part of them where they were far the strongest, and most inaccessible. As no attacks or feints were made in other parts, the enemy were left to pour their whole fire on a small spot, while the whole army could not approach it. Besides, the general never approached the field, where his presence was indispensably necessary; but remained at the mill, where he could see nothing of the action, nor know any thing only by information at a distance of two miles. By reason of this, the troops for hours after they should have been called off, were pushed on to inevitable slaughter.

The general blamed

But especially did the provincials reprobate the retreat. They considered themselves as more than a match for the enemy, should their pretended reinforcements arrive. The army, after this bloody affair, consisted of about fourteen thousand effective men. After all the pompous accounts of the numbers of the enemy, they amounted to little more than three thousand. When the general retreated, he had more than four effective men to one of theirs. He had a fine train of artillery, and there were strong grounds on which he might have encamped with the utmost safety. There were eminences which commanded all the works of the enemy, whence he might have enfiladed their front, and poured destruction on their whole lines and camp.

The provincial officers were therefore clearly of the opinion, that there was the fairest prospect of success, notwithstanding their misfortune, could the expedition only be prosecuted with energy and prudence. But the general took his own way, without advising with them, and appeared to retreat with the utmost perturbation.

Falls into contempt.

The general never had been high in the estimation of the provincials after the loss of Oswego; but now he sunk into contempt. They generally called him Mrs. Nabbycrombie, importing that petticoats would much better become him than breeches. To repair as far as might be, the disaster at Ticonderoga, the general detatched colonel Bradstreet, with three thousand provincials, on an expedition against fort Frontenac. It was planned by the colonel, and undertaken at his desire. Notwithstanding the great distance of this post from Lake George, and the numerous obstacles in his march, he reached lake Ontario, embarked his troops, and landed them in the short term of about a month, within one mile of the enemy's post. Having se-

Fort Frontenac taken, Aug. 27.

cured his landing, he immediately invested the fort. The enemy made no opposition, but, after two days, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This important post was on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, just where it takes its rise from lake Ontario. The fort not only commanded the entrance of the river from the lake, but was the grand magazine for supplying Niagara, du Quesne, and all the enemy's southern and western garrisons. But as no attack had been expected in this quarter, and the enemy had been drawn off, for the defence of Ticonderoga, and their southern posts, the garrison consisted only of one hundred and thirty men. But there were in the fort sixty cannon, sixteen small mortars, and an immense quantity of provisions and goods. They were valued by the French at eight hundred thousand livres. Nine armed vessels, from eight to eighteen guns were taken. This was the whole naval force which the enemy had on the lake. After this enterprising officer had destroyed the fort, stores, provisions and shipping, except two vessels, and what he could carry on board of them, he returned with them, richly laden, to Oswego.

BOOK II. 1758. Fort Frontenac taken, Aug. 27th. Articles taken.

This fortunate event, with the attempt on Ticonderoga, was attended with very important consequences. It frustrated the expedition of Monsieur Levi against the settlements on the Mohawk river, recovered the communication between Albany and Oswego; and once more gave us the command of lake Ontario. It greatly obstructed the communication between Canada, Niagara, and their southern and western settlements.*

General Amherst, having placed a strong garrison at Louisburg, and having made the dispositions necessary for the security of the adjacent country, proceeded to Boston, with six regiments, and thence marched through the country, to reinforce the army at lake George. He designed, if the season should not be too far advanced, to achieve something further for the service of his country.

While these events were taking place in the northern department, general Forbes, who had been appointed to command the expedition to the southward, was advancing, with great activity and labour, to the conquest of fort du Quesne. About eight thousand men had been assigned to this service. In June, the general marched from Philadelphia for the Ohio. His march lay through a vast tract of country but little known, destitute of roads for the marching of armies, and incumbered with wood, morasses and

General Forbes's expedition.

* Bradstreet's letter to general Amherst. Wright's Hist. of the war, vol. i. p. 124, 125.

Book II. mountains almost impassable. It was with incredible difficulty that he procured provisions and carriages for the
1758. expedition; that he formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured his camp, from time to time, and surmounted the numerous obstructions which presented themselves in his tedious march. In addition to his other difficulties, which impeded his march, the hostile Indians kept a constant watch upon all his movements, and, in small detachments, neglected no opportunity to obstruct and harass him as he advanced.

When he had arrived at Ray's town, about ninety miles from du Quesne, he sent forward colonel Bouquet, with a detachment of a thousand men, to Lyal Henning, within about forty miles of the fort. The colonel, from this post, detached major Grant, with eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the situation and works of the enemy; and, if practicable, to reduce the post by a coup de main. The enemy discovered them as they approached, and detached a body of troops sufficient completely to surround them. A severe action ensued, which, for three hours, the English, with great spirit maintained against so great a superiority. But finally, they were overpowered, obliged to give way, and retreated with disorder to Lyal Henning. About three hundred men were killed and taken. Among the latter was major Grant, and nineteen other officers, who were carried prisoners to fort du Quesne. This severe check made no alteration in the resolution of general Forbes. He still advanced, with that persevering firmness and circumspection, which had marked his whole conduct. The enemy, perceiving that it was impossible to surprise and defeat him on his march, and that their numbers were not sufficient to maintain the post against him, on the twenty-fourth of November, destroyed their works and abandoned the post to the general. His light troops took possession the following evening. The next day, the general arrived with his whole army, and the British flag was once more erected at fort du Quesne. The French made their escape down the river, partly in boats and partly by land, to their settlements on the Mississippi.

Fort du Quesne taken, Nov. 24th.

General Forbes repaired the fort and named it FORT PITT, in honor to secretary Pitt. Having concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian nations of that fine and extensive country, and apparently reconciled them to the English government, he committed the care of the fort to a garrison of provincials, and took his departure for Philadelphia. On his return, he erected some

small fortresses at Lyal Henning, for the defence of the western frontiers of Pennsylvania.* BOOK II.

The incredible fatigues of this campaign so broke the constitution of this vigilant and brave commander, that he returned to Philadelphia in a very enfeebled state; where, after languishing a short time, he died, universally lamented. 1758.

When general Amherst arrived with his troops at the lake, the season was so far advanced, and such a body of troops had been drawn off, for the expedition under colonel Bradstreet, that he judged it unadvisable to make any further attempts against the enemy during that campaign.

Notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, the campaign closed with great honour and advantage, not only to the colonies, but to the nation in general. In this fourth year after the commencement of hostilities, the English had not only reduced Louisburg, St. John's, and Frontenac; but had made themselves the undisturbed possessors of that fine tract of country, the contention for which had kindled the flames of war in so general and destructive a manner. Success had attended the British arms, not only in America, but in almost every quarter of the globe. The successes in America, besides many other important advantages, paved the way for that series of successful events, which terminated in the entire reduction of Canada.

Another favourable occurrence of this year, which had its influence in that great event, was a general treaty and pacification with all the Indian nations, inhabiting between the Appalachian mountains and the lakes. This was completed at Easton, on the eighth of October. Treaty with the Indians, Oct. 8th.

In review of the events of the present and past years of the war, the immense importance of having men of capacity, fidelity, and enterprise, at the head of government, appears in a convincing and striking point of light. Under the old ministry and their generals, for three successive years, nothing but loss, disappointment, and shame, attended every enterprise. Not one general officer, of their appointment, in America, ever achieved any thing magnanimous and honourable; but hesitation, delay, and disappointment, attended all their measures. On the contrary, under the new ministry, and the generals and officers originally of their appointment, every enterprise was crowned with success. A series of most important and brilliant successes, from every quarter, like a steady, all cheering stream, flowed in upon the nation.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xliii. p. 143, 145. Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 125, 126.

1759.

CHAPTER XIX.

Plan of the campaign in 1759. *Mr. Secretary Pitt's letter. Transactions of the legislature of Connecticut, relative to the war. Expeditions against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Niagara and Quebec. Ticonderoga and Crown Point abandoned. Niagara taken. Siege of Quebec. Action at the falls of Montmorenci. The camp removed to Point Levi. The troops land above the town. Battle of Quebec. Generals Wolfe and Montcalm killed. Quebec surrenders. Movements of general Amherst on lake Champlain.*

THE successes of the last campaign had released the sea coasts and frontiers of the colonies from all annoyance from the enemy, and opened the way into the heart of Canada. The belligerent powers, in Europe, maintained the same hostile dispositions which operated the last year. The British ministry, therefore, determined to improve the advantages which they had gained in America; and, if possible, the next campaign, to conquer the whole country of Canada. For this purpose, it was determined to attack all the strong holds of the enemy nearly at the same time. As soon as the river St. Lawrence should be cleared of ice, it was designed, that general Wolfe, who had so distinguished himself at the reduction of Louisburg, should, with eight thousand men, and a strong squadron of ships, proceed to the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada. At the same time, it was intended that general Amherst, who had the chief command, with an army of twelve thousand regulars and provincials, should make an attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Having reduced these posts, and having built a sufficient naval force on lake Champlain, he was to advance by the river Sorel into the St. Lawrence, and form a junction with general Wolfe at Quebec. A third expedition was to be directed against Niagara, under the command of brigadier general Prideaux. Sir William Johnson was appointed to command the New-York provincials, and the Indians of the five nations, to be employed in this expedition. By so many different attacks, it was designed, as far as possible, to divide and distract the enemy, and to prevent their making an effectual defence at any place. It was hoped, if general Prideaux should be so fortunate as to make himself master of Niagara, at an early period, that

Plan of operations in 1759.

he would embark on lake Ontario, and, falling down the river St. Lawrence, would reduce the town of Montreal. It was then hoped, that the three armies, forming a junction, would complete the conquest of the whole country. BOOK II. 1759.

To facilitate these grand and extensive operations, colonel Stanwix had the command of a small detachment, for the reduction of small posts, and for securing the banks of lake Ontario.

The designs of the ministry were communicated to the colonies at an early period, that they might have time to prepare themselves for the opening of the campaign, as soon as the season would permit; and that it was his majesty's pleasure that they should furnish the respective quotas required the last year.

General Assembly at Hartford, March 8th.

With a view to answer his majesty's requisitions, governor Fitch convoked the General Assembly of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the 8th of March; and communicated a letter from the right honourable William Pitt, bearing date December 9th, 1758, making a requisition of 20,000 men from the several governments then named, and as many more as the inhabitants would permit.

Secretary Pitt's letter.

The letter imported, that his majesty's designs were the same as the last year;—to remove all enemies and encroachments on the colonies, and to carry the war into the heart of Canada. The same encouragements were given to the colonies, as in his letter of the preceding year. The successes of the last campaign were noticed, and his majesty's determination, by the blessing of God, to repair the disappointment at Ticonderoga, was expressed.

Connecticut does more than its double proportion.

The assembly found themselves embarrassed, and imagined they were unable to raise so great a number of men as was required, after all the exertions they had made, and losses they had sustained, in the preceding years; in which they had done more than double, nearly three times their proportion, when compared with some of the other colonies. In 1755, Connecticut furnished a thousand men at the commencement of the campaign, and after the battle at lake George, they raised and sent into the field, two thousand more, to reinforce the army. In 1756, the colony raised two thousand five hundred men. This was double the number required by his majesty's commander in chief, for the service of that year. The legislature were induced to exert themselves in this duplicate proportion, from an apprehension that the southern colonies would fail of their proportions, and lest the service should suffer. In 1757, the colony not only raised fourteen hundred men, the full number required by the commander in chief, but,

BOOK II. 1759. on the capture of fort William Henry, which put the country into a state of great alarm and consternation, it detached and sent forward, with great dispatch, about five thousand of the militia, for the defence of the frontiers; so that they had, in the whole, more than six thousand men in actual service.* In the preceding year, flattering itself that it would be the finishing year of the war, especially in America, it exerted itself, considering its expense, losses, and diminution of men, even beyond its former example, and had about five thousand troops in actual service, during the campaign. The inhabitants had paid two taxes the preceding year, one of ninepence on the pound. At a special assembly in February, the preceding month, they had found it necessary, in order to discharge the expenses which had been already incurred, and to meet future contingencies, immediately to emit twenty thousand pounds lawful money, in bills at five per cent; and, as a fund to sink them, they had ordered a tax of fivepence on the pound on the grand list, in addition to all the other taxes already laid. The employment of such a number of men in public service, greatly diminished the labour and resources of the colony. Besides, the polls of the soldiers were, for their encouragement, excluded from the grand list, which served further to increase the burthens of the people. The assembly, therefore, could not, at first, conceive that the colony was able, or that it was its duty, to raise so great a number of men, beyond its just proportion.

Resolutions of the assembly, March 8th.

It was therefore resolved, That the number of men raised the last year, was greater than the colony could conveniently furnish: that many had died, and others had been disabled, and rendered unfit for service, in the last campaign: that numbers had enlisted as recruits, into his majesty's regiments: and that others were employed in the batteaux and carrying service:—by all which means, the numbers of the colony were diminished. Yet, that the salutary designs of his majesty might, as far as possible, be answered, it was resolved, firmly relying on his majesty's royal and most gracious encouragement, that three thousand and six hundred men should be raised within this colony, consisting of four regiments, of ten companies in each. Major general Phinehas Lyman was appointed colonel of the first regiment; Nathan Whiting, of the second; David Wooster, of the third; and Eleazer Fitch, of

* Reasons in behalf of Connecticut, why the colonies should not be taxed, p. 30, 31. Records of the colony. The militia, at that time, were much more numerous than at present, as all, from the age of sixteen to sixty, were obliged to bear arms.

the fourth. Israel Putnam, who generally commanded the rangers, was lieutenant-colonel of the fourth regiment.* BOOK II.

1759. To supply the treasury, the assembly resolved, that 40,000 pounds in bills of credit, equal to lawful money, with interest at five per cent, should be impressed, payable on, or before the first day of March, 1764. As a sufficient fund to sink and discharge said bills, a tax was levied on the grand list of the colony, to be brought in, in October, 1762, of ten pence on the pound, to be paid in by the last day of December, 1763.

As the governor and some other leading characters wished for a nearer compliance with his majesty's requisition, and judged it expedient, the assembly, before they rose, consented that four hundred men more might be enlisted for the service, making in the whole a body of four thousand men.

General election at Hartford, May 10th.

When the assembly met in May, it appeared, that general Amherst required the same number of troops to be furnished by Connecticut this year which it sent into the field the last. Governor Fitch also warmly addressed the assembly in favor of raising the whole number required, as they were come to a very important crisis, when they hoped for the complete conquest of the enemy, who for a long period had been the occasion of much distress, and of such an expense of blood and treasure, to this country.† Upon which the assembly came to the following resolutions: That this colony is greatly exhausted, by the expenses incurred in the late campaigns: That the taxes laid on the inhabitants are heavy: That its credit is much endangered by the use of large sums in bills, and that the number of its inhabitants is very much lessened, by their enlisting into his majesty's regular troops the last winter; and as rangers, batteaux men and team drivers; and into the pay of neighboring governments, for the present campaign; to which they had been induced by the payment of large sums, which had been offered and given them, by other governments, to induce them to take the places of persons who ought to have gone into the service themselves: and also by the great loss of men sustained in the several late campaigns. This assembly is of the opinion, that the three thousand and six hundred men voted and ordered, last March, to be levied and raised for said service, and filled up by impress, or detachment, with the encour-

Resolutions of the assembly.

* The chaplains this year were the Rev. Messrs. George Beckwith, Edward Eells, Jonathan Ingersoll and Benjamin Pomeroy.

† The only alteration in the choice of magistrates at this election, was the choice of Roger Griswold, Esq. afterwards governor of the colony, into the council, in the room of general Lyman, employed in the army.

BOOK II. agement then given for four hundred men more to enlist, is as much as the number of the inhabitants will allow; 1759. yet considering the very great importance of exerting ourselves in the present important, critical and decisive moment, for the security of our country, and from a deep sense of our duty to our king, and from the gratitude we owe to the kingdom of Great-Britain, for the great expense and succours supplied for the immediate defence and future safety of our rights and possessions in America; and humbly relying on the gracious assurances which the king was pleased to allow his secretary of state to give, that recommendations should be made to parliament to grant a reasonable compensation, as his colonies should appear to merit: and that the zeal and ardor of the people may be enlivened and quickened to go forth in the defence, and for the future safety of our country; and that all proper encouragements may be given and motives used, to promote the raising of as many more men as can any way be induced to enlist themselves and engage in said service: it is resolved and enacted, that one thousand able bodied men, in addition to the four thousand afore mentioned, be allowed to enlist into the service. It was enacted, that the men now to be raised should be joined to the regiments already formed.

To induce men to enlist, the encouragements were increased. A bounty of seven pounds was given, and those who would enlist from among the men who had been in service the last year, were allowed pay from December, to the end of the campaign, two or three months longer than they were in service; or as though they had been actually in service all the time, from their enlistment the last year.

This assembly granted another emission of ten thousand pounds lawful money, in bills of credit, at five per cent. They were made payable at or before the first day of May, 1763. To support the credit of the bills, a tax of two pence farthing was levied on the grand list of the colony, which should be brought into the assembly in October, 1761, to be paid into the treasury by the last day of December, 1762.*

Expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

The colonies made such exertions, that the provincials were early in the field, and the army under general Amherst was first in motion. In July, he passed lake George without opposition, and marched with his army to Ticon-

* Records of the colony, 1759. Seven chests of money were this spring sent over to the colony, by the agent, to assist in defraying the expenses of the war, in the preceding years.

deroga. The enemy, on his approach, abandoned their lines, which had been so fatal to the English the last year, and the general broke ground just within their formidable breast work. At first, the enemy made the appearance of a bold and determined defence. But, on the 27th of July, they blew up their magazine, and retired with precipitation to Crown Point. There they made but a very short stay. On the first of August, they suddenly evacuated that post, and retired to the isle Aux Noix. The general immediately detached the light rangers to take possession. On the fourth, he arrived with his army.

1759.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point evacuated.

Though the general was now master of these important posts, yet the enemy were formidable on lake Champlain. They had four large vessels mounted with cannon, and manned with the piquets of several regiments. These were commanded by Monsieur le Bras, a captain in the French navy, assisted by a number of officers. The enemy at the isle Aux Noix, consisted of three thousand and five hundred effective men, strongly encamped, with a numerous artillery. Monsieur de Bourlemaque, the commander in chief, flattered himself, that he should be able to command the lake, and prevent the passage of the English army into Canada.

That general Amherst might proceed, it was necessary that he should have a superior force on the lake. Captain Loring, who had superintended the building of the vessels on lake George, was therefore ordered, with all possible despatch, to build a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau, of eighty four feet in length, to carry six twenty-four pounders.

Expedition against Niagara.

While these were constructing, the army were employed in repairing the fortifications at Ticonderoga, and in laying the foundations of a strong and regular fort at Crown Point; for the security of his majesty's dominions in that part of the country. Especially, it was designed to guard against the incursions of the scalping and burning parties, which, in former wars, had been so distressing and destructive to the frontiers of the northern colonies.

While the army under general Amherst was thus employed, general Prideaux, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson, advanced to Niagara without loss or opposition. He arrived before the fort about the middle of July, and immediately invested it on all sides. The trenches were soon opened, and the siege was prosecuted with great vigor. But, on the twentieth, general Prideaux was killed in the trenches, by the unfortunate bursting of a cohorn. This affected the army with univer-

Gen. Prideaux killed, July 20th.

BOOK II. sal sorrow, and threatened to check the vigor of its operations. No sooner was general Amherst acquainted with
1759. this misfortune, than he dispatched brigadier general Gage to assume the command. Mean while, it devolved on Sir William Johnson. He vigorously pursued the measures of the late general, and pushed on the siege with every addition which his own genius could suggest. He was popular both with the provincials and regular troops, and almost adored by the Indians. The siege was therefore pressed on with such united ardor and alacrity, that, in about four days after the fall of general Prideaux, the approaches were made within an hundred yards of the covered way. The French, alarmed at the danger of this important post, determined to hazard a battle for its preservation. Collecting all the regular and provincial troops which they could draw from their several posts in the vicinity of the lakes, in conjunction with a large body of Indians, amounting to about seventeen hundred men, they advanced to attack the English and to raise the siege. General Johnson, apprised of their design, ordered his light infantry, supported by a body of grenadiers and other regulars, to take post on his left, upon the road where the enemy were approaching; his flanks were covered by large bodies of his Indians. At the same time he posted a strong body of troops to secure his trenches, from the attempts of the garrison, during the action. At nine in the morning the action commenced, with great fury, with a wild and horrible scream of the hostile Indians. This yell is truly the most fierce which can be imagined. It threw general Braddock's army, and has thrown other troops into the utmost disorder. But at this time it had no ill effect. The enemy were so well received in front, and so galled by the general's Indians on their flanks, that in less than an hour their whole army was ruined. For five miles the pursuit was hot and bloody. Monsieur Aubry, commander in chief, was taken prisoner, with sixteen other officers.*

Battle at Niagara.

The enemy defeated.

Niagara taken, July 25th.

As the battle was fought within hearing and sight of the fort, the hopes of the garrison were destroyed, and they immediately surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The garrison consisted of between six and seven hundred. The prisoners were conducted to New-York and New-England. The women and children were sent, at their desire, to Montreal.†

The services which general Johnson rendered to his country were singular and important. In the compass of

* Gen. Johnson's letter to general Amherst.
† Rider's Hist. vol. xiv. p. 81, 87.

four years, he had the honour of acting twice as commander in chief. In both instances, he fought a general battle, and obtained a complete victory. Both victories were signalized by the capture of the commander in chief of the enemy. The consequence of the latter was, the reduction of one of the most important posts of the enemy, by which he cut off all communication between Canada and Louisiana. Through his influence, many Indians had been brought into the field, when he first had the command of the army at lake George; and this year, he led out about eleven hundred of the five nations. Through his influence, they were kept in order, and restrained from barbarity. Though he was not bred to arms, yet it was allowed that no general could have made a better disposition for the battle, or conducted the siege with more cool and determined resolution. The force of innate courage and natural sagacity, seem to have contributed to form him an accomplished general. BOOK II. 1759.

Expedition against Quebec.

The reduction of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Niagara, were a defalcation of principal members; but the expediton against Quebec, was a blow at the heart of the enemy. While this stood in its strength and glory, nothing decisive was accomplished. The reduction of this, was considered, not only as the greatest, but by far the most difficult to be achieved. The most active and accomplished officers were, therefore, chosen for this arduous enterprise. Under general Wolfe, that great military genius, served brigadiers Monckton, Townsend, and Murray. They were, all three, the sons of noblemen. The four generals were all in the glory and fire of youth. They were all adepts in the art of war, and, though young in years, were old in experience. The fleet was commanded by admirals Saunders, Holmes, and Durel, officers of worth and probity, who, on several occasions, had distinguished themselves in the service of the nation.

As early as the twenty-seventh of April, admiral Saunders arrived on the coast, within sight of Louisburg; but the harbour was so blocked up with ice, that he was obliged to bear away for Halifax. Thence he detached rear admiral Durel, with a squadron, to the isle de Condes, in the river St. Lawrence, to intercept all supplies from France to Quebec. He took several store ships; but, unhappily, seventeen sail of ships, with stores, provisions, and recruits, from France, under the convoy of three frigates, got into the river before him, and arrived safe at the capital of Canada.

Admiral Saunders, as soon as the season would permit,

BOOK II. sailed, with an army of eight thousand men, up the river, for Quebec. After a safe and easy passage, the troops 1759. were disembarked on the island of Orleans.*

Armament arrives at the isle of Orleans, June 26th.

This island is about twenty miles in length, and seventeen in breadth. It is fertile, and highly cultivated; abounds in people, villages, and plantations, affording every kind of refreshment. It was necessary to take possession of this island, not only for the refreshment of the troops, but to act against Quebec, as the west point of it extends up to its very bason. Opposite to this, is a high point of land, called Point Levi. The possession of both these points, was of essential importance, as they might be advantageously employed against the town; and if in possession of the enemy, they could make it impossible for any ship to lie within the bason of Quebec, or for the army to carry on any effectual operations against the town.

General Wolfe having taken possession of these points, the harbour and town of Quebec, and the situation of the enemy, came into view; and at once presented him with the almost insuperable difficulties which he had to encounter. Nature seems to have consulted the defence of no place more than that of Quebec. Charlevoix, in his description of it, says, No other city besides this, in the known world, can boast of a fresh water harbour, a hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, and that capable of containing a hundred ships of the line. It certainly stands on the most navigable river in the universe. At the distance of a hundred and ten or twelve leagues from the sea, it is never less than four or five leagues in breadth. But, above the island of Orleans, it suddenly narrows, and that at such a rate, as to be no more than a mile broad at Quebec; from which circumstance, the place has been called Quibeo, or Quebec; which, in the Algonquin language, signifies a strait, or narrowing. When Samuel Champlain founded the city, in 1608, the tide usually rose to the foot of the rock. Since that time, it has retired, by little and little, and has, at last, left dry a large piece of ground, on which the lower town has since been built, and which is now sufficiently elevated above the water's edge, to secure the inhabitants against the inundations of the river.† The ascent from the lower, to the upper town, is so steep, that it can be ascended only by steps, which, for that purpose, are cut in the rock on which the town stands. This lofty rock extends itself, and continues, with a bold and steep front, westward along the river St. Lawrence, for a con-

Description of Quebec and the river St. Lawrence.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p. 81, 87.
† Charlevoix's Journal, &c. p. 90, 100, 102.

siderable way, forming above the town the heights of Abraham. From the north-west, comes the river St. Charles, and falls into the St. Lawrence, washing the foot of the rock on which the city is built. By the junction of these rivers, the point on which it stands is a kind of peninsula. There was no way, therefore, to approach the town, but either to cross the river St. Charles, and attempt it on that side, or to go above the town, and overcome the precipice formed by the rock. BOOK II. 1759.

The town was not only thus strongly defended by nature, but it was also fortified with great art. It was defended with ten thousand men, under that able, and as yet fortunate commander, the marquis de Montcalm. He had strongly posted his army on that which was deemed the only accessible side of Quebec, all along the river St. Charles, to Montmorenci. At every spot where an attack could be made, were strong entrenchments. In front was the river, and a sand bank, of great extent; and the rear of the army was covered with a thick, impenetrable wood.

When general Wolfe saw the situation of the town, the nature of the country, the number and strong position of the enemy, though naturally sanguine and adventurous, yet he began, in a measure, to despair of the success of the enterprise. Nevertheless, the keen sense which he had of the expectations of his country, his desire to answer them, and his thirst for glory, bore him above all considerations of difficulty or danger. He determined to leave nothing unattempted, which might be for the public service.

Batteries were immediately erected on the west point of the island of Orleans, and on Point Levi, whence a continual and destructive fire was poured upon the lower town. To co-operate in the best manner with the army, admiral Saunders took his station below the north channel of the island of Orleans, opposite to Montmorenci. To distract the enemy, and to prevent any attempt on the batteries which played on the town, admiral Holmes passed it, and took his station above. When this disposition was made, the general ordered the troops to be transported over the north channel of the St. Lawrence, to the north-east of Montmorenci. His view in this was, to cross the river, and to bring the enemy to a general engagement. To effect this, was his grand object. He foresaw that an assault on the city would prove ineffectual, while the shipping could only batter and destroy the lower town. In this, they must greatly suffer from the batteries and bombs of the upper. When the reduction of the lower town should be effected, the passages to the other were so steep, and

BOOK II. effectually entrenched, that even this advantage would contribute little to the reduction of the place. Several eminences, which commanded the enemy's entrenchments, a ford above, and a ford below the falls, induced him to take this new position. But, upon a nearer view, and a more thorough examination of the ground, the opposite shore was found to be so steep and woody, and so well entrenched, that it baffled all his hopes of carrying what he at first designed into execution. This was to force the enemy from their present position, by an attack on their left, which he apprehended to be less disadvantageous than one directly on their entrenchments. But their advantageous situation caused him to adopt different measures. Troops were detached above the town, and every appearance made of a designed attack on that side. The general passed the town himself, and accurately surveyed the shore and banks of the river above. But, on this side, he found extreme difficulties, from the nature of the ground, and these were increased by the precaution of the French general. He knew them so well, that he trusted in them, for the defence of that side of the town. At the same time, he was too well apprised of the importance of the post he had chosen, to be drawn from it by any arts of the English general. He kept close in his lines. He had a numerous body of savages, and was careful to make such a disposition of them, as to render any attempt upon him by surprise absolutely impossible.

1759.

Meanwhile, the shipping was exposed to great danger from the enemy's ships and rafts of fire, with which they had made repeated attempts for its destruction. By the vigilance of admiral Saunders, and the intrepidity of the seamen, under the smiles of Providence, it had more than once been saved from the most threatening danger. The seamen boarded those floating castles of fire, and towed them ashore, where they spent their fury, without the least injury to the British squadron. Besides the constant danger of the fleet, the time for action was wearing away, and the season, in addition to all other difficulties, would soon fight for the enemy, and necessitate the fleet and army to retire. The general came, therefore, to the resolution of attacking the enemy in their entrenchments.

Attack at Montmorenci, July 31st.

The attack was made at the mouth of the river Montmorenci. To facilitate this hazardous enterprise, great quantities of artillery were placed upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the enemy's entrenchments. The admiral placed the Centurion in the channel, to check the fire of the enemy's battery, which commanded the ford.

Two flat bottomed vessels were armed and run on shore, to batter an advanced redoubt. At a proper time of tide, and when the enemy's left appeared to be thrown into some confusion, by the fire of the batteries and shipping, the signal was made for the troops to move, and begin the attack. The dispositions were excellently made, and the place of attack was chosen with great judgment; as it was the only place in which the artillery could be brought into use, and in which most of the troops could be brought to act at once. But here, little accidents, which often dash human councils, and demonstrate the existence of a Ruler higher than man, totally defeated the design.

Many of the boats from Point Levi, ran aground upon a ledge, which projects a considerable distance from the shore. This was an occasion of some disorder, and of so much loss of time, that the general was obliged to stop the march of brigadier Townsend's corps, after it began. After some delay, the boats were floated, and though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells, ranged in proper order. General Wolfe in person sounded the shore and directed the spot where the troops should land. Thirteen companies of grenadiers landed, with two hundred of the second American battalion. They had orders immediately to form, in four distinct columns, and, supported by brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the other troops had passed the ford for their assistance, instantly to advance to the charge. But the grenadiers, without forming, and before Monckton's corps was landed, in confusion, rushed impetuously on, towards the enemy's entrenchments. But here their courage served only to increase their misfortune. They were met with such a steady and tremendous fire, from the enemy, that they could not stand the shock of their repeated vollies; but were obliged to retreat behind the redoubt which the enemy had abandoned at their approach. The general, perceiving that they could not form under so heavy a fire, ordered them to retreat and form behind general Monckton's corps, which was now drawn up upon the beach, in excellent order. This unhappy circumstance had occasioned a new delay, the day was far spent, the tide was making, and the wind began to blow with uncommon violence.

Defeat at Montmorenci.

In these circumstances, the general foreseeing that, in case of a second repulse, the retreat of the army would become hazardous and uncertain, gave up the attempt, and repassed the river without molestation. But, in this unfortunate attack, more than five hundred men, including many brave officers, were lost.*

* Gen. Wolfe's letter to Mr. Pitt. Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p. 94. 95.

BOOK II. 1759. Immediately after this severe check, brigadier Murray was detached with twelve hundred men, in transports, to co-operate with admiral Holmes, above the town. It was designed to make an attempt to destroy the enemy's shipping. The brigadier was also instructed to sieze every opportunity of fighting the detachments of the enemy, and of provoking them to battle. He made a descent at Chambaud, and burnt a considerable magazine, filled with arms, clothing, provisions and ammunition. But the ships were moored in such a manner, that their destruction was impracticable. As no other service presented itself above the town, general Murray returned to the camp.

The season was now far advanced, and nothing decisive had been accomplished. Though the successes of general Amherst and general Johnson had reached Quebec, yet all hopes of any assistance from them had entirely vanished. General Wolfe, overcome with care, watching and fatigue, which he had for so long a time endured, and chagrined with disappointment, became violently sick. His body was unequal to that vigorous and enterprising soul which it possessed. He well knew that no military conduct could shine unless it was gilded with success. It could by no means satisfy his great mind to return from an expedition so interesting to his country, and with respect to which such expectations had been formed, without censure, and he aspired to the zenith of glory. His high notions of
Sept. 2nd. honor, the national expectation, the success of other generals, all turning in upon his mind, were supposed to oppress his spirits, and to convert disappointment into disease. When he had recovered a little from the shock, he dispatched an express to the ministry with an account of what had passed, and of the difficulties which he had to encounter. He wrote very much in the style of despondency, at the same time promising, that the small part of the campaign which remained, should, to the utmost of his capacity, be employed for the honor of his majesty, and the interest of the nation.

Before this dispatch was sent off, it was determined to move the army above the town, and, if possible, to bring the enemy to a general action. Though the enemy were superior in numbers, this appeared to the general, and the three brigadiers, to be the only probable chance of success, in this difficult enterprise. The camp at Montmorenci
The army is moved above the city. was soon broken up, and the troops and artillery were embarked and landed at Point Levi. The troops soon passed up the river in transports; and while admiral Holmes, for several days successively, made movements up the riv-

er to amuse the enemy, on the north shore, and draw their attention as far as possible from the city, one half of the troops were landed for refreshment on the other side. These movements had no other effect than to produce a detachment of fifteen hundred men, from the main camp, under the command of Monsieur Bourgainville, to proceed along shore, and to watch the motions of the English fleet and army. The general therefore came finally to the resolution of landing the troops at night, within a league of Cape Dimond, and to ascend the heights of Abraham. These rise abruptly, with a steep ascent, from the banks of the river, and, once gained, would give the army possession of the ground on the back side of the city, where it was least defensible, and would enable the fleet and army, in concert, to attack the upper and lower town. BOOK II. 1759.

Such however, were the difficulties and dangers of executing this design, that it could scarcely have been adopted but by a spirit of enterprise bordering on despair. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank of the river lined with centinels, the landing place so narrow as easily to be missed in the dark; and the ground so difficult to be surmounted, as hardly to be effected in open day, should no opposition be made. Should a spy or deserter give the least intimation of the design, or should it be suspected by the enemy; should the embarkation be disordered through the darkness of the night, or difficulty of the shore, the landing place be mistaken, or the centinels alarmed, the heights of Abraham would instantly be lined with such numbers of troops as would render the attempt abortive. Any of these circumstances might have occasioned a defeat. Though these difficulties could not escape the penetration of the gallant general, yet he adopted the plan without hesitation, and executed it in person. A divine superintendency so watched over it, that it succeeded according to his wishes.

When every thing was ripe for execution, admiral Saunders was ordered to make a feint with his ships, as if he designed to attack the enemy in their entrenchments on the Beauport shore, and, by his motions, to give it all possible appearance of a reality. The troops embarked in boats and on board the transports, and, to cover their design, proceeded eight or nine miles up the river, above the place where they designed to land. Under the cover of the night, the boats fell silently down, undiscovered by the centinels. On the thirteenth of September, an hour before day, the troops landed on the north shore, directly against the heights of Abraham. Admiral Holmes, sailing down

Troops land against the heights of Abraham.

BOOK II. the river, arrived just in time to assist and protect the landing of the troops. When they had gained the shore, the
1759. precipice being exceedingly steep and high, they were not able to climb it but by laying hold on stumps and boughs of trees, and pulling themselves up by them. A little path, so narrow that two could not go abreast, wound itself up the ascent; and even this was defended by a captain's guard. With admirable courage and activity did the light troops and Highlanders mount the craggy steep, dislodge the captain's guard, and open the way for the other troops to gain the summit. By about the breaking of the day, the troops were up and formed in good order.*

Battle of Quebec, Sept. 13th, No sooner was marquis de Montcalm informed that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, than he marched, with his whole force, from the Beauport side, to give them battle. He filled the bushes in his front with his Indians and his best marksmen, amounting to not less than fifteen hundred men. His regulars formed his left; his right was composed of the troops of the colony, supported by two regular battalions. The rest of the Canadians and Indians he extended on his right, with a view to out flank the English. General Wolfe, instantly penetrating his design, detached brigadier Townsend, with the regiment of Amherst, which was afterwards reinforced with two battalions of royal Americans. He formed the left in the manner which military men term *en potens*, presenting a double front. The right of the army was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers. Atway's were afterwards brought to their right. On their left were Brag's, Kennedy's, and Astruther's regiments, and Lascelle's Highlanders. Col. Howe's light infantry protected the rear and the left. Webb's was drawn up as a reserve, in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. Such were the dispositions on both sides, as at once evinced the penetration and judgment of the respective generals. The French had two pieces of cannon; the English had time to bring up one only. About nine o'clock, the enemy, in good order, advanced to the charge. Their attack was brisk and animated. Their irregulars kept up a galling though irregular fire upon the whole line of the English, though it was in some measure checked by their advanced posts. This they endured with patience, reserving their fire until the main body of the enemy had advanced within forty yards, when they poured in upon them a terrible discharge, which took effect in its whole extent. The fire was kept up with the same vigor in which it commenced, till the enemy every where gave way.

* Wright's History of the war, vol. i. p. 210.

As general Wolfe stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he was aimed at by the marksmen. He received a shot in his wrist, which he wrapped in his handkerchief, and continued giving his orders with coolness; but just as the fortune of the day began to declare itself, advancing at the head of Brag's and the Louisburg grenadiers, he received a ball in his breast, and fell in the arms of victory.* Immediately fell general Monckton, and both were conveyed out of the line. In this critical state of the action the command devolved on general Townsend. He had the good fortune to preserve the spirit of the troops, and push the advantages gained, to a complete victory. Every corps, in this crisis, seemed to exert itself with a view to the honor of its own particular character. While the grenadiers, on the right, pushed on with their bayonets, general Murray, with his corps, with a heavy and destructive fire, broke the centre of the enemy, and the Highlanders falling impetuously on with their broad swords, hewed them down with terrible slaughter. The troops pursued them to the very walls of the town, killed them upon the glacis and in the ditch: and had not the city been so near, the whole French army must have been destroyed.† Book II. 1759.

No sooner had the English won the field, than a fresh enemy appeared, threatening another engagement, and put all again to hazard. Monsieur Bourgainville, who had been drawn up the river by the movements of the English, with a corps of two thousand men, from Cape Rouge, appeared in their rear. But, as the main French army had been defeated, and as general Townsend was able to establish his rear, and to advance against him with a superior force, he was obliged, after some feeble attempts, to retire.

This memorable battle was fought with great loss on both sides. In a very short time, six generals, and about two thousand men, were killed or wounded. The loss of the English was five, and that of the enemy was fifteen hundred men. General Wolfe, amiable in his person, and one of the greatest military geniuses of his age, was a capital loss to the nation, which damped the joy of this signal victory. When struggling with grievous wounds, he seemed only solicitous for the success of the action, and the good of his country. When unable to stand, he begged his attendants to support him, that he might once more view the field; but his eyes were so dimmed by the approach of death that he could not see; he therefore eagerly

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p. 104.

† Admiral Saunders' letter to the right hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt.

BOOK II. asked an officer what he saw? He answered, the enemy run; they are totally defeated. Then, said the hero, "I 1759. thank God, I am contented;" and almost instantly expired.

The marquis Montcalm was carried from the field mortally wounded, into the city, and lived just long enough to recommend his wounded and captivated countrymen to the mercy of the English general. It must be allowed, that he was an officer of distinguished ability, and that, from the commencement of the war, he had rendered the most essential services to his country. In the last scenes of his life, he well supported his character, having made the best dispositions human skill and prudence could suggest, both before and during the engagement. In every preceding enterprise, he had been successful. It is not certain that he would not have been in the defence of Quebec, had he been left to his own opinion. It is said that he was not for hazarding a general action; but that his opinion was overruled by Monsieur Ramsay, governor of Quebec.

General Monckton, who was shot through his breast, and had the ball extracted from under his shoulder blade, recovered; but the second in command in the French army, was left wounded on the field of battle, and died the next day, on board the fleet. The third and fourth in command were killed.

Immediately after the battle, admiral Saunders sent up all the boats in the fleet, with artillery, ammunition, and whatever should be necessary for general Townsend, in besieging and attacking the city. But, as the enemy were still more numerous than the English, it was judged expedient to fortify the camp, before they attempted completely to invest the town. A considerable time was spent in this manner, and in clearing the road, getting the cannon up the precipice, and in making the dispositions necessary to cut off the communication between the city and the country.

On the seventeenth, the admiral went up with his whole force, disposed in order to attack the lower, as soon as the general should be ready to attack the upper town. As the place was now invested, and every thing put on the appearance of a vigorous siege, or an immediate attack, by land and water, the enemy demanded a capitulation. On the eighteenth, the city of Quebec was surrendered, on terms honorable to the garrison, and advantageous to the inhabitants. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honors of war; and the inhabitants were secured in their persons and effects, in the exercise of their religion,

The city of Quebec surrenders, Sept. 18th.

and the enjoyment of all their civil rights, until a general pacification should determine their future condition. BOOK II.

Various circumstances united their influence in procuring these favorable terms for the enemy. The season was so far advanced as to become cold and stormy, unhealthy for the troops, and dangerous for the fleet. The number of men was so small, that it was hardly sufficient completely to invest the city. The enemy continued to assemble in force in the rear of the British army; and though the lower town was in a manner destroyed, and the upper one much damaged, yet the walls were in a state of defence: and it was judged a considerable advantage to take possession of the city in that condition. Another circumstance, which, at that time, rendered the capitulation more singularly fortunate and providential was, that Monsieur Levi had arrived from Montreal, with two battalions, to reinforce the enemy, who were rallying behind cape Rouge. Monsieur Bourgainville, at the same time, was advancing with a convoy of provisions, at the head of eight hundred men, with a view of throwing himself into the town, the very morning on which it was surrendered. 1759.

A garrison of five thousand regulars, with some light troops, were left in the city, under the command of general Murray. The garrison was plentifully supplied with provisions, ammunition, and warlike stores. The fleet soon sailed for England; and about a thousand French officers, soldiers and seamen, were embarked on board a number of English vessels and sent to France.

Thus, after a severe campaign, of nearly three months, fell the capital of the French settlements in America. Considered in all its circumstances, perhaps there never was an enterprise, attended with so many difficulties, managed with more gallant perseverance, nor accomplished with more ability and vigor. A city strong in its situation, and strong in fortifications, was to be attacked; an army greatly superior in numbers to the besiegers, posted under its walls, in an almost impregnable situation, under a cautious and experienced commander, was to be defeated; a theatre of more than five leagues was to be filled, and operations of this extent to be carried on; and all this was to be accomplished by an army of only about eight thousand men. In overcoming the obstacles of nature, as well as of art, general Wolfe shewed himself to be superior to every difficulty. All the dispositions of that daring, but judicious attempt, which divided the force of the enemy, drew Montcalm from his entrenchments, and finally effected the capture of Quebec, were so many masterly strokes in the art of war,

BOOK II. 1759. The perfect harmony and united zeal and exertions of the whole fleet and army, had a capital influence in this grand event. In it all good men will discern a divine superintendency. How conspicuous was this, in combining so many favorable circumstances as were necessary for gaining the heights of Abraham? And in preventing those numerous incidents, by which it might have been defeated, and against which no human foresight could have made effectual provision?

When the news of the reduction of Quebec arrived in England, it is hardly possible to describe the various and mixed emotions, which instantly pervaded the nation. But two days before, the ministry had received the dispatches of general Wolfe, after the check at Montmorenci. As the general appeared then to doubt of success, the public judged they had reason to despair. But in the midst of this general despondency, a second express arriving, at once announced the victory and capture of Quebec, and the death of general Wolfe. News so joyful, immediately on a state of general dejection, has an unusual effect. That mixture of pity and grief which attended the public joy and congratulations, was singular, and peculiarly affecting.

Major Rogers, who was sent out with a scouting party on the 8th of August, fell in with a large number of French and Indians near Wood Creek. A smart engagement immediately ensued. Major Putnam, afterwards general Putnam, was taken prisoner, with some others, and carried to Canada, where he was kept about three months. In this action, Peter Wooster, of Derby, an ensign in colonel Nathan Whiting's regiment, had six balls shot through him, had his elbow, wrist and hand broken in pieces with the hatchet, and received seven other blows from it; was scalped and stripped, and left as a dead man in the place where he fell; and yet he afterwards revived, and was recovered to a comfortable state. The assembly, upon his application, representing that, by reason of the wounds which he had received, he was in a great measure incapacitated for labor, granted him forty pounds lawful money for his assistance.

General Amherst advances.

While those great events had taken place in Canada, general Amherst was making all possible exertions on the lakes; but it was the 11th of October before he had completed the shipping necessary to command the lake, and could be ready to attack the enemy. On this day, having the whole army embarked in batteaux, in excellent order, covered with his shipping, he advanced down the lake to attack the enemy. But the next day the weather became

so tempestuous that he was obliged to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, and to disembark the troops. While they remained on shore, captain Loring, with the squadron, sailed down the lake, and drove three of the French ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk in deep water, and abandoned by their crews. The third was run aground, and was also deserted. This captain Loring repaired and brought off. The French were now despoiled of all their shipping on the lake, except one schooner. General Amherst, after lying wind bound some days, re-embarked his troops and proceeded down the lake: but the storm, which had for some time abated, beginning again with greater violence, and the wind blowing with such fury that the waves ran mountain high, he was obliged to return again to the same bay, where he had sought safety before, and re-land his army. The general being convinced that the season for action was elapsed, and that it was unsafe to venture the army on the lake in batteaux, returned to Crown Point. The remainder of the season was employed in raising the new fortress at Crown Point, with three small out forts for its defence; in forming roads for communication between Ticonderoga and the governments of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire; and in making such dispositions for quartering the troops, as, during the winter, should secure the country from all damage and insult by the enemy.

BOOK II. 1759. French ships destroyed.

Thus closed the ever memorable campaign of 1759: a campaign, the success of which made ample amends for the inactivity and disappointments of former years; and will always do the highest honor, not only to the generals who commanded in the several enterprises, but to the nation in general.

By the reduction of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Niagara, and especially of Quebec, the remaining part of Canada became invested on every side, and entirely cut off from every communication with France. The troops under monsieur Levi, at Montreal and Trois Rivieres, with those at the isle Aux Noix, could receive no recruits of men, provisions, or military stores. The way was open to advance upon them in the spring from the lakes Ontario and Champlain, and from Quebec, up the river St. Lawrence, and presented the most flattering prospect of the total reduction of all Canada.

The nation was deeply sensible of the divine beneficence in the successes of the campaign, and thanksgivings were offered, both in Great-Britain and in America, unto Him who giveth the victory, and saveth by few as well as by many.

1760.

CHAPTER XX.

State of the garrison at Quebec. Designs of Monsieur Levi. His preparations for the siege of the city. Marches with his army from Montreal. Battle of Sillery. General Murray defeated, and Quebec is besieged. Lord Colville arrives with the British fleet. The French shipping destroyed, and the siege raised. Preparations for the campaign in 1760. Plan of it. Resolutions of the General Assembly of Connecticut, respecting it. Movements of general Amherst. He goes down the river St. Lawrence. Makes a junction with generals Murray and Haviland, at Montreal. The city surrenders, and the whole country of Canada is conquered.

IT had been supposed, the last year, that, by the reduction of Quebec, Canada was, in effect, conquered. But, experience soon taught the English, that more dangers awaited them, and that much more remained to be done, to complete the advantages to which the taking of the capital had given an opening, than, at that time, the most sagacious had been able to foresee. It very soon appeared that there was danger of losing that important acquisition, which had been made by such uncommon exertions of military prowess, and by such consummate generalship, in the face of so many dangers, and at the expense of so many lives.

As soon as possible after the reduction of Quebec, the English fleet retired, that they might not be damaged by the storms usual at that season, nor frozen up in the river. As in the winter the river would be frozen up, it was imagined that no shipping would be necessary for the defence of the city, and, consequently, none were left. Lord Colville, with a strong squadron, remained at Halifax, with orders to visit Quebec in the spring. General Amherst was at New-York, and had so cantoned his troops as, early in the spring, to recommence his operations, for the entire reduction of Canada. With this disposition, it was conceived, the English garrison at Quebec, and the American posts, would be safe and undisturbed.

Designs of the enemy.

But immediately after the departure of the English fleet, Monsieur Levi conceived the idea of recovering Quebec. The army which he commanded was more numerous than the land force which had made the conquest. He had a number of frigates, by which he could entirely command

the river. He established advanced posts at Point au Tremble, St. Augustine and Le Calvaire; while the main body of his army quartered between Trois Rivieres and Jaques Quartier. As he had formed the design of taking Quebec in the winter, and carrying it by a coup de main, he provided snow shoes, scaling ladders, and whatever might be necessary for that purpose. He took possession of Point Levi, and there formed a magazine of provisions. BOOK II. 1760.

General Murray, on his part, omitted no exertions nor precautions in his power, for the defence of the city, and the annoyance of the enemy. During the winter, he repaired more than five hundred houses, which had been damaged by the English shells and cannon. He built eight redoubts, raised foot banks along the ramparts, opened embrasures, and mounted cannon. He blocked up the avenues of the suburbs with a stockade, removed eleven months provisions into the highest parts of the city, and formed a magazine of four thousand fascines. He posted two hundred men at St. Foix and Lorette. A detachment marched to St. Augustine, and brought off the enemy's advanced guard, with great numbers of cattle, and disarmed the inhabitants. By these means, the motions of the enemy were constantly watched, and the avenues to the city secured. As soon as the river froze over, he detached a party to Point Levi, drove off the enemy, and took their magazine. He disarmed the inhabitants on the river, and obliged them to take the oath of allegiance. The English government, by these means, was maintained over nearly a dozen parishes. Precautions of governor Murray.

By these measures, the outposts were so well secured, and the avenues to the city so effectually guarded, that Monsieur Levi judged it most prudent to give up his design of attempting to take the city by surprise, and not to begin his operations till the spring should open, and he could form a regular siege. To be ready for this, no pains were spared. The French ships were rigged, gallies built, bombs and bullets cast, fascines and gabions prepared, and the militia disciplined and called to arms. From the inhabitants of the country, M. Levi raised eight complete battalions. Of the colonists, he formed forty companies into regiments. Preparations of the enemy.

General Murray had certain intelligence, that the French general was determined to undertake the siege of Quebec, as soon as the river should be clear of ice, so that the frigates and other vessels could act. He knew that by these he would be able entirely to command the river.

In the mean time, the garrison had suffered so much by

BOOK II. the extreme coldness of the winter, in that northern climate, and for the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, 1760. that before the end of April, one thousand of them were dead, of the scurvy and other disorders.‡ The general, notwithstanding, detached parties, who surprised the enemy's posts at St. Augustine, Maison, Brubec, and Le Calvaire. Nearly a hundred prisoners were taken. Afterwards, the light infantry were dispatched to take possession of Cape Rouge, and to fortify it, to prevent the enemy from landing at that post, and to be near at hand, to watch their motions. Besides, considering the city as only a strong cantonment, he projected a plan of defence, by extending his lines, and entrenching his troops, on the heights of Abraham, at the distance of about a hundred and sixty rods from the city. These commanded its ramparts, and, by a small force, might have been defended against a formidable enemy. Fascines, and every article necessary for the purpose, had been prepared. In April, the men began to work on the projected lines; but the ground was so frozen, that it was found impracticable to carry the design into execution.

State of the garrison.

The enemy advance.

No sooner was the frost abated, so as to favour the designs of the enemy, than his provisions, ammunition, and heavy baggage, fell down the river St. Lawrence, under the convoy of six frigates, of from forty-four to twenty-six guns. The river was now wholly under his command. This was a circumstance of great importance, as to the success of his enterprise. The enemy landed at such places as suited his convenience. The British, abandoning their posts, one after another, retired into the city.

On the night of the twenty-sixth of April, the main army of the enemy landed at Point au Tremble. It consisted of five thousand regular troops, six thousand Canadians, and four or five hundred Indians.* The numbers were, afterwards, considerably increased.† On the intelligence of the enemy's approach, general Murray ordered all the bridges over the river Caprouge to be broken down, and secured the landing places at Sillery and Toulon. The next day, perceiving it was the design of the French general to cut off his outposts, which had not yet been called in, he marched out in person, with two field-pieces; and, taking possession of an advantageous situation, defeated the design. Having withdrawn his detachments, he retired, with little loss, into the city.

‡ Rider's Hist. vol. xlvi. p. 168, 169, and governor Murray's letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt.

* Wright's Hist. vol. ii. p. 256, and Rider's, vol. xlvi. p. 169, 170.

† General Murray, in his letter to the ministry, says he was besieged by 15,000 men.

As the British troops had been in the habit of victory, and they had a fine train of artillery, general Murray determined rather to risk a general battle, than tamely to submit to the damages and hardships of a siege. Accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, he marched out, with a train of twenty field-pieces, and the whole number of his effective men, amounting to three thousand only. These formed on the heights in the best order. On reconnoitering the enemy, he perceived that their van was taking possession of a rising ground in his front, and that the main army was marching in a single column, unformed. Judging this to be the lucky moment, he advanced immediately to the attack, before they had formed their line. The English charged the van of the enemy so furiously, both on their right and left, as soon drove them from the eminences, though they were well maintained. The van of the French gave way, and fell back on the main body, which was forming to support them. This checked the pursuit of the English. The light infantry were now ordered to regain the flanks of the enemy; but they were so furiously charged in the attempt, that they were obliged to retire into the rear, in such a shattered condition, that they could not be brought up again during the action. Otway's regiment, from the body of reserve, was instantly ordered to advance and sustain the right wing. This was so well supported, that the repeated attempts of the enemy to penetrate it, were in vain. Meanwhile, the left brigade of the English dispossessed the enemy of two redoubts, and, for a long time, with prodigious resolution, sustained the whole efforts of his right. This was reinforced by the third battalion of the royal Americans, who were of the corps de reserve, and also by Kennedy's, from the centre. The enemy, however, were able, by a steady and furious fire, not only to support their centre, but to wheel round, and pour in such fresh and repeated force upon the flanks of the English, that, notwithstanding every exertion of military art and prowess, the enemy began to encompass them in a semicircle; and, pouring in upon the left a fresh regiment, (that of de Rousillon,) after they were fought down, and reduced to a handful in that quarter, they penetrated that wing of the English army, and threw it into confusion. The disorder was soon communicated to the right; and it appeared that there was the utmost danger that the army would be surrounded, and taken. As speedy a retreat as possible became necessary. In this there were such difficulties, as nothing but the magnanimity of the troops, and the spirit and skill of their general and his officers, could

Battle of Sillery, April 28th.

The English are defeated.

BOOK II. overcome. They finally gained Quebec. As the action continued an hour and three quarters, with great exertion and spirit on both sides, the loss was very considerable. The English lost most of their artillery, and had not less than a thousand men killed and wounded, about one third of their whole number. The loss of the enemy was supposed to be more than double that number.*

1760.

General Murray's engaging with such superior numbers, in the open field, when he might have acted with greater security in a fortified city, has been censured, as savouring more of youthful impatience, and over abounding courage, than of that military discretion which ought to have distinguished a commander in his critical situation. The reasons given by Mr. Murray for his conduct, are said, by the British historian, to be incomprehensible. It is not improbable that, as he was a man of the most ardent and intrepid courage, passionately desirous of glory, and emulous of the character of the incomparable Wolfe, that he designed, by one bold stroke, so to disable the enemy, as to pave the way to the conquest of Canada, by his own force; and, by this means, to raise himself to the height of military glory. Be this as it may, it was indeed an unhappy affair. For a short time, it exceedingly elated the French, both in Europe and America. The blow was, indeed, sensibly felt by the English in both countries. It was not expected that the garrison, after such a defeat, would hold out any considerable time. The English fleet was at a great distance, and general Amherst could afford no immediate assistance. The acquisition and defence of Quebec, in less than a year, had cost the nation more than three thousand lives, besides a vast expense of money. Were this now to be retaken, it would all have been loss. The sanguine hopes that Canada would be conquered the next campaign, must all be broken and vanish.

Quebec besieged by the French.

The French, whose only hope of success depended on the accomplishment of their work before the arrival of a British squadron, lost not a moment in improving their victory. The very night succeeding the victory, trenches were opened against the town. Three ships anchored at a small distance below their camp, and for several days were employed in landing their cannon, mortars and ammunition. At the same time, the enemy worked incessantly in their trenches before the town. On the 11th of May, they opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of cannon. The first day, they cannonaded the town with great vivacity.

* General Murray, in his letter to Mr. Pitt, estimates it at 2500.

General Murray was not less active in his defence of the town, than the enemy were in the siege. The defeat which he had suffered, served only to rouse him to more strenuous exertions. He was deeply sensible, that if Quebec should be retaken, it would be imputed to the rashness of his counsels. He knew that in proportion to the liberality with which the public had heaped honors upon the men who had conquered it, they would not fail to pour resentment and reproach on the man by whom it should be lost. It did not escape his reflection, that nothing makes a worse figure than unfortunate rashness. These ideas pressed him on to vigilance and activity in the defence of the city. He prosecuted with the utmost vigor, the fortifications which had been suspended by the severity of the winter. The soldiers, by his example and influence, exerted themselves with incredible firmness and activity. Out works were contrived, and on the ramparts were mounted an hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery. By the time that the enemy's batteries opened, the English were able to maintain such a superior fire, as greatly to check, and almost to silence them. The French were very deficient as to the number of their cannon and weight of their metal. Their heaviest cannon, it seems, were but twelve pounders. BOOK II. 1760.

But, notwithstanding these circumstances, the relief of the city depended on the early arrival of the English fleet. This was looked for, with anxious expectation, every hour. It was the general expectation, that should a French fleet arrive before the English, this important acquisition must be lost.

In the mean time, the English admirals, as soon as the season would admit, got into the river. Lord Colville, with the fleet under his command, sailed from Halifax, on the 22d of April; but he was retarded by thick fogs, contrary winds, and shoals of ice which floated down the river. Commodore Swanton, however, who had sailed from England, with a small reinforcement for Quebec, with two ships, got into the river and landed at the isle of Beck the beginning of May. Here he designed to wait for the rest of his squadron, which had parted from him on his passage. But the Lowestoffe, one of his frigates, got into the river before him, and on the ninth of May, to the great joy of the garrison, anchored in the bason. This gave them the intelligence of a British squadron at hand. Admiral Swanton, soon receiving the news that Quebec was besieged, sailed up the river with all possible expedition, and, on the evening of the fifteenth, cast anchor above Point Levi. General Murray wishing for relief, express- The English arrive.

BOOK II. ed his earnest desire, that the French squadron, above the town, might be removed. The commodore, therefore, ordered two frigates, early the next morning, to slip their cables, and attack the enemy's fleet.

1760.

French ships destroyed.

No sooner were they in motion, than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; another ran on shore at Point au Tremble, and was burned. The whole fleet was soon destroyed or taken. So thunder struck were the enemy, at this disaster, and the intelligence of an English fleet in the river, that, as soon as the darkness of the night favored them, they raised the siege, and retreated with the greatest precipitation; leaving their artillery, implements, provisions and whole camp standing. Thirty pieces of battering cannon, ten field pieces, six mortars, their tents, baggage, stores, and the whole camp equipage, fell into the hands of the English. On the 19th, lord Colville arrived. The English now became formidable in that quarter, and capable of offensive operations. The clouds were now dissipated, and the prospect of an entire reduction of Canada, once more brightened.

Siege raised, May 16th.

General Assembly at New-Haven, March 13.

While these things were transacted in Canada, the colonies were, with great zeal and union, preparing for an early campaign. The general assembly of Connecticut, convened on the thirteenth of March. Mr. Pitt's letter was communicated, in which he laid open his majesty's design, to complete the conquest of Canada, and that he required the spirited exertions of the colonies. He stated the great encouragement they had still to exert themselves, from the success of former years. General Amherst made the same requisition this year, which he had made in the preceding years. The assembly therefore voted, to raise four regiments, consisting of twelve companies each, comprising a body of five thousand effective men, officers included. It resolved, that all necessary provision should be made for levying, clothing and paying them: and that they should be raised with all possible dispatch. Major general Lyman, was colonel of the first regiment, and commander of the whole. The other officers were generally the same as the last year.*

Gen. Amherst takes the field.

Plan of the campaign.

General Amherst took the field at an early period; and found himself at the head of a very respectable body of men. They were sufficient for three formidable armies. His plan was, by three different routes, to concentre his whole force at Montreal, for the reduction of that important

* The chaplains were, Beckwith of Lyme, Leavenworth of Waterbury, Pomeroy of Hebron, and Beebe of Stratford.

city, where almost the whole force of Canada was collected; and whence all the out posts received their supplies and support. The capture of this, would be the fall of them, and the reduction of the whole country. BOOK II. 1760.

To effect this, he detached general Haviland, to proceed with an army, by the way of lake George, Crown Point and lake Champlain, to the place of general rendezvous. At the same time, general Murray was ordered, with all the troops which could be spared from the garrison of Quebec, to advance towards Montreal, by the river St. Lawrence; while the general himself, penetrated into Canada, by lake Ontario, and down the river St. Lawrence. To second these measures, captain Loring was detached to cruise on the lake. Two armed sloops were prepared for the same purpose. A great number of batteaux and small vessels were built, for the transportation of the troops, artillery, provisions, ammunition, implements and baggage of the army. At an early period, several regiments were sent forward from Albany to Oswego, for these purposes, and to make all necessary preparations for crossing the lake.

In June, the general commenced his march from Schenectady, with the main army, and proceeded by the Mohawk and Oneida rivers, to Oswego. In less than three weeks the general reached this post with his whole army. This consisted of ten thousand regular and provincial troops, and one thousand Indians, under general Johnson.

Very great had been the difficulties already surmounted, in conducting such an army, with its artillery, provisions and military stores, through that vast tract of country between Albany and lake Ontario. Other generals had spent whole campaigns in accomplishing less than general Amherst had done already: but, greater difficulties still remained, in transporting this numerous army, with its necessary supplies, in open boats and gallies, across that vast lake, and down the numerous rapids of a mad river. It required the utmost caution, and the strictest order, lest they should fall foul of each other; lest they should approach too near the shore, or be driven too far out, on a sudden squall or storm, seasonably to reach the land: lor lest they should not be steered and pushed forward with such exactness as to shoot the falls without turning sideways, and overseting and dashing to pieces among the rocks. But the general, whose calm and steady resolution was not unequal to the difficulties before him, made all his dispositions with that admirable method and regularity of military arrangement, which so strongly marked the cha-

BOOK II. racter of that great commander. After a detachment from the army had been sent forward to remove obstructions in
1760. the river St. Lawrence, and to find the best place for the passage of the boats and vessels, the army embarked and passed the lake without any misfortune. The general receiving intelligence that one of the enemy's vessels was aground, and disabled, and that another lay off Lagalett, determined, with the utmost dispatch, to go down the river and attack Oswegatchie and isle Royal.

On the 17th of August, the row gallies fell in with the French sloop commanded by M. de la Broquerie, who, after a smart engagement, surrendered to the English gallies. The enemy retired with great precipitation before the army, until it arrived in the neighbourhood of isle Royal. This was immediately so completely invested, that the garrison had no means of escaping. By the 23d, two batteries were opened against the fort, and it was cannonaded by these, in concert with the row gallies in the river. Dispositions having been made for a general attack, M. Ponchant, the commander, beat a parley and surrendered the fort on terms of capitulation.

Isle Royal surrenders, Aug. 25.

As this was a post of singular importance, both to command the lake Ontario, and to protect the frontiers of the colonies, the general spent some time in repairing the fort, in making every preparation, and taking every precaution in his power for passing his troops down the river to Montreal. As all the falls lie between this post and the city, this was by far the most dangerous part of the enterprise.

About the same time general Haviland took possession of the isle Aux Noix and by the most direct route was crossing the country to the St. Lawrence. General Murray, with the British fleet, was advancing up the river, and subduing the adjacent country. The respective armies bore down all before them, and the operations of the campaign were approaching to an important crisis.

When the necessary preparations had been made, general Amherst proceeded down the river; but notwithstanding all his precaution in passing the rapids, the stream was so violent, that numbers of the batteaux and whale-boats turned over and went down sideways, and were dashed in pieces on the rocks. About ninety men, nearly fifty batteaux, seventeen whale-boats and one galley, some artillery, provisions and ammunition were lost. This was indeed to be lamented, but considering the greatness of the embarkation, and the extreme difficulties to be encountered, the loss was not very considerable. Without any further misfortune, after a tedious, fatiguing and dangerous march and

Loss at the Falls in the St. Lawrence.

voyage of two months and seventeen days, after its departure from Schenectady, the army, with great joy, saw the city of Montreal, the object of their ardent wishes, and the happy period of their labours and dangers. The troops were immediately landed in the best order. No opposition was made, excepting from some flying parties, who, after exchanging a few shot, fled with precipitation. The general marched about six miles from the landing place, and drew up his army on a plain before the city. There it lay upon its arms during the night.

Army arrives at Montreal, Sept. 6th.

So remarkably had providence guided the motions of the several armies, that though they pursued long and different routes, through the enemy's country, in which they had numerous difficulties to encounter, and in which they could have no intelligence of each others' operations, they all met at the same time, at the place of general rendezvous. General Murray landed on the island, the same day that general Amherst took possession of it: and general Haviland, with the army under his command, appeared on the other side of the river, opposite to the city.

Armies form a junction.

General Amherst had given orders, that the cannon should be immediately brought on from the landing place, at La Chine; and in the morning determined to invest the town. But, as soon as the morning appeared, the Marquis Vaudreuille, governor of Canada, finding himself compassed with armies, addressed a letter to general Amherst, demanding a capitulation. After several letters had passed between the general and governor, the demand was granted. The terms were such as, while they were humane and favorable to the French, did honor to the British arms and nation.

The Marquis Vaudreuille had done every thing for the defence of Canada, which became a vigilant and magnanimous officer. When all hope of the recovery of Quebec failed him, he fixed his head quarters at Montreal, and used every art and exertion for its preservation. He not only levied forces, collected magazines, and erected new fortifications on the Island, but he had recourse to feigned intelligence, and other arts of delusion, to support the depressed spirits of the Canadians.* His chief hopes were not, however, placed in the greatness of his strength, nor in his various arts, but in the difficulties, which, on all sides, attended the entrance of Canada. He flattered himself that, after the general sickness and defeat of the garrison at Quebec, there would be little danger from that quar-

* See his circular letter to the militia of Canada, preserved in Rider's History of England. Vol. xlvi.

BOOK II. 1760.

ter. He knew the great distance between Albany and Montreal, by the way of Oswego and the St. Lawrence, and the almost insuperable difficulties of conducting an army down so many rifts and rapids, as there were in that river, between lake Ontario and Montreal. These, in conjunction with the impenetrable woods, morasses and mountains, which covered the country through which the armies from New-York and New-England must pass, he hoped would so retard their operations, and protract the war, that a general pacification would finally save the country. But when he saw the three armies, notwithstanding all these difficulties, forming a junction before the town, consisting of more than twenty thousand men, all his hopes were dashed, and he perceived that his only safety was in capitulation. The extent of the country was so great, the interests of the people, and the objects of the treaty were so many, that it made the capitulation a work of considerable time. It consisted of nearly sixty articles; but on the eighth of September it was completed.

Montreal, with all Canada given up, Sept. 8th.

By this, not only Montreal, but all the other French posts in Canada, with the whole country, were surrendered to the crown of Great Britain. All the troops in Montreal, and in the other posts, were allowed the honors of war, and were to be treated strictly as prisoners; but to be sent directly to France, on condition of their not serving during the war. The capitulation secured to the inhabitants, of every character, the full enjoyment of the Roman Catholic religion, personal safety, and property of every kind.

Description of Montreal.

Montreal is the second place in Canada, for extent, numbers, buildings, commerce, strength, and opulence. It stands on an excellent and well cultivated island, about ten leagues in length, and nearly four in its greatest breadth. The city is built in a quadrangular form, on the bank of the river St. Lawrence. The bank gently rising, divides the city into the lower and upper towns. Though the ascent from the lower to the upper town is so gradual as to be scarcely perceivable, yet when you have reached the citadel in the upper, it appears entirely to overlook them both, and to command the river and the adjacent country. The city, by reason of its central situation, between Quebec and lake Ontario, became the grand resort of the Indian traders, and depot of their commerce. As it is more than three degrees south of Quebec, and as the river, in its whole extent, from that city to this, inclines considerably to the south, the country is far more pleasant, and the seasons more clement, than at the capital. Father Char-

levoix says, "After passing Richlieu islands, one would think he were transported into another climate. The air becomes softer and more temperate, the country more level, the river more pleasant, and the banks infinitely more pleasant and delightful." BOOK II. 1760.

Before the war, the fortifications of this city were mean and inconsiderable: and though additions had been made since, yet there was nothing to render the capture of it an enterprise of any great difficulty, except that of leading an army through such a prodigious and difficult tract of country, as the English were obliged to pass, that they might appear before it; and that here was collected all the regular, and most of the provincial force of Canada.

Observations on the conquest.

General Amherst had the honor and good fortune of surmounting all difficulties, and of making such dispositions, as that, almost without the shedding of blood, to complete the conquest of Canada. Thus, in a little more than a century and an half from its first settlement, in the sixth year of the war, after six general battles, this vast country was completely conquered, by the conjoined arms of Great-Britain and her colonies. This conquest, if we consider the extent and difficulty of the operations by which it was effected, the number of inhabitants,* the greatness and fertility of the country subdued, the safety it gave to the English colonies in America, and the transfer of the whole Indian trade to the merchants of Great-Britain, appears to have been one of the most important, ever achieved by the English arms.

On the general.

The accomplishment of so great a work, with so little bloodshed, without a single instance of rashness or inhumanity, without any considerable accident or misfortune, while it reflected the highest military honor on the commander in chief, did equal honor to the humanity and goodness of his heart. It must be allowed, that he was peculiarly happy, in having subordinate commanders, who, with such ability and vigor, seconded him in all his operations; and in commanding a body of regular and provincial troops, whom no labors could discourage, and whom no dangers could dismay.

On Providence.

After all, the principal honor is to be ascribed to the Supreme Ruler, whose all-governing agency directed the whole series of these successful events. He only could harmonize and direct so many hearts and circumstances, in Europe and America, by land and sea, as combined their influence in this happy event. He never wants

* These, at the time of the conquest, were estimated at more than 100,000.

BOOK II. means to accomplish his own purposes. When, in his moral government, great events are to be effected, he will
1760. qualify and call forth instruments, and guide their counsels and operations, to the accomplishment of his designs. A Moses, Joshua, David and Cyrus, will never be wanting, when the emergencies of his people call for such aids.

The repairing and garrisoning of the several forts, the removing the French troops from Detroit and Michilimakinack; and the replacing them with English garrisons; the preserving of a communication between the various distant parts; and the securing of the obedience of the country; made it necessary that general Amherst, and the other generals of the army, should return by the same routes which they had taken to form a junction at Montreal. This, for the commander in chief, was, in some respects, more laborious and difficult, than it had been to conduct the army to the place of conquest. His shipping, boats, artillery and baggage, were to be carried back against the stream, into lake Ontario. This laborious and difficult service kept the army in constant fatigue, during the remainder of the campaign, and protracted it nearly to the beginning of winter.

While general Amherst was performing these important services in Canada, the enemy sustained a considerable loss in the bay of Chaleurs. The French court, not insensible of the importance of their settlements in Canada, nor of the danger in which they were, at that time, had fitted out an armament of three frigates and twenty transports, with troops and military stores, as a reinforcement for Montreal. They hoped to get into the river St. Lawrence, before any of the English shipping, and by this means to effect their design. But on their arrival in the bay, they received the intelligence, that lord Colville's fleet had got into the river before them, and that it was entirely under his command. They therefore disembarked and formed a little settlement on the bay, determining, if possible, to make their way to the main army by land. But, in the course of the summer, they were discovered by lord Byron, who was in the bay with three ships of the line. He took the whole armament, and broke up the settlement. Thus, whatever the enemy attempted, in America, was attended with loss and disappointment.

Great and universal was the joy, which spread through the English colonies, especially through New-England, on the conquest of Canada, which, for more than a century, had occasioned so much alarm, such an expense of blood and treasure to them, as well as to the sister colonies. Ma-

ny had been their own and their forefathers fastings and prayers for this great event. Now they conceived that they were fully answered. Days of public thanksgiving were generally appointed in New-England, to recognize the divine goodness, and ascribe due honors to HIM, whose is the greatness and the victory, and whose kingdom ruleth over all.* The General Assembly of Connecticut, at their usual session in October, resolved that a letter of congratulation, and of thanks, be presented to his majesty, congratulating him, on the success of his arms in the various quarters of the world, and especially in North-America; in the entire conquest of Canada, and the submission of that extensive country to his majesty's government. They rendered their thanks for his paternal care of the colonies; and especially for his royal care and beneficence towards his colony of Connecticut. They also ordered that a letter of congratulation and thanks should be addressed to general Amherst, congratulating him on the success of his majesty's arms, under his immediate care and command, and returning him the thanks of the colony for his wise conduct and care over, and protection of the provincial troops, and especially of those of the colony of Connecticut.

BOOK II. 1760. General Assembly at New-Haven. Oct. 1760.

CHAPTER XXI.

War with the Cherokees. Reasons of the war. The chieftains of the nation go to Charleston to treat of peace. The haughty, insidious conduct of governor Littleton. Peace made by constraint. The whole nation burn with resentment; rush to war as one man. Make terrible slaughter and devastation on the frontiers of Carolina and Virginia. Their lower towns destroyed. They take fort Loudon. Colonel Grant desolates their country with fire and sword. They make peace, and the whole country is quieted.

WHILE the northern colonies, and the nation in general, were rejoicing in the success of his majesty's arms, and especially in the conquest of Canada, some of the southern colonies were exceedingly distressed by the

* A special thanksgiving was appointed on that account, by the governor and council, and religiously observed through the colony, on the 23d of October, 1760.

BOOK II. sudden breaking out of a war with the Cherokees. During several of the first years of the war, this numerous and pow-
1760. erful nation had appeared cordially to espouse the inter-
Reasons of the war. ests of the English. At their desire, a fortress had been built in their country, called fort Loudon, in honour to the earl of Loudon, at that time commander in chief in America. Parties of them had assisted in the expedition against fort du Quesne. But it seems that while they were engaged in that enterprise, they were treated with such coolness and neglect, and received such insults, as made deep impressions on the minds of that vindictive people.* These were kindled into resentment by the treatment which they received from a number of Virginians on their return from that expedition. Many of the warriors had lost their horses in the service; and as they were returning home through the back parts of Virginia, they caught such as they found running loose in the woods, not knowing that they belonged to any individuals in the province. The Virginians, without seeking redress, fell on the unsuspicious warriors, and murdered twelve or fourteen of them, and took some prisoners. The Cherokees were highly exasperated at such an outrage, from allies whose frontiers, by their assistance, had so lately been turned from a field of blood into peaceful habitations. No sooner had they returned than they reported to their nation the bloody treatment which they had received. The flame of resentment and revenge flew instantly through their towns. The relatives of the slain were implacable, and breathed nothing but vengeance against such ungrateful and perfidious allies. In vain did their chieftains interpose their authority. Nothing could restrain the fury of the young warriors. They rushed down on the frontier settlements, and perpetrated many cruel ravages and murders on the defenceless inhabitants.†

About two hundred soldiers were stationed at fort Loudon, under the command of captains Demere and Stewart. These, on every excursion from the fort, were attacked by them. Some were killed, and the rest were soon closely confined within the fort. All communication between them and the distant settlements was cut off; and as their supplies were scanty, the only prospect before them was famine and death. It was feared, at the same time, that the arts of the enemy would influence the powerful neighboring nation of the Creeks to the same hostile measures.

In this alarming situation, governor Littleton gave orders to the commanders of the militia immediately to as-

* Wright's History of the war, vol. ii. p. 241, 242.
† History of S. Carolina, vol. ii. p. 214, 215.

semble their men and act on the defensive. The governor determined, with such independent companies and militia as could be raised, to march without delay into the enemy's country, and to prosecute such measures as should bring them to reasonable terms of accommodation. BOOK II. 1760.

The Cherokees, notwithstanding what had happened, were averse to war. Therefore, hearing of the preparations making against them, they sent thirty of their chief men to Charleston, if possible to settle all difficulties, and prevent a war with the Carolinians. They arrived before the governor had marched on his designed expedition against them. A council was called, and the governor addressed them in a very haughty, imprudent manner, importing that he knew all their hostilities against the English, and what they still designed;—that he would soon be in their country;—that they should know his demands; and that, unless they should be granted, he would take satisfaction by force of arms. He, nevertheless, gave them full assurance, that, as they were come to Charleston as friends, to treat of peace, they should go home in safety, and that a hair of their heads should not be touched. At the same time, he gave intimations, that he had so many men in arms, in various parts of the province, and it would be unsafe for them to return, unless they marched with the army, which was going into the country: thus treacherously putting them under duress. Chieftains come to Charleston, to treat of peace.

Ouconnostota, the great Indian warrior of the Cherokee nation, began an immediate reply; but as the governor was determined that nothing should prevent his expedition, he would neither hear him speak in the defence of his nation, nor with respect to any overtures of peace. Lieutenant governor Bull, who had a much better acquaintance with the manners of the Indians, and the dangerous consequences of an Indian war, urged the necessity of hearing the great warrior, and the happy consequences of an accommodation, before more blood should be shed. But governor Littleton was inflexible, and put an end to the conference, without hearing the warriors. This treatment fired them with the highest resentment. After such a number of them had travelled more than three hundred miles, to represent their grievances, and to make peace, not only to be disappointed with respect to the great object of their journey, but not to be allowed even to speak on the subject, nor even to return at liberty, but under the guard of the army, was matter of prodigious chagrin, a source of jealousy and fear. Perfidious conduct of governor Littleton.

Soon after the conference, the governor marched for the

BOOK II. Congaree. This was about a hundred and forty miles from Charleston, and the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the militia. Hither the sachems were obliged to march with the army, putting on the appearance of content, while inwardly they burned with the most furious resentment. The governor, having mustered about fourteen hundred men, of whom about three hundred were regulars, marched for fort Prince George. When the army marched, the chieftains were all made prisoners, and, to prevent their escape, a captain's guard was mounted over them. To complete the indignity and ill treatment, when they arrived at fort Prince George, the thirty-two chieftains were shut up in a hut, scarcely fit for the accommodation of half a dozen soldiers. They were not allowed to speak with their friends, nor to see the light of day.*

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By the time that the governor arrived at this post, he found his army to be so illy armed, and so undisciplined and mutinous, that he judged it unsafe to proceed against the enemy. Here, therefore, he opened a conference with the Indians. For this purpose, he had previously sent for Attakullakulla, otherwise Little Carpenter, who was not only esteemed the wisest man in the nation, but the most firmly attached to the English. This old warrior, though just returned from an excursion against the French, in which he had taken some captives, hastened to the governor's camp, and presented him with one of them.

The governor opened the conference with a long and pompous speech, representing the great power of the English nation; their victories over the French; the treaties between them and the English, and their violation of those treaties; and the power of the colonies to destroy them. In a menacing and high tone, he demanded satisfaction.

Attakullakulla, in his reply, insisted, that the ill treatment his countrymen had received in Virginia, was the immediate cause of the present misunderstanding. He insisted on his friendship to the English, and alledged, in proof of it, his fatiguing march against their enemies, the French. He said he would ever continue his friendship, and use all his influence that the governor should have satisfaction; but gave intimations that the nation would not comply with his demands. He said that the governor had treated the Cherokees with more severity than the English had shewn to other Indians. He requested that some of the head men, whom the governor had confined, might be released, to assist him in the work of peace.

In compliance with his request, the governor released

* History of Carolina, vol. ii. p. 216, 217, 218, 225.

the great warrior Ouconnostota, and two more of the head men. The next day they delivered up two Indians. The governor put them immediately in irons, which so alarmed the Cherokees, that they fled out of his way, and could no more be obtained. Attakullakulla, convinced that peace could not be made on the governor's terms, determined to return home, and patiently wait the event. But no sooner was the governor apprised of his departure, than he sent for him back to his camp. The governor, wishing to finish the campaign with as much credit as possible, immediately, on his return, talked of nothing but peace. Articles were drawn and signed by the governor, and six of the head men of the Cherokees. All former treaties were confirmed. Twenty-two of the chieftains, whom the governor had detained, were to be kept as hostages, until such a number of Indians, who had been guilty of murder, should be given up to the chief commander of the province. It was also stipulated, that there should be an open and free trade, as had been usual; and that they should kill, or take, every Frenchman who should come among them, and hold no intercourse with the enemies of Great-Britain.*

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Articles of peace agreed upon, Dec. 26th.

Scarcely had the governor finished this disingenuous and forced treaty, when the small pox broke out in his camp. Few of the army had ever been infected with the disease, and the physicians were wholly unprovided for such an event. The men were struck with a general terror, and, with the utmost haste, returned to their respective settlements. Such was the fear which each had of his fellow, that all intercourse, on the return, was cautiously avoided. By this means, the men suffered exceedingly with hunger and fatigue. The governor followed, and arrived soon at Charleston. Here, though a drop of blood had not been shed, nor scarcely any thing achieved but what was perfidious and inglorious, he was received as a conqueror. From different societies and professions, he received the most flattering addresses. By illuminations and bonfires, the citizens expressed the high sense which they entertained of his services, and of the happy consequences of his expedition.

Small pox breaks out in the army.

But the delusion soon vanished, and it appeared that the governor, by his conduct, had greatly injured, instead of serving the public. When the chieftains came to Charleston, they were sincerely desirous of peace. An accommodation might have been effected, on terms just and honourable. But by the treatment which he gave the messengers of peace, the nation were stung to the heart. An Indian

* Rider's History of England, vol. xlvi. p. 149, 150.

BOOK II. values his freedom above all things, and, with him, a breach of promise is a crime of the first magnitude. Though nothing appeared against the chief men of the Indians; though they had taken a journey of some hundred miles, to make peace; and though the governor had given ample promises of safety and good treatment; yet he had treacherously deprived them of their liberty, and treated them not only with perfidy, but inhumanity. He had obtained an appearance of peace, by taking one of those base and unjustifiable advantages, which men of low craft and policy sometimes practice against weak and unsuspicious neighbours. This treatment had converted the desires of the Cherokees for peace, into the bitterest resentment, and rage for war.

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Attakullakulla, by reason of his known attachment to the English, had little influence with his countrymen. Ouconnostota, whose influence was great, was now become an implacable and vindictive enemy. He determined to treat the governor in his own way, and to repay meanness and perfidy in their own kind. No attention was paid to the treaty. Ouconnostota, collecting a strong party, killed fourteen men in the neighbourhood of fort Prince George. He surrounded the fort, and confined the garrison to their works. Finding that he could make no impression on the fort, he had recourse to a stratagem, to surprise the garrison, and to relieve his countrymen, who were held there in confinement.

The treaty is disregarded.

Ouconnostota's stratagem.

As the country was covered with woods and dark thickets, it was favourable to his purpose. Having concerted his measures, two Indian women, who were known always to be welcome to the fort, made their appearance on the other side of the river, to decoy the garrison. Lieutenant Dogherty went out to them, to inquire the news. While they were conversing with the women, Ouconnostota joined them, and desired lieutenant Dogherty to call the commanding officer, saying, that he had matters of importance to communicate to him. Accordingly, captain Cotymore, ensign Bell, Dogherty, and Foster, their interpreter, went out to him. He said he was going to Charleston, to procure the release of the prisoners, and wished for a white man for a safeguard. The captain told him he should have a safeguard. No sooner had he received the answer, than turning and giving a signal, nearly thirty guns were fired from different ambuscades. The captain was killed, and Bell and Foster were wounded. In consequence of this, orders were given that the hostages should be put in irons. In attempting this, one of the soldiers was killed,

He decoys and kills the commander of the fort.

The hostages are killed.

and another wounded. These circumstances so exasperated the garrison, that they fell, with one consent, on the unfortunate hostages, and butchered them, in a manner too shocking to relate.

In the evening, the Indians approached the fort, and, after firing signal guns, and crying aloud in the Cherokee language, "Fight manfully, and you shall be assisted;" they commenced a furious attack on the garrison, and kept up their fire the whole night. But, they were so warmly received, they were obliged to give over the assault.

English traders slain.

Disappointed in their attempt on the fort, and knowing that the hostages were slain, they wreaked their vengeance on the English, who were trading in their country. These they butchered to a man, without mercy or distinction. In the massacre of the hostages, the Cherokees had not only lost a great number of their head men, but most of them had lost a relative or friend. Nothing, therefore, could exceed the resentment and rage of the nation. The leaders of every town, seized the hatchet, proclaiming to their fellows, that the spirits of murdered brothers were flying round them, and calling for vengeance on their enemies. With one voice, the nation declared for war. Large parties, from different towns, rushed down on defenceless families, on the frontiers of Carolina, and men, women and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless rage. At Long Canes, and about the forks of Broad river, they made horrible carnage among the inhabitants, who, trusting to the late peace, were reposing in perfect security.*

The war becomes general.

About two hundred of the enemy, made a furious attack on the fort at Ninety-six; but they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. This, they revenged on the open country, ravaging the English houses in that quarter, and all along the frontiers of Virginia. They were not satisfied, barely with pillaging, and destroying the inhabitants, but they wantoned in the most horrible acts of barbarity. Many, who fled into the woods to escape the scalping knife, perished with hunger. Those who were made prisoners, were carried into the wilderness, where they suffered incredible hardships. So secret and sudden were the motions of the enemy, that it was impossible to tell where the storm would fall, or to take the precautions to prevent the mischief. Every day brought to the capital fresh accounts of their murders and desolations.

The southern colonies were all alarmed, and applica-

* Hist. South-Carolina, vol. ii. p. 225, 229. Rider's Hist. of England, vol. xlvi. p. 153, 156.

BOOK II. tion was made in the most pressing terms to general Amherst, for immediate assistance. He dispatched colonel
1760. Montgomery to Carolina, with a detachment of twelve hundred chosen men.

Col. Montgomery is sent to Carolina. Arrives in April.

On his arrival at Charleston, he advanced to Ninety-six with as much expedition as possible. As the reduction of Canada was the great object of this year's campaign, his orders were to strike a sudden blow, for the relief of Carolina, and then, without loss of time, to return to head quarters, at Albany. Nothing was therefore omitted by the colony, which was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Governor Littleton had been appointed governor of Jamaica, and the government devolved on governor Bull, a man of erudition and integrity. He spared no pains for the protection of the province. The whole force of it was collected and rendezvoused at the Congarees, for the assistance of the colonel in the enterprise. Several gentlemen of fortune, formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. Application had been made to the neighboring colonies of North-Carolina and Virginia, for assistance. In consequence of this, seven companies of rangers had been raised, to patrol the frontiers, and to prevent the savages from penetrating farther down among the settlements. Presents were voted to such of the Creeks, Chickesaws, and Catawbas, as would join in the war against the Cherokees.* Thus assisted, by the beginning of June, he advanced to twelve mile river. He prosecuted his route by forced marches, until he arrived in the neighborhood of Keowee. Here he encamped in a strong position; and imagining that the enemy were not apprised of his approach, he determined to surprise them. Leaving his camp under a sufficient guard, he marched through the woods twenty-five miles, towards the town of Estatoe. On his march, he detached a company of light infantry, to destroy Little Keowee. They were received at Little Keowee with a smart fire, but, rushing in with their bayonets, they put all the men to death. In the morning, the main body reached Estatoe; but it was abandoned just as they entered the town. Such men as had not made their escape, were instantly put to the sword. The women and children were captivated. The town, well stored with provisions, and consisting of more than two hundred houses, was immediately plundered and reduced to ashes. Some of the enemy, who had secreted themselves in their dwellings, were consumed with them. The colonel pursued the work he had began, with

Conduct on his arrival.

His expedition against the Cherokees.

* History of South-Carolina, vol. ii. p. 228, 230, 231.

surprising rapidity. In a few hours, Sugar Town, as large as Estatoe, shared with it the same fate. Every settlement in the lower nation, was thus destroyed. About sixty Indians were killed, and forty women and children made prisoners. The rest escaped to the mountains. Their towns and villages were agreeably situated, and consisted generally of about one hundred houses, neatly built, and well supplied with provisions. Large magazines of corn, were consumed in the general conflagration. Such had been the cruelties practised on the inhabitants, and such was the revengeful spirit of the soldiers, that they were as merciless as the savages themselves. They were deaf to all suggestions of humanity and mercy.*

BOOK II. 1760. Their towns destroyed.

Colonel Montgomery having taken such vengeance on the enemy, marched for the relief of fort Prince George, which the savages, for some time, had so closely invested, that the garrison were in great distress, both for the want of wood and provisions. At this post he arrived in safety, having not lost more than five or six men in the expedition.

From this post two Indians were dispatched, to acquaint the Cherokees, that if their chief men would come down, and treat of an accommodation, peace should be granted unto them, on the account of Little Carpenter, and his many good services to the English. At the same time, they were to assure them that, unless they should, in a few days, begin a negociation, all the towns in the upper nation would be ravaged, and laid in ashes.† A messenger was also sent to fort Loudon, requesting the commanding officers there, to use their best endeavors for the obtainment of peace with the Cherokees of the upper towns.

Messages of peace to the Cherokees.

But as messages of peace produced no good effect, the colonel determined to make an attack on their middle settlements. He immediately began his march, but his success in this enterprise, was no ways equal to that in the former. The enemy watched all his motions, took every advantage of him on his march, and determined to measure swords with him. On the third day, as he was advancing through a dangerous ground, they attacked him in a most furious and obstinate manner. They commenced the action with their usual horrible screams and outcries, maintaining a severe fire from under cover. The troops were ranged in the most judicious manner, and firmly stood the enemy's charge. The fight was long, obstinate, and well maintained, on both sides. At length, the

The general begins his march for the middle settlements, June 24th.

Battle with the Indians. June 27th.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlvi. p. 157.
† Rider's Hist. vol. xlvi. p. 159. Wright's Hist. vol. ii. p. 343.

BOOK II. colonel making a movement, which brought the royal Scots upon their right, the enemy gave way and fled. But the 1760. victory was dearly bought; the captain of the rangers was killed, and twenty other men. Nearly eighty were wounded. It was supposed that the enemy lost about forty men. The army pushed forward about five miles, the succeeding evening, to Etchowee, one of the most considerable towns in the middle settlements. But the Indians had removed their most valuable effects, and forsaken the town. The colonel was able to do them no other injury than to destroy a defenceless town. Here the enemy attacked his piquet guard with such fury, that they were with much difficulty repulsed. They also gave him repeated annoyance, by their vollies from the surrounding hills. Though he had gained the field, and been able to advance after the action, yet it had the effect of a defeat. So many of his men had been wounded, and such a number of his horses killed, that he found it absolutely necessary to retreat, to save his wounded men from the massacre of the enemy. In the beginning of July, he returned to fort Prince George. The expedition had cost him five officers, and about an hundred men killed and wounded.

Montgomery retreats.

He supposed, that his orders now obliged him to return, with the troops under his command, and rejoin the main army. To the consternation of the whole country, this was found to be his determination. The intreaties of the province, however, prevailed with him to leave about four hundred men, to assist in the defence of the frontiers.

Carolina and the neighboring colonies, were again exposed to the fury of a merciless foe, not so much weakened as exasperated, by their late chastisement. Fort Loudon soon fell into the hands of the enemy. They had assembled in strong bodies, and formed the siege of it, nearly a month before the departure of colonel Montgomery. They were now left, without molestation, to continue it with their whole force. The garrison held out about two months, until their provisions were totally consumed. The enemy manifested peaceful dispositions, and promised kind treatment. These circumstances had their influence, in the surrendry of the fort, on terms safe and honorable. But the enemy, regardless of faith or humanity, fell upon them, in their march homeward, and butchered all the officers, except captain Stewart, and twenty-five of the soldiers. These were carried into horrible captivity.

Fort Loudon surrenders, Aug. 7th.

Captain Stewart owed his life to the invincible attachment of Attakullakulla. He ransomed him at the expense of all he could command, and, with uncommon art and pains, conducted him in safety to his friends.

The Cherokees still continuing hostile, and South-Carolina having expended more than fifty thousand pounds sterling already, in defence of the frontiers, without gaining any considerable point, lieutenant governor Bull made application a second time to general Amherst, for assistance. Meanwhile, the royal Scots, with the militia, were posted on the frontiers, for their defence. But the Creeks appearing hostile, and murdering some of the inhabitants without making any proposals, by way of satisfaction, and as the French were employing all their arts with them and the Choctaws, to engage them in the war, the province was in a state of the most dreadful apprehension.* BOOK II. 1760.

As Canada was now conquered, the commander in chief could more conveniently spare a force adequate to the purpose of humbling the savages. The active and brave colonel Montgomery, who commanded in this quarter before, was now embarked for England. He was brother to the earl of Eglinton, and afterwards succeeded him in his honors. His affairs requiring him to return, the command of the Highlanders, who were ordered again to Carolina, devolved on lieutenant colonel Grant. He landed at Charleston with his regiment, in the beginning of the year 1761. He took up his winter quarters with his troops in the town.

Colonel Grant arrives at Charleston Jan. 1761.

It was determined, if possible, to give the Indians so severe a correction the ensuing campaign, as should induce them to make peace. The province therefore determined to make the utmost exertion for that purpose. A provincial regiment, under colonel Middleton, was raised. Presents were made to their Indian allies, and numbers of the Chickesaws and Catawbas were engaged in the service. The army were clothed and armed in the best manner for the expedition.

Expedition against the Cherokees

In May, the army, consisting of two thousand and six hundred men, advanced to fort Prince George. Here Attakullakulla, having heard of the army's advancing against his nation, met colonel Grant, and repeatedly intreated him, by his friendship, and the many good services he had performed for the English, that he would proceed no further until he had once more used his influence with his nation to bring them to an accommodation: but colonel Grant would not listen to his solicitations. He immediately began his march for the middle settlements. A party of ninety Indians, and thirty woodmen painted like Indians, marched in the front of the army, and scoured the woods. After them followed the light infantry, and about fifty rangers, consisting of about two hundred men. By the vigilance and

* History of South-Carolina, vol. ii. p. 233, 235, 236, 344.

BOOK II. activity of these, the colonel designed to secure the main army from annoyance and surprise. During three days, he
1760. made forced marches, with a view to pass a number of dangerous defiles, which might cost him dear should the enemy first get the possession, and warmly dispute the passage. These he passed safely. But the next day, advancing into suspicious grounds, on all sides orders were given to prepare for action; and that the guards should advance slowly, doubling their circumspection. While the army was advancing in this cautious manner, about eight o'clock in the morning, the enemy were discovered by the advanced guard, nearly in the same ground where they had attacked colonel Montgomery the preceding year. Rushing down from the high grounds, they furiously attacked the advanced guard. This was supported, and the action became general. A party of the enemy driven from the low grounds, immediately ascended the hills, under which the whole line was obliged to pass. On the left was a river, from the opposite bank of which, they received a heavy fire as they advanced. While the line faced and gave their whole fire to the Indians on the bank of the river, a party was ordered to ascend the hills and drive the enemy from the heights. No sooner were they driven from the heights, than they returned with redoubled fury to the charge in the low grounds. These it appeared to be their resolution obstinately to dispute. The situation of the troops soon became critical and distressing. They had been greatly fatigued by forced marches, in rainy weather. They were galled by the fire of the enemy, and so compassed with woods that they could neither discern nor approach them, but with great difficulty and danger. When they were pressed, they always kept at a distance; but rallying, returned again to the charge, with the same fierceness and resolution. No sooner were they driven from one place, than they sprang up like furies, in another. While the attention of the colonel was directed to the enemy on the banks of the river, and was employed in driving them from their lurking places on that side, they made so furious an attack on his rear guard, that he was obliged to order a detachment back to its relief, to save his cattle, provisions and baggage. From nine in the morning, until eleven o'clock, did the enemy maintain the fight. Every where did the woods resound with the roar of arms, and with the shouts and hideous yellings of the savages. At length they gave way; but as they were pursued, they kept up a scattering fire until two o'clock. After that, they entirely disappeared.*

Battle near Etchoe, June 10th.

Cherokees defeated.

* Hist. South-Carolina, vol. ii. p. 248, 250.

What loss the enemy suffered, was not known. The loss of colonel Grant, was about sixty men killed and wounded. The army advanced as soon as possible, and about midnight arrived at Etchoe, a large Indian town. The next morning, it was reduced to ashes. There were fourteen towns, in the middle settlements, which soon shared the same fate. The enemy's magazines, and even their corn-fields, which are reported to have amounted to fourteen hundred acres, were utterly destroyed. The miserable inhabitants stood the silent spectators of this general and merciless destruction. They were obliged to retire to starve in the thickets, swamps and mountains.* Nearly the same barbarities were committed against them, by a civilized and christian people, of which we so much complain, when they are perpetrated against us.

Their middle settlements destroyed.

What a scene of bloodshed and desolation, both with respect to them and to the colonies, was the consequence of the haughty, unjust and perfidious treatment of the Indians, by a few base and murderous people among ourselves? As the consequences of an Indian war are nothing but merciless carnage and destruction, on both sides, every motive of humanity as well as of good policy, requires that the strictest guard should be maintained against it; and that the natives be treated with justice, condescension and humanity. Pride, injustice, and bloody measures, in the course of providence, commonly meet a recompence in their own way.

When the army had spent about thirty days in this vengeful and barbarous work of destruction, it returned to fort Prince George. The feet and legs of many of the soldiers were so mangled, and their spirits so exhausted, that they were utterly unable to proceed on their march. Colonel Grant, therefore, determined to encamp at this post, for some time, both for the refreshment of his troops, and to obtain intelligence from the enemy.

The army returns to fort Prince George.

Soon after his arrival, Attakullakulla, and several other chieftains of the Cherokee nation, came to his camp, and expressed their wishes for peace. Articles were drawn and interpreted to the warriors. Attakullakulla readily agreed to them all, except one, which he said he had no authority to grant. This was, that four Cherokees should be delivered up, and put to death in the face of the army, or that four green scalps should be delivered within two nights. As the chieftains could not consent to this bloody article, they were dispatched to Charleston, to know whether governor Bull would abate this rigorous requisition.

The Cherokees desire peace.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlviii. p. 63, 64.

BOOK II. 1761.

The governor and his council met them at Ashley ferry. He addressed them in this friendly manner:—"Attakullakulla, I am glad to see you; and as I have always heard of your good behaviour, and that you have been a good friend to the English, I take you by the hand, and not only you, but all those who are with you also, as a pledge of their security, while under my protection. Colonel Grant acquaints me, that you have applied for peace. Now that you are come, I have met, with my beloved men, to hear what you have to say; and my ears are open for that purpose." Then a fire was kindled, and the pipe of peace was lighted up; and, for some time, all smoked together in great silence and solemnity.

Attakullakulla then arose, and addressed the governor in a manly and eloquent speech, representing his joy at seeing him, and that he was come as a messenger of peace: that his people were in great distress; and that, though the English were superior to them, and lived in light, while they were in darkness, yet that one God was the father of them both: that they lived in one country, and that he wished what had happened might be forgotten, and that they might live as one people. Governor Bull, and his council, had too much humanity and good sense, to insist on the exceptionable article. They could not but know, that, in justice, the Virginians, who began the war, by murdering the Cherokees, ought rather to be given up and executed, than the Indians. They were not insensible of the injudicious and insidious conduct of governor Littleton. Peace was therefore established; and both parties wished that it might last as long as the rivers should run, or the sun shine.

Peace is made.

The North-American continent appeared now to be quieted. The conquest of Canada had given rest to New-England. The capture of fort du Quesne, with the pacific and prudent measures of governor Stanwix, who commanded at that post, had given peace and safety to the people on the Ohio. He had enlarged and strengthened the fortifications at Pittsburg, and had erected barracks and store houses for a respectable garrison. With great diligence and success, he had cultivated the friendship of, and made alliances with, the Indians in the vicinity. The happy consequences of these measures, were very soon apparent, in a considerable trade between the Indians and the merchants at Pittsburg; and also, in the return of nearly four thousand planters to the quiet enjoyment of their houses and lands on the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, whence they had been driven by the war.

CHAPTER XXII.

Requisition on the colonies in 1761. *Mr. Pitt's letter. Acts of the assembly, in consequence of it. The business of this campaign, in America, was principally directed to the repairing and building of fortresses, and to secure the conquests which had been made. The critical state of the nation, at the close of the year* 1761. *Events of the year* 1762, *influencing the belligerents to peace. Pacification of Paris. Favourable to the American colonies. Burthen of the colonies. Supplies from England. Effects of the war. Policy of Connecticut, in defraying its expenses. General joy and feelings of the Americans, on the return of peace.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the successes in North-America, the belligerents continued no less inflamed and hostile, than at the commencement of the war. His Britannic majesty had, therefore, occasion to employ his whole force against the enemy. Requisitions were still made on the colonies, to furnish their respective quotas.

With a view to this, governor Fitch convened the General Assembly of Connecticut, at New-Haven, on the 26th of March. He communicated a letter from the right honourable William Pitt, secretary of state, representing, that his majesty had much at heart a vigorous prosecution of the war, until the enemy should be compelled to accept of peace, on terms of advantage and glory to his crown, and beneficial, in particular, to his subjects in America: that, for this purpose, it was his majesty's pleasure to employ his regular troops in North-America, as should be best adapted to some great and important enterprises against the enemy: and that, for the security of his dominions, and the possession of his conquests, in their absence, it was his pleasure, that Connecticut should raise two thirds as many men as they had raised the last year. The assembly enacted, that provision should be made for the immediate raising, clothing, victualling, and paying of two thousand three hundred men: that they should be formed into two regiments: that major general Lyman should command the first, and colonel Nathan Whiting the second regiment.*

General Assembly at New-Haven, March 26th.

Mr. Pitt's letter.

Acts of the assembly.

To meet the expenses of the war, the assembly enacted, that an emission of 45,000 pounds, lawful money, in bills of credit, with interest at five per cent, should be forthwith

* Messrs. Beckwith and Leavenworth were appointed chaplains.

BOOK II. printed; and that, as a sinking fund for the redemption of the bills, a tax of fivepence on the pound, on the whole list 1761. of the colony, to be brought into the assembly in October, 1762, should be levied; which should be paid into the treasury on, or before, the last day of December, 1763. At the same time it was enacted, that a tax of sevenpence on the pound, on the whole list of the colony, to be brought into the assembly in October, 1764, should be levied; which tax should be paid into the treasury on, or before, the last day of December, 1765. It was provided, nevertheless, that if a sum should be granted and arrive, sufficient to redeem said bills, then said acts imposing the taxes, should cease and be null.

Provision had been made for the payment of the troops, at the close of the campaign, upon their return, by a tax of fivepence on the pound, which had been previously laid, to be paid into the treasury in December.

Business of the campaign.

The repairing and strengthening of the numerous posts of such an extensive country as Canada; the erecting of new fortifications, where they were necessary to secure the conquered territory, and to cover and guard the colonies, should Canada be again put into the power of France; the furnishing of them with provisions, arms, and military stores; the repairing of old roads, and the making of new ones, for their more easy conveyance, and for maintaining a convenient and more expeditious communication between them, and between them and the country, was a work of much time and labour. The building of houses and barracks, for the convenience of the officers and men, at the various posts where it was necessary that garrisons should be kept, was an additional labour, employing a considerable number of men. The accomplishment of these objects employed some thousands of men, during the campaign, for this and the next year. In these services, the regulars who remained in the country, and the provincials, were principally occupied.

As Crown Point and Ticonderoga had been a source of great trouble and annoyance to New-England and New-York, whence the enemy had made all their incursions into them, for devastation and murder; and as it could not be foreseen but that Canada would be restored to France, on a general pacification, it was a matter of the highest consideration, that these passes into the northern colonies, should be strongly fortified and garrisoned.

The fortifying of Crown Point, therefore, became a principal object. Great and extensive works were laid out there, by the most skilful engineers in the service. Im-

mense labor and expense were laid out upon them. The fortifications were principally laid out upon a rock. The trenches or ditches, were principally to be blown out of a solid rock. It was supposed that Great Britain expended two millions sterling, or more, on these works. BOOK II. 1761.

The French, when they abandoned Ticonderoga, blew up their magazine, and injured the works. Some repairs of the fortifications were made there. The whole season was spent in these services, and the campaign closed at a late period.

The campaign in Europe closed very unfavorably for Great Britain and her allies. Notwithstanding all the success which had attended the British arms in North-America, the state of the nation, at the close of this campaign in Europe, and at the commencement of the next, in 1762, was never more critical and alarming. A very considerable part of Hanover, was in the possession of France. The king of Prussia was so reduced and pressed on every side, by his numerous enemies, that there was no human prospect that he could possibly hold out for any considerable time. Should he be overpowered, the allied army, which was now able to act only on the defensive, could not survive the event a single day. All the Hanoverian dominions must be instantly lost. What other disastrous events might be the consequence, no human foresight could determine. All the great powers of Europe were on the side of France. Spain was now cordial in her friendship to that nation, and was joining her, unimpaired in men or money, or any of her resources for war. Her fleet was estimated at an hundred ships. Great Britain was, directly or indirectly, engaged in war with all the great continental powers of Europe; and with much the greatest part of its maritime force. She was, in some measure, reduced as to her resources, and labored under a debt of more than a hundred millions. In the dangers and misfortunes of the mother country, her colonies were involved. Critical state of the nation.

Notwithstanding the successes in North-America, if France and her allies, in Europe, should carry their points, all the expense and exertions of the colonies would finally be of no advantage to them. All the acquisitions in America would be given up, to recover what would be lost in Germany, and to secure the rights of the protestants, on the other side of the water.

It was necessary that the whole strength of the nation, by land and sea, should be employed against the enemy. Requisitions were still made on the colonies, for their assistance. A letter had been received by governor Fitch, Requisition on the colony.

BOOK II. from the Earl of Egremont, requiring him to use his utmost endeavors, to induce the colony to raise the same number
1762. of men this year, which they had sent into the field the last. It was required, that the troops should be raised forthwith, and be under the direction of his majesty's commander in chief, in North-America. The governor, therefore, on the fourth of March, 1762, convoked the General Assembly at New-Haven. In compliance with the requisition of his majesty, the assembly enacted, That although this colony is much weakened and exhausted, both in strength and treasure, by its vigorous exertions in several former campaigns, yet, zealous for his majesty's service, and animated with the agreeable prospect, that the future safety and welfare of his majesty's dominions in America will be fixed and secured, and humbly and firmly relying on his majesty's gracious encouragement, for a proper compensation of our expenses, incurred by this further exertion of our strength, for his service, in this important conjuncture, that all necessary provision be made, for levying, clothing, and paying, the same number of men as were raised the last year, to march to such place or places, in North-America, as his majesty's commander in chief should appoint. The number raised by said act, was two thousand three hundred men, officers included. They were formed into two regiments, consisting of twelve companies each. The regiments were commanded by one colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and major. A chaplain was appointed to each regiment.

General Assembly at New-Haven, March 14th, 1762.

To defray the expense, it was enacted, that the sum of sixty five thousand pounds, in bills of credit, on the government, equal to lawful money, with interest at six per cent, should be forthwith impressed, payable on or before the 4th day of March, 1767. The bills were to bear date the same day as the session of the assembly. As a sinking fund, it was enacted, that a tax of sixpence on the pound, on all the polls and rateable estate in the colony, be levied on the list to be brought in to the assembly in October, 1763; to be collected and paid into the treasury of the colony by the last day of December, 1764: and that another tax of eightpence on the pound, on the list to be brought in in October 1775, be levied, to be collected and paid into the treasury of the colony by the last day of December, 1766. It was provided, nevertheless, that if such sums of money should arrive from England, as to pay the eightpence on the pound, before the time of its collection, that then said act relative to it, should be null and void; and the treasurer was to conduct himself accordingly.

As the colony was now much drained of money, and as a larger emission of bills might lessen their value, it was resolved, that a tax of two pence three farthings on the pound be levied on the list brought in to the assembly in October last, to be paid into the treasury by the last day of December next. The assembly also resolved, that as there were monies remaining in Great-Britain, belonging to the colony, which had been granted for the services of the year 1759, and part of what was, or might be granted for the services of the year 1760, not yet appropriated, and which might probably be received in season, and used for the lessening of the taxes laid on the list brought in to the assembly in October last, for sinking and discharging the bills of credit emitted in February and May, 1759, that whatever money had been, or might be granted by the parliament for the services of the colony in the years 1759 and 1760, which had not already been appropriated for sinking and discharging the bills of credit, in March 1758, 1759, and 1760, should be appropriated for sinking and discharging the bills of credit emitted in the said years: and that, if those monies should be sufficient for the discharging those editions of bills, then the acts relative to the taxes laid for that purpose, should cease, and not be executed. 1762.

A letter from the earl of Egremont, dated December 12, 1761, and another from general Amherst, dated February 1762, were communicated to the assembly, recommending to the governor to use his influence to encourage the enlisting of men into his majesty's regiments during the war, or until such time as the regiments should return to Europe. General Amherst offered a bounty of five pounds, New-York currency, to every able bodied man, more than eighteen, and under forty years of age, and that he should be immediately on pay, and be clothed on his enlistment. He engaged that all who should enlist, should be discharged at the time expressed, and be allowed to return to their respective homes. He also recommended it to the colony to add to the bounty. In consequence of these recommendations, the legislature resolved, that five hundred seventy five able bodied effective men should be enlisted for his majesty's service, more than eighteen, and under forty years of age, and that a bounty of five pounds be given by the colony, in addition to that given by the general. Letters from the earl of Egremont, and general Amherst.

While affairs were thus transacted by the colony, great plans were concerted, and preparations made by his majesty, and the British ministry, deeply to wound the enemy, and dispose him for peace. In consequence of a plan for the reduction of the French West-India islands, after the

BOOK II. close of the campaign on the continent of America in 1761, a considerable part of the regular troops, with a body of
1762. provincials, embarked for the West-Indies, and joined an armament from Great-Britain, with a view to the reduction of Martinique. The whole land force consisted of about twelve thousand troops, under the command of general Monckton. The fleet was commanded by rear admiral Rodney. It was the most powerful armament which had ever been sent into that part of the world. On the 7th of January, the fleet and army arrived off the island. The expedition was conducted with such spirit and success, that, by the 14th of February, the whole island was reduced to the government of Great-Britain.

Martinique taken, Feb. 14th, 1762.

The surrender of this island, which was the seat of government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of the French force in the Caribbees, was soon succeeded by the surrender of all the dependant islands. The fertile islands of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincents, followed the example of the capitol. In a short time, the English became the sole and undisturbed possessors of that grand chain of islands which form the immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola, almost to the continent of South-America. These islands together, can boast of more trade than falls to the share of some respectable nations.

Meanwhile, war was declared against Spain, and it was determined to give a capital blow to her settlements in the West-Indies. An armament was prepared with the utmost dispatch. Lord Albemarle was appointed to command the operations by land. His lordship had been trained to war from his youth, under the command of the duke of Cumberland. The fleet destined for the service was under the command of admiral Pocock, who had before commanded with such success in the East-Indies. The object of the expedition was the Havanna. In this centered the whole trade and navigation of the Spanish West-Indies. The fleet sailed from Portsmouth, on the fifth of March. This was to be reinforced by a squadron from Martinique, under the command of sir James Douglass. On the twenty-seventh of May, the two fleets formed a junction, at Cape Nichola, the north-west point of Hispaniola. The fleet consisted of thirty-seven ships of war, with nearly an hundred and fifty transports. The land force on board was about ten thousand men. Four thousand regular troops, from New-York, were ordered to join them at the Havanna. A considerable number of provincials enlisted, under their own officers, and served in this arduous enterprise. The whole land force, when collected, would amount to about fifteen or sixteen thousand men,

War declared against Spain.

Expedition against Havanna.

1763.

The admiral was not insensible how much the success of the expedition depended on dispatch; that it might be carried into execution before the coming on of the hurricane months. Therefore, instead of keeping the common track of the galleons to the north of Cuba, which was much the safest, though far the most tedious passage, he determined to pursue his course from east to west, through the straights of Bahama. This is a narrow passage, about seven hundred miles in length. It is bounded, on the right and left, with so many shoals and sands, that the navigation is dangerous for single ships. Yet such were the cautions and admirable dispositions of the admiral, that he carried this fleet of nearly two hundred sail safely, through this perilous passage. On the fifth of June, Havanna, the object of this long voyage, and of so many anxious hopes and fears, presented itself to the view of the fleet and army. On the seventeenth, the troops were landed, and, for more than two months, every exertion of courage, every art of war, with the most invincible patience and perseverance, under almost insuperable difficulties, were unitedly employed, by officers and soldiers, by the fleet and army, for the reduction of this important island. The fortresses were strong by nature and art. The enemy made a gallant and noble defence. The climate was burning, and the want of water great and almost insufferably distressing. Never were British valour and resolution put to a severer trial. Some of the soldiers dropped down dead, under the pressure of heat, thirst and fatigue. Before the middle of July the army, in this unwholesome and burning region, and under the rigour of such extraordinary services, was reduced to half its original numbers. Five thousand soldiers and three thousand seamen, were ill at one time. The hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them, while they saw this fine army wasting by disease; and they could not but tremble for that noble fleet which had so long been exposed along the open shore, and must, in all human probability, suffer inevitable ruin, should the hurricane season come on before the reduction of the place. As the season advanced, the prospect grew more and more unfavorable. But when the troops were almost on the point of total despondency, the arrival of the troops from North-America revived their drooping spirits, gave fresh vigor to their operations, and was of the most signal service.

The troops land at Havanna, June 17th.

Such was the zeal of the New-Englanders in his majesty's service, that not only many of them enlisted, with a particular view to the reduction of the Havanna; but such of them as had assisted in the conquest of Martinique, and,

BOOK II. by reason of sickness, had been sent off in three ships for their native country, for their recovery, soon finding their 1762. health restored, ordered the ships about, and steering directly for Havanna, shared in the dangers and honors of that glorious enterprise.

The town surrenders, Aug. 13th. On the thirteenth of August, to the universal joy of the fleet and army, the Spaniards surrendered the town of Havanna, with the shipping in the harbor, and a territory of an hundred and eighty miles westward of the town. This, in its consequences, was one of the most important and decisive victories obtained since the commencement of the war. Though Havanna is not reckoned the capital of the Spanish West-Indies, yet it is the first in wealth, size and importance. The harbor on which it stands, is one of the best in the West-Indies, if not in the known world. It is of sufficient extent to contain a thousand of the largest ships. It is perfectly secure from every wind. It is the grand resort of the rich fleets from every part of the Spanish West-Indies, called the galleons and the flota. Hence they take their departure for Europe. These circumstances combined their influence, to make the Havanna one of the most flourishing, opulent, and populous cities in that part of the world. The fortifications were not unequal to its importance.

The advantage gained in the capture of the enemy's shipping, was equal to that of the greatest naval victory. Twelve of their best ships of the line, three frigates, and some merchantmen, were either destroyed or taken.

New-England, by her zeal in this enterprise, sustained a very considerable loss of men. Scarcely any of the private soldiers, and but few of the officers, ever returned. Such as were not killed in the service, were generally swept away by the great mortality which prevailed in the fleet and army.

In the course of Providence, this year, there was a concurrence of a number of great events, beyond all human foresight or calculation, which gave an entirely different turn to the affairs of Europe, and most favorable to the interests of the British colonies in America.

On the second of January, the empress of Russia, one of the most powerful enemies of the king of Prussia, died, and such was the revolution in Russia that, after her demise, the troops of Russia, which before had been employed against him, were allowed to join his forces and assist against his enemies. This gave a most unexpected and favorable turn to his affairs; so that he was not only able to defend himself, but to act powerfully against his ene-

nies. Besides the loss of Martinique and Havanna, the Spaniards received a wound in Asia, no less unexpected or terrible, than that given them in the West-Indies. An armament under the command of general Draper and admiral Cornish, on the sixth of October, made a complete conquest of Manilla and the Philippine islands. These capital losses, with the capture of several rich ships, of nearly two millions value, made deep impressions on the Bourbon family. They very considerably affected those resources of money, which, with France, had been the principal objects in her treaties with Spain. These powers had been entirely frustrated in their attempts to reduce Portugal and Lisbon. The campaign in Germany, had by no means succeeded agreeably to their wishes. These all combined their influence in disposing the house of Bourbon to peace, and to stop that flow of human blood, which, for seven years, had been running almost without intermission or parallel.

1762.

At the same time, those grand acquisitions which Great-Britain had made, in Asia, and the East and West-Indies, enabled her to treat of peace, without giving up a single post which she had gained on the continent of North-America.

Towards the close of the year, commissioners were appointed to attempt a general pacification. On the third of November, preliminaries of peace were signed, at Fontainbleau, by the British and French ministers. The definitive treaty of Paris, was signed on the tenth of the succeeding February.

Definitive treaty of peace, Feb. 10, 1763.

In the fourth article of the treaty, his most Christian majesty renounced all pretensions which he had ever formed, or might form to Nova-Scotia, in all its parts, and guaranteed the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the king of Great-Britain. He also ceded and guaranteed to his Britannic majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, with Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the river St. Lawrence, with every thing dependant on said countries, lands, islands and coasts; with the sovereignty, property, possession, all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, in the amplest manner and form, without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee. The seventh article fixed the limits of the territory between the two nations in the manner following: In order to establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subject of dispute with regard to the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between

Boundaries between G. Britain and France in America.

BOOK II. the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and those of his most christian majesty, in that part of the world, shall be
1763. fixed irrevocably, by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source, to the river Iberville; and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of the river, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain, to the sea: And for this purpose, the most christian king cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of Orleans, and the island on which it is situated, which shall remain to France: provided, that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great-Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of Orleans and the right bank of the river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever.*

The king of Great-Britain made a restoration of all his conquests in the West-Indies to the king of Spain. In consequence of which, his catholic majesty, in the twentieth article, made to his Britannic majesty an ample cession of Florida, St. Augustine, the bay of Pensacola, and all that Spain possessed on the continent of North-America, to the east or to the south-east of the river Mississippi. A cession was also made, of every thing dependant on said country or lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which ever the catholic king, or crown of Spain, had over the said countries.

Liberties granted to the Roman catholics.

In the fourth, seventh, and twentieth articles, it was stipulated by his Britannic majesty, that the inhabitants of the respective countries above ceded, by France and Spain, should be allowed the enjoyment of the Roman catholic religion; and that he would give the most express and effectual orders, that his new Roman catholic subjects might profess the exercise of their religion, according to the rights of the Romish church, so far as should be consistent with the laws of Great-Britain. It was further stipulated, that the inhabitants of said countries might sell their estates to British subjects, and retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper. They were also allowed to remove their effects, as well as persons, without any

* Rider's Hist. vol. I.

restraint in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except in cases of debt, and of criminal prosecutions. The time of emigration was limited to eighteen months, from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. These were the principal stipulations relative to the continent of America. BOOK II. 1763.

Signally conspicuous was that all-governing Providence, which, for so many years, by sea and land, in Europe and America, and in other quarters of the world, combined such a variety of circumstances, as united their influence in this great event. In this important treaty, the American colonies saw the enemy which had given them such immense trouble, caused them so many years of fear and sorrow, such an incredible expense of blood and treasure, either removed from the continent, or reduced to circumstances in which they were so far from injuring them, that they could not but contribute to their emolument, and to the wealth and grandeur of Great-Britain. The treaty was peculiarly favourable with respect to the colonies, in that extent of territory which it secured to them. In the extent and security which it gave them, relative to their fisheries and commerce, and in every other respect, relating to their particular interests, it was favourable, whatever deficiencies there might be in it with respect to the other interests of Great-Britain. In this, pious people could discover something very providential, that though the colonies had no hand nor influence in the treaty, yet that it was more favourable for them, than it was for the nation in general. Peace favourable to the colonies.

Great and universal was the joy which the return of peace gave to the English colonies in America. For nearly eight years, they had been making the most strenuous exertions to carry on the war, and to assist his majesty in humbling the pride of their common enemy. Their burthens and losses had been great. As the provincials enlisted for one campaign only, a new army was to be raised, new bounties given, and new clothing to be furnished, every spring. So great was the expense, that the colonies were obliged, not only to emit bills of credit to a great amount, but to tax the people as highly as they could bear. Besides the public bounties given by the colonies, the merchants, farmers, and gentlemen of character, were obliged to advance considerable sums to encourage the enlistments, or they must have left their farms, merchandize, and various employments, and gone into actual service. Especially was this the case with the northern colonies. New-England, in general, had, during the war, ten thousand men in the field. Some years, the two colonies of Massa- Joy on the general pacification. Burthens of the war. Supplies from New-England.

BOOK II. chusetts and Connecticut furnished that number. Massa-
chusetts annually sent into the field five thousand five hun-
1763. dred men, and one year, seven thousand. Besides her annual quota, this colony, for several years, garrisoned Louisburg and Nova-Scotia, that the regular troops might be employed in the expeditions against Canada. On the application of the British admiral, she furnished five hundred seamen, in the expeditions against Louisburg and Quebec. At several times, many others were impressed out of the vessels employed in the fishery. According to the statement made by governor Bernard, and transmitted to the lords of trade, the colony had expended in the war, eight hundred and eighteen thousand pounds sterling.* Of this sum, three hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds had been replaced by parliamentary grants. Four hundred and ninety thousand pounds were expended, for which the colony had no parliamentary compensation.

Particularly from Connecticut.

From the resolutions of the assembly, it appears that Connecticut exerted herself more, beyond her proportion, than Massachusetts. On the commencement of the war in 1755, she raised a thousand men for the service. After the battle at the lake, on the 6th of September, she sent on a detachment of two thousand of her militia. From this time to the close of the campaign, she had about three thousand men in the field. The next year Connecticut sent into actual service two thousand and five hundred men. This was more than double the number required by the commander in chief. Such was her zeal for his majesty's service that, lest the cause should suffer by the failure of the southern colonies to furnish their respective quotas, she exerted herself in this duplicate proportion. In 1757, the requisition of the commander in chief was fourteen hundred only. These were not only raised, but on the intelligence that fort William Henry was attacked, she, with uncommon dispatch, sent forward a detachment of five thousand of her militia: so that, for some time, the colony had about six thousand men in actual service.

As she was called upon the next year, by his majesty and the commander in chief, to raise all the men in her power, the colony exerted itself beyond all former example, and sent into service about five thousand men. General Amherst, taking advantage of the zeal of the colony this year, made this number the rule of his demand during the war. This was a number far beyond her proportion, and was a heavy burthen on the colony. The expense of this small commonwealth, during the war, from

* Governor Bernard's letter, August 1, 1764.

1755, to 1762, inclusively, after deducting the parliamentary grants, amounted to upwards of four hundred thousand pounds.* BOOK II. 1763.

Besides the public expense, that of individuals was very considerable. It was sometimes at a great premium that they could obtain substitutes; much time was spent by the officers of the militia, and principal men in the several towns, in procuring arms, clothing, and other articles for the troops, for which they had no compensation. Of these, and numerous other incidental expenses, losses, and damages, no estimate can be made. Exclusive of the men raised by the colonies, under the general name of provincials, many of their inhabitants enlisted into the regular regiments, and were among their grenadiers and very best troops. They were in the sharpest actions and severest services during the war. The royal American battalions, which were not inferior to any of the regular regiments, were raised wholly from the colonies. Numbers were impressed on board his majesty's ships; many were employed in privateering, and other services relating to the war. The whole number employed was very great. The colonies probably sustained the loss of considerably more than twenty thousand men. These, in general, were their most firm and hardy young men, the flower of their country. Many others were maimed and enervated, in the many distant and arduous campaigns during the war. As the New-England colonies furnished much the greatest number of men, so this loss fell with the heaviest weight upon them. Connecticut, as she exerted herself so much beyond her proportion, necessarily sustained a greater loss in proportion to her inhabitants, than the other colonies. Effects of the war.

The employment of so many men, for such a number of years, in the war, injured the husbandry and settlement of the country. The loss of so many young men, and the prevention of marriage for so many years, with respect to others, greatly retarded population. At the same time, the war was unfriendly to literature, destructive of domestic happiness, and injurious to piety and the social virtues. The country thirsted for peace.

A deliverance from these evils, the return of parents, sons, brethren, and friends, from distant countries, from captivity and the dangers of war, to the embraces of each other, with the countless blessings of peace, diffused a general and uncommon joy. The extent of territory ceded to the colonies, the safety of their commerce and fishery, the Joy and state of the colonies on the return of peace.

* Reasons offered in behalf of Connecticut against the internal taxation of the colonies, printed at New-Haven, 1764, written by governor Fitch.

BOOK II. prodigious scope which presented itself for both, the increase of wealth, the extent of settlement, the advance-
1763. ment of population, and the general diffusion of happiness, all united their influence to bring in a full tide of gladness. That high point of honor and magnificence, to which the nation had been elevated, the extension of her empire, the flow of the whole trade and wealth of Canada and of this great continent into her lap, whom they esteemed as a parent, and to whom they claimed the relation of children; the honors acquired in so glorious a war, with the advantages of a peace which gave such lustre to the crown, and aggrandizement to a prince whom they loved, were so many circumstances enlivening the joy, and increasing the satisfaction which so universally prevailed. The colonies gloried in their prince, and in their relation to Great Britain. They felt a high degree of satisfaction, and it was no small part of their pride that, with their fellow subjects of the mother country, they had shared in the labors and enterprises, and with them had mingled their blood in those battles and victories, on the continent and in the Indies, which had given such lustre to her arms, and enlargement to her empire.

They were impressed with a grateful sense of the royal beneficence, and parliamentary goodness, in the grants which had been made for their assistance, in defraying the expenses of the war. They were entirely satisfied with the British government, and conceived themselves to be peculiarly happy in the protection and privileges which they enjoyed, as British subjects. This was the general feeling and happy state of the country, at the return of peace.

The extension of settlements, the increase of cultivation, numbers, commerce, and wealth of the colonies, for about ten or twelve years after the pacification of Paris, were almost incredible. During the war, and this whole subsequent period, money was plenty, and suffered no depreciation. Provisions of every kind, especially pork and beef, were in the best demand. This called forth the utmost exertions of the husbandman, in the cultivation of his fields, and enabled him with facility to pay the taxes which the state of the country demanded. It was the policy of Connecticut, in this favorable period, to tax the people as highly as they could cheerfully bear, providing substantial funds, in short periods, for the payment of their whole debt. To assist them in supporting the war, the legislature called in all their outstanding debts. Contracts were made with the British commissary, annually, for several years,

for provisions to the amount of four thousand pounds sterling. This was paid in money, or in bills of exchange. These contracts were principally for pork. At the same time, great quantities of fresh provisions were furnished the armies, in droves of fat cattle. The merchants had a safe and prosperous trade. Especially after the peace, an almost boundless scope of commerce and enterprise, was given to the colonists. In these favorable circumstances, with the return of thousands of her brave and industrious inhabitants, to the cultivation of their fields, and the various arts and labors of peace, the colony was soon able to exonerate itself from the debt contracted by the war. The other colonies, who adopted a different policy, and neglected to tax the people, in these favorable periods, were a long time burdened with a heavy tax.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Unexpected Indian war. The reasons of it. The enemy ravage the frontiers of the southern colonies. Take several English forts. Attempt the reduction of forts Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara. Battle at Detroit. The enemy attack colonel Bouquet, and are defeated. They destroyed a detachment of men near Niagara. Were finally humbled, and made peace.

AT a time when there seemed to be the fairest prospect of a long and universal peace in America, the southern colonies were suddenly involved in a destructive Indian war. In 1761, a firm peace had been made with the Cherokees. Three of their chief men soon after visited Great-Britain, and there confirmed it with the British court. About the same time, Sir William Johnson made a tour among the Indian nations, to quiet the fears and jealousies which might have been occasioned by the conquest of Canada. These fears and jealousies, it seems, had been fomented by French emissaries, with much industry and success. The same year a conference had been held between several of the American governors and the six nations, with a view of ratifying former treaties, and of more entirely conciliating and fixing their friendship. At this conference, a warm dispute arose on account of certain lands, of which a Delaware chief complained that certain

Reasons of the Indian war.

BOOK II. English settlers had taken possession, in consequence of a fraudulent conveyance. Though this animosity appeared
1763. at that time to be in some measure stifled, and to subside, yet the Indians were by no means satisfied.* To this ground of dissatisfaction, there was an addition of many more. The French had ever paid a more flattering attention to the Indians than the English ever deigned to show them. Their conquests now made them haughty, and they treated these rude neighbours with less condescension and decorum, than had before been usual. And besides, contrary to the faith of treaties, settlements had been made beyond our just limits.† We had also drawn a line of forts round their best hunting grounds; and their suspicions were, that the English had concerted a plan for their total extirpation.

These injuries and suspicions having roused the resentment of the Shawanese and Delaware Indians, they united with the other tribes along the Ohio; and having drawn the Indians about Detroit, and a considerable part of the clans on this side of the Mississippi, into their measures, they determined to make a sudden and general attack on the frontiers at the same time. That they might, at one blow, cut off both the inhabitants and all their means of subsistence, they resolved to begin their work of destruction at the time of harvest. Their plan was concerted with uncommon art and secrecy. They made their irruption so unexpectedly, so generally, and with such violence, that before any relief could be obtained, great numbers of the inhabitants were masacred, their houses burned, and their crops ruined, with all the marks of horror and cruelty attending an Indian war. In consequence of the general alarm and consternation, all the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, for twenty miles back into the country, with thousands of fine settlements, were abandoned to the enemy. The travelling merchants, who, under the security of a general peace, were trading in the Indian country, were murdered, and their effects plundered. These were estimated at several hundred thousand pounds.

Frontiers laid waste and deserted.

But that which, in a military view, was considered as of much greater importance, was the capture of le Bœuf, Venango, and Presque Isle. These forts were advantageously situated, so as to command the heads of all the navigable rivers, southward of lake Erie, and were important to keep up the communication between fort Pitt and the lakes, and the posts north of them. The Indians made themselves

* Rider's History of England, vol. xlviii, p. 64, 65, and vol. xlix. p. 33.
† The same, vol. l. p. 45, 46.

masters of these forts, rather by stratagem than by any power sufficient to have reduced them. They pretended to the soldiers, that they had cut off the other garrisons, boasted of the great numbers they had with them, and made them the most flattering promises of safety and good usage. When, by these arts, they had induced them to give up these posts, they commonly violated their promises, and killed or captivated them. By the same means they got possession of Michilimakinack. BOOK II. 1763.

Flushed with these successes, they attempted to reduce fort Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara. Though the theatre of this Indian war was of vast extent, though the different nations were separated by immense tracts of country, yet in their operations they preserved an admirable degree of connection and concert. At the same time, they invested fort Pitt and Detroit, though at a great distance from each other.

The commander in chief, apprised of the danger to which all the western posts were exposed, detached strong reinforcements to those garrisons. Captain Dalyell conducted the reinforcement dispatched to Detroit. After his arrival at the fort with his reinforcement, he imagined, from the intelligence given him, that he could surprise the enemy, and drive them entirely from that settlement. With this view, it was determined to make an attack on their camp, which lay at the distance of about three miles from the fort. Between two and three of the clock in the morning, captain Dalyell, with two hundred and seventy men, began his march with all possible secrecy and precaution. But the Indians were so vigilant and sharp sighted, that they discovered his party, lined the hedges, posted themselves behind houses, and took the most effectual measures to annoy and defeat him. Before he had reached their camp, he was saluted with a severe fire in his front. Instantly it commenced in his rear, and soon it became furious and destructive on every side. The captain fell in the beginning of the action. The darkness of the night prevented a sight of the Indians, and the whole party were at once on the point of irreparable disorder and ruin. In this emergency, captain Grant, on whom the command devolved, saw that his only safety was in a speedy retreat. To effect this, he made a spirited charge upon the enemy: by this they were soon driven from the roads, and repulsed in every quarter. The English having thus extricated themselves, returned to the fort. But it was an unfortunate affair, in which seventy men were killed, and forty wounded. The Indians now finding the garrison to be numerous and well supplied, despairing of any further success, soon withdrew, and gave them no more trouble.

Battle of Detroit.

BOOK II. 1763. Fort Pitt is besieged.

Meanwhile, fort Pitt was so closely surrounded on all sides, that all communication, even by private message, was cut off between that and the country. The Indians, in some measure, supplied their want of skill and cannon, by their incredible boldness and perseverance. Regardless of danger, and with a resolution which would have done honour to the best troops, they took post under the banks of the river, close to the fort, and burying themselves in holes, for several days together, poured in upon it an incessant storm of shot and fire arrows. Captain Ecuyer, who commanded the garrison, took every precaution which judgment or art could suggest, and defended himself with no less zeal and perseverance, than the enemy made their assault.

General Amherst well knew the importance of this post, and had detached colonel Bouquet, a trusty officer, with a large quantity of provisions and military stores, under a strong escort, for its relief. When the colonel had advanced to the remotest part of the English settlements, he could not obtain the least intelligence of the state of the garrison, or of the numbers, position, or motions of the enemy. In these circumstances, he determined to prepare for the worst, and disengaged himself from all ammunition and provisions, which did not appear to be absolutely necessary. Having thus disencumbered himself, the army entered a rough and mountainous country. Before him lay a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, several miles in length. On both sides, it was encompassed with steep and craggy hills. After refreshing his troops, it was determined, if possible, to elude the observation of the enemy, and pass this defile in the night. Though the colonel had not been able to obtain the least intelligence of the enemy, yet this alert and keen sighted foe had discovered his party; and finding that a reinforcement was coming on, they immediately raised the siege of fort Pitt, and, taking the route by which they knew the army must pass, determined to surprise it the first favourable opportunity.

Attack on colonel Bouquet, Aug. 5th.

While the English were making the necessary arrangements for refreshment and repose, after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles that day, their advanced guard was suddenly and furiously attacked. This was so expeditiously and firmly supported, that the enemy were soon obliged to fly, and the English pursued them to a considerable distance. But that which, with another enemy, would have been considered as a defeat, and victory, in this case seemed only as an artful relaxation or amusement. So far were the enemy from abandoning the field, that the moment the

pursuit ended, they returned, with redoubled fury, to the fight. Several other parties, who lay in ambush in the high grounds, along the flanks of the army, now sprang up, and rushing on to the encounter, with a resolution no less than that of their companions, galled the English with a furious and obstinate fire. To dislodge them from the high grounds, it was necessary to make a charge with the whole line. This succeeded, but produced nothing decisive. No sooner were the savages driven from one place, than they sprang up in another. Such were the reinforcements which constantly came rushing on to the battle, that, at length, the whole detachment was completely surrounded. BOOK II. 1763.

Having thus surrounded the army, and drawn it some distance from the convoy, they commenced a furious attack upon that. It now became immediately necessary for the main body to fall back, or the convoy would be instantly lost. This was effected with the utmost address and resolution. But the enemy were not intimidated; the action, every moment, became more warm and general. The troops were attacked on every side, and with incredible spirit and obstinacy did the savages support and press their charge. During the whole of this serious action, which took so many shapes, and in which so many manœuvres were necessary, the English were not thrown into the least disorder, but, by their firm and steady conduct, and superior discipline, maintained the field, and, with fixed bayonets, drove the enemy from all their posts. Nearly seven hours did the action continue, without the least intermission. It began about one o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until the approach of night terminated the action.

The ground on which the battle was fought, was tolerably convenient for an encampment. The wounded men and convoy were placed in the centre, and the army was marshalled in a circle round the whole. In this manner the troops passed an anxious night, obliged to the strictest vigilance, by a subtile and enterprising foe, who, at some distance, still encompassed them about.

On the first dawn of the morning, they began to show themselves on every side of the camp. At the distance of about five hundred yards, they presented themselves round the whole of it; and, by an ostentation of their numbers, and the most horrible shouting and yelling, round the whole circumference, they attempted to intimidate, and strike the whole army with terror. Upon this signal, they furiously renewed the attack. The English, exhausted as they were, The action renewed, Aug. 6th.

BOOK II. with the fatiguing and terrible action of the preceding day, and the anxieties of a sleepless night, were instantly called 1763. to service, which required the utmost vigour of body and mind. Beside their other distresses, they suffered the calamity of a total want of water. In this hot season, with the agitation of their spirits, their thirst was inexpressible, and the want of water more intolerable than the fire of the enemy. In these circumstances, they were exceedingly pressed from every quarter.

Under the advantage of an incessant fire, the enemy made the most daring and repeated attempts to penetrate the centre of the camp. In every attempt they were repulsed, yet their attempts were again and again renewed, without discouragement and without dismay. The English were constantly victorious, and yet constantly in danger. Their most spirited exertions made no decisive impressions on the enemy. When pressed, they always gave way, but the moment the pursuit was over, they returned to the attack with as much spirit and alacrity as ever. The English were confined to their convoy, and could not lose sight of it a moment, without exposing that interesting object, with all their wounded men, to be an instant prey to the enemy. Many of the horses were killed and disabled, and numbers of the drivers were stupified with fear, hid in the bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders. To advance or retreat was equally impracticable. In these circumstances, they saw before them the melancholy prospect of crumbling away and perishing in a dreary wilderness, without honor, or revenge. Each moment the fate of Braddock was presented to their view. Besides, they foresaw that, in their fall, that of the important garrison of fort Pitt, would be involved. In this most critical and distressed situation, the commander conceived an expedient which succeeded to his wishes.

Observing the eagerness and temerity of the enemy, he determined to take advantage of it, and, if possible, bring them to a more close engagement. For this purpose, he ordered two companies, who had been posted in the most advanced situation, to retire within the circle; the troops on the right and left opened their files, seemingly to cover their retreat, and to fill up the vacancy which had been made by this movement. A company of light infantry and another of grenadiers, were ordered to support the two companies who feigned the retreat. The movements were made, and the plan executed, without the least confusion. At the same time, the thin line of troops which occupied the ground whence the advanced companies had

been withdrawn, moved back toward the centre of the circle, giving ground to the enemy. They, mistaking these motions for a retreat, rushed in headlong from the woods and fastnesses which covered them, and advancing, with a most daring intrepidity, within the circle, poured in a terrible and galling fire upon the English. At the moment they imagined themselves masters of the camp, two of the four companies, which had been ordered for that purpose, made a sudden turn, unobserved by the enemy, and charged them furiously upon their right flank. The enemy received them with firmness, kept a good countenance, and returned the fire with resolution. But, as these two companies were making a second charge, with great spirit and energy, on their flank, the other two companies advancing, poured in a heavy and well directed fire upon their front, and, by this unexpected exertion, put them to an immediate rout. The four companies pursued them with such resolution and celerity, as gave them not a moment to collect, or look behind them, till they were totally dispersed. The enemy round the camp, during this fierce engagement in the front, were awed and kept in play by the rest of the army, and when they perceived that their comrades were routed, they soon followed their example, and fled.

1763.

The enemy defeated.

This happy manœuvre rescued the army from apparent destruction. It gained the field and cleared the adjacent woods. By it the enemy were entirely disheartened, as they had lost more than sixty men in these various encounters, besides a great number who had been wounded. Among these, were a number of their bravest warriors, who had most distinguished themselves by the fierceness of their attack, and their animosity against the English. In their fall, was extinguished no small part of the fuel of war.*

Though the victory had been gained, after this hard fought battle, yet the marching of the army was a matter of great difficulty. It had sustained the loss of fifty men, and sixty had been wounded. At the very time when an additional number of horses were necessary, on the account of the wounded men, so many had been killed, that there was not a number sufficient to carry on but a small part of the provisions. With great reluctance, the colonel was obliged to destroy the greatest part of them; so that, after every exertion, one principal object of the expedition was defeated.

The troops thus disburthened, advanced about two miles, and pitched their camp at Bushy Run. After such fatigues

* Rider's Hist. vol. I. p. 60—69.

BOOK II. on their march, and such a severe chastisement as they had given the enemy, in the preceding actions, it was natural 1763. to expect repose. But scarcely had the English fixed their camp, when the enemy appeared in ambush round about them, and gave them another fire. Indeed, at this time, nothing could have been more mortifying. The enemy however soon drew off, and, except a few scattered shots, gave them no more trouble. Four days after, the army arrived at fort Pitt.

Few enterprises have been managed with more caution, skill, and gallantry, than this. Colonel Bouquet, his officers and men, gained singular honor, by the firmness, presence of mind, and dexterity of movement, displayed on this interesting occasion.

In few of the hard fought battles and signal victories of Europe, which are celebrated with so much eclat, is there such an exhibition of obstinate, persevering fortitude, and of military skill, as appeared in this action. Indeed, after all the severities and dangers of a campaign in Europe, little idea can be formed of what is to be endured in a war with savages, in America.

In Europe, the country is generally cultivated and inhabited, roads are made, hospitals and magazines are prepared. If troops are conquered and taken, it is only an exchange of masters. They expect kind treatment from a civilized and generous enemy. But in a war with savages, in America, every thing is the reverse, every thing is terrible. Here, troops hold their marches through groves, thickets, and defiles, through a vast and dreary wilderness, where there are neither hospitals, magazines, nor refreshments for the well, nor conveniences, nor relief, for the sick and wounded. The face of the country, the nature of the service, the appearance and manner of the enemy, are terrible. Their wild and horrible yells, their terrible visage, and manner of attack, are so alarming, that they have often thrown the best troops into confusion. Their extreme art, in first discovering, waylaying, and surprising their enemy, the suddenness and violence of their attacks, and their merciless cruelty, all conspire to make them a truly terrible enemy. Victories over them are often not decisive, while defeats involve the vanquished in total ruin. The least misfortune to be expected, in general, is simple death. If, in the rude campaigns of America, there be less dignity, there is something more adventurous, more interesting to the heart, and more amusing to the imagination, than in the more grand events of a regular war. In them, all the powers of courage and address are called

Difficulties of an Indian war.

forth into exertion, and all the firmness of body and mind is put to the severest trial. BOOK II.

An Indian war forms a truly difficult and dangerous service. It requires a firm body of the best regular troops, with a large proportion of the best marksmen, to compose a light infantry. At the same time, a commander of the firmest and coolest mind, full of caution, and rich in expedients, who, with a glance of his eye, can catch every advantage and opportunity, is absolutely necessary. To appoint a self-sufficient, incautious, dull man, to command in enterprises of this kind, is little better than sacrificing an army to the rage and cruelty of an insidious foe. 1764.

By the arrival of colonel Bouquet at fort Pitt, that post was effectually secured against any further attempts of the enemy. By the seasonable succours sent to this post, and to Detroit, the enemy received a considerable check and disappointment. However, they were not discouraged from making further attempts, in a different quarter. They bent their whole force against Niagara. This was not less worthy of their attention than the other posts. This they endeavuored to distress, by every art of which they were masters. They hoped to reduce it by hunger, if other expedients should fail them. The great distance of these posts from each other, and of them all from the settled country, was a circumstance favorable to their design. For this purpose, they watched the convoys, by land and water. On the fourteenth of September, they surrounded an escort, near Niagara, slew seventy of the soldiers, and destroyed the whole detachment. Detachment cut off, Sept. 14th.

Afterwards, as a schooner was passing lake Erie, with provisions, for Detroit, she was attacked by a crowd of canoes, on board of which were nearly four hundred Indians. A hot engagement ensued, but the savage fleet was obliged to sheer off, with considerable loss.

The garrisons soon became so well supplied with troops, military stores, and provisions, that the enemy had no prospect of effecting any thing of consequence further against them. But they continued still to be so numerous and powerful, and did such damages on the frontiers, that requisitions were made on the colonies, for troops to suppress them.

In consequence of a letter received from the earl of Halifax, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, signifying his majesty's pleasure that, in consequence of the insurrection of the Indians, Connecticut should assist in the war against them; and of a letter from general Gage, now commander in chief in North-America, urging the same. General Assembly at Hartford, March 4th.

BOOK II. a General Assembly was convened at Hartford, on the 8th of March, 1764. The assembly were by no means insen-
1764. sible that, from their local situation, they were entirely safe from the incursions of the Indians; and that, by their extraordinary exertions in the preceding war, they had greatly exhausted their resources, and made it a matter of extreme difficulty to afford assistance in a new war. Nevertheless, as it was his majesty's pleasure, and urged by the commander in chief, they complied with his majesty's requisition. They wished to promote his majesty's service, and to manifest their obedience. The assembly therefore enacted, That provision should be made for levying, clothing and paying two hundred and sixty-five able bodied men, officers included, with the utmost dispatch. The men were all to be between twenty-one and fifty years of age. They were directed to march to any place in North-America, where the commander in chief should order them. It was enacted that the troops should consist of one battalion, and be commanded by a field officer of the rank of major: and that it should be composed of five companies, each company including one captain, two subalterns and fifty men. The command of the battalion was given to major Israel Putnam, afterwards general Putnam.

A new corps raised to annoy the Indians.

To defray the expense of this little armament, the assembly ordered an emission of seven thousand pounds, in bills of credit, at five per cent, and for the purpose of redeeming them, levied a tax of one penny on the pound.

Reinforced with the new recruits, colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet, in such a spirited manner, attacked and harassed the enemy, the next spring and summer, that they became willing to bury the hatchet, and adopt articles of pacification.

Peace is made in September.

In September, a treaty was completed. The English appear rather to have dictated and imposed the terms than to have given them equal advantages. The articles in substance were, That in twenty days after the ratification of the articles, they should deliver up all the prisoners in their hands: That they should renounce all claim to the forts which the English had then in their country: That the English should build as many more as they should judge necessary to secure their trade; and that they should cede to them forever, all the land within cannon shot of the forts. It was also stipulated, that if any Indian should kill an Englishman, that he should be delivered up to be judged by the English laws, and that half of the jury should consist of Indians: and that if any of the Indian nations

Articles of Peace.

should renew the war, that the rest should join with the English to bring them to reason. Ten of the Indians who assisted as deputies in the convention for treating of peace, were to abide as hostages, until the Indian nations should be certified of the peace, and return the captives agreeably to the present treaty.* BOOK II. 1764.

There is no mention of any cession on the part of the English, nor any valuable consideration for those little townships of land which they were obliged to grant around every fort which the English then possessed, and around all others which they should judge proper to build. Neither does there appear to be the least stipulation on the part of the English to deliver up the murderers of the Indians among them to public justice, nor any such care to secure the liberty, property and lives of the natives, as to impose whatever might serve their own interest and safety. Indeed, this is too observable in almost all their treaties with the Indians, that they stipulate and bind themselves to the English in every thing which can secure their interests, while the English on their part stipulate little or nothing for the security or benefit of the Indians. They have too often imposed on them unequal terms, and even the articles of peace given them, have been grounds of uneasiness, and laid the foundation of new wars. Observations.

The Indians are quick sighted to their own honor and interests, they are susceptible of just and humane treatment, and could universal justice and kindness become part of the national character, as it respects them, and a proper attention be given to their particular ideas of honor and decorum, we might generally, no doubt, enjoy peace with them.

This Indian war, which it seems originated in the inattention, haughtiness and injustice of the English, made a considerable addition to the loss and expense which the colonies had sustained in the long war by which it was preceded. They were called upon, by his majesty and by the commander in chief, again to furnish considerable quotas of men. Connecticut, though remote from danger, was obliged to furnish men, and be at considerable expense, for the protection and safety of the southern colonies. For about nine years, she had employed more or less of her men constantly in the field, and, though less exposed, and less interested in the war than any of the other colonies, had done more in proportion to her numbers than any of them.

Though all the colonies were more or less injured by

* Rider's Hist. vol. I. p. 70.

BOOK II. this unhappy insurrection of the Indians, yet the southern sustained by far the greatest burthens and losses. Their frontiers were more immediately exposed to the murders and depredations of the enemy; large and fruitful tracts of country were abandoned, and the inhabitants driven in upon its more safe and populous parts.

Distressing as the war was to these colonies, it was nevertheless attended with some favorable circumstances. The precipitancy of several of the warriors in the beginning of the war, before the enemy were generally prepared, in some measure defeated the more methodical and general mischief which had been designed, by giving the country too early an alarm. This gave an opportunity to a greater proportion of the frontier inhabitants to make their escape, and to save more of their valuable effects. The country had more time, also, to rally and to prepare for the more general and forcible attack. Other favorable circumstances were, that the Cherokees, during the whole time, kept the peace: and though the Senecas engaged in the war, yet, by the influence of sir William Johnson, the most of the other Indians were restrained from hostilities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Susquehannah purchase. Resolve of the assembly in favour of the company. The settlement of the land commences. Colonel Dyer is sent to the court of Great-Britain, as agent for the company. The colony assert their claim to the lands comprised in the purchase.

1754. A RESPECTABLE number of gentlemen in this colony, in the year 1754, commonly known by the name of the Susquehannah company, finding a large tract of land, lying west of the province of New-York, on the river Susquehannah, owned by the six nations, for which they represented that they had no use, and wished to sell, at a full counsel of said six nations of Indians, in Albany, at the congress there, made a purchase of a large tract of country, lying on the waters of said river, about seventy miles north and south, and, from about ten miles east of it, extending westward two degrees of longitude. This tract of country had been conveyed away by king James I, in the

most ample manner possible, by letters patent, under the great seal of England, bearing date November 3d, 1620, to the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Buckingham, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, with divers other persons, by the name of the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New-England, in America. This patent made a conveyance to them, and their successors and assigns, "of all that part of America, lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of north latitude, from the equinoctial line, to the forty-eighth degree of said northerly latitude, inclusively, and in length, of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main land, from sea to sea." This patent includes the whole of New-York, and the principal part, if not the whole of Pennsylvania. 1754.

The patent of Connecticut, 1631.

In 1631, March 19th, Robert, earl of Warwick, president of the council of Plymouth, under his hand and seal, did grant and confirm unto the right honourable viscount Say and Seal, lord Brook, &c. to the number of eleven, "All that part of New-England, in America, which lies and extends itself from a river, there called Narraganset river, the space of forty leagues, upon a straight line, near the sea shore, towards the south-west, west and by south, as the coast lieth, towards Virginia, accounting three English miles to a league, and all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being the lands aforesaid, north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout all the main lands there, from the western ocean to the south seas; and all lands and grounds, soil, wood and woods, ground, havens, ports, creeks and rivers, waters, fishings, and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the said space, and every part and parcel thereof; and also, all islands lying in America aforesaid, in the said seas, or either of them, on the western or eastern coasts, or parts of the said tracts of land, by these presents to be given or granted."*

This territory had been granted to the earl of Warwick the preceding year, and it was confirmed to him, by his majesty, under the great seal of England, the same year. 1630.

This territory was again confirmed to the governor and company of the colony of Connecticut, by royal charter, under the broad seal of England, in 1662. After these complete and repeated conveyances of this territory, and confirmations of them, by several kings of England, it was

* See these patents in the Appendix of the first volume of this history, Nos. 1 and 2.

BOOK II. judged, by the purchasers of the lands on the Susquehannah, that they were undoubtedly covered, and conveyed to the colony of Connecticut, and that the right of preemption was vested in the colony. By these conveyances and confirmations of them, the kings of England divested themselves of all right or title to said lands, and invested the patentees with all the title which the royal grants could possibly convey. The original grant to the Plymouth company, was about eighty years before the grant to William Penn; the grant to the earl of Warwick, and from him to lord Say and Seal, lord Brook, &c. fifty years; and the confirmation of it by royal charter to Connecticut, nineteen years prior to the conveyance to Mr. Penn.

1755.

All other grants of this territory, prior to Penn's.

Petition to the assembly, May, 1755.

The purchasers, therefore, considering the lands as undoubtedly belonging to Connecticut, at the session in May, 1755, preferred a petition to the honourable General Assembly, praying for the consent of the assembly, that they might be formed into a distinct commonwealth, if it should be his majesty's pleasure to grant it, with such privileges and immunities as should be agreeable to his royal wisdom and pleasure.

The assembly granted their petition, and recommended them to the royal favour, in the following manner:

Resolve of the assembly, on the petition.

"Upon the petition of Phinehas Lyman, Roger Wolcott, jun'r. Samuel Gray, and Abraham Davenport, Esq'rs. and others, their associates, to the number of about eight hundred and fifty, known by the name of the Susquehannah company, by their agents, George Wyllys, Daniel Edwards, Samuel Talcott, Thomas Seymour, and Eliphalet Dyer, representing that the colony, according to the express limits of its royal charter, is in extent from the Narraganset bay on the east, to the south sea on the west, and from the sea shore on the south, to the line of the Massachusetts province on the north: That within, and towards the western part of its limits, are, and, time immemorial, have been, large numbers of Indian nations, commonly called the six nations, dwelling, improving, and claiming a large extent thereof: That a certain large parcel of such their claim, situate and lying on the waters of the Susquehannah, about seventy miles north and south, and from about ten miles east of said river, extending westward two degrees of longitude, they, the said Indian nations, not finding necessary for their own use, have, for very valuable considerations, been induced to relinquish, and to sell to the petitioners; and that some well ordered plantation, in so near a neighbourhood to the said nations, might, most likely, be a means to cement and fix them in friendship

with his majesty's subjects; and that they, the said Indians, are desirous such settlement might be promoted and carried on, as being conducive to their interest and safety; and thereupon praying the consent of this assembly, that his majesty, if it shall be his royal pleasure, grant said lands to the petitioners, and their associates, thereon to erect and settle a colony, for the more effectual securing said Indians in his majesty's interest, and the defence of his majesty's dominions in North-America, with liberty of further purchases of said Indians, to said purpose, as occasion may be: BOOK II. 1755.

"Resolved by this assembly, that they are of opinion, that the peaceably and orderly erecting and carrying on some new well regulated colony, or plantation, on the lands above mentioned, would greatly tend to fix and secure said Indian nations in allegiance to his majesty, and friendship with his subjects; and, accordingly, hereby manifest their ready acquiescence therein, if it should be his majesty's royal pleasure to grant said lands to said petitioners, and thereon erect and settle a new colony, in such form and under such regulations, as might be consistent with his royal wisdom; and, also, beg leave humbly to recommend the petitioners to his royal favour in the premises."

When the Susquehannah company made the purchase of the lands at Wyoming, on the Susquehannah, they were uninhabited, either by English or Indian settlers, and the Indian war, for several years, prevented their settlement. A letter from the earl of Egremont, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, founded on representations made by the governor of Pennsylvania, and transmitted by general Amherst, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in North-America, suggesting that the settlement was disagreeable to the Indians, and might occasion an Indian war, and the devastation of the frontiers, prevented its settlement in 1762. But the next year, people went from Connecticut, and commenced a settlement. Settlement at Wyoming commenced, 1763.

The same year, the company employed Eliphalet Dyer, Esq. to repair to the court of Great-Britain, and transact the affairs of the company at the British court. He presented a petition to his majesty, in behalf of the company, shewing their right to the lands which they had purchased, "praying his majesty to order and allow them to become colonists on the same, and grant them such privileges, powers, and authorities, as, in his great wisdom and goodness, he should think fit." This petition was pending before his majesty, when the troubles between Great-Britain and

BOOK II. the colonies began, and the revolutionary war commenced, and the controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylva-
1770. nia, relative to the title, was never determined by the crown.

As Pennsylvania claimed the same lands, and made a powerful opposition to the Connecticut settlers and claim, the colony wished to act cautiously in the affair. Therefore, in the session in May, 1770, the assembly determined to transmit a state of the case to counsel learned in the law, in England. The gentlemen to whom the case was referred, were, Messrs. Thurlow, Wedderburn, Jackson, and Dunning, gentlemen as learned and famous in the law department as any, at that day, in England. With the statement of the case, they proposed the three following questions.

1770. Case referred to lawyers in England.

Questions and answers relative to the land in controversy.

Question I. "Do the words, actually possessed and occupied, extend to lands on the west side of the Dutch settlements, which were, at the time of the grant of James the first, in a perfect wild state, but divided from the English settlements by the actual possession of the Dutch? And did the grant to the council of Plymouth mean to except in favor of foreigners, not only what they had actually planted, but all to the westward of such plantations?"

Answer. "We are of opinion that the words actually possessed and enjoyed, do not extend to lands on the west side of the Dutch settlements, which were, at the time of the grant of James the first, in a wilderness state, though divided from the English settlements by the actual possession of the Dutch, and that the grant to the council of Plymouth did not mean to except in favor of any one, any thing to the westward of such plantations."

Quest. II. "Have not the said governor and company of the colony of Connecticut, the right of preemption and the title under the crown to the lands aforesaid, within the limits and bounds of their patent aforesaid, lying westward of the province of New-York, and not included in the charter of king Charles the second to the duke of York, notwithstanding the several settlements of boundaries between the colony on the east, and the province on the west, made as well by agreement between the parties, as under the royal authority, and notwithstanding the subsequent charter to Sir William Penn?"

Answer. "The agreement between the colony of Connecticut and the province of New-York, can extend no further than to settle the boundaries between the respective parties, and has no effect upon other claims, that either of them had in other parts; and as the charter of Connecticut

was granted but eighteen years before that, to Sir William Penn, there is no ground to contend that the crown could, at that period, make an effectual grant to him of that country, which had been so recently granted to others. But if the country had been actually settled under the latter grant, it would now be a matter of considerable doubt, whether the right of the occupiers, or the title under which they hold, could be impeached by a prior grant, without actual settlement." BOOK II. 1773.

Quest. III. "What course of proceedings will be legal and expedient for the governor and company of Connecticut to pursue, on the whole state and circumstances in this case, in order to terminate all disputes and differences relative to said land?"

Answer. "In case the governor and company shall, in point of prudence, think it expedient to make their claim and support it, it will be proper, either amicably and in concurrence with the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or, in case of the refusal of those proprietaries, without them, to apply to the king in council, praying his majesty to appoint commissioners in America, to decide the question, with the usual power of appeal.

"E. THURLOW, RD. JACKSON,
"ALR. WEDDERBURN, J. DUNNING."

The legislature having received this decision, so fully in favour of the colony's title, at the session in October, 1773, "Resolved, That this assembly, at this time, will assert their claim, and, in some proper way, support such claim, to those lands contained within the limits and boundaries of the charter of this colony, which are westward of the province of New-York."

At the same time, the legislature appointed and commissioned colonel Dyer, doctor Johnson, and Mr. J. Strong, to treat with governor Penn, and the agent or agents of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, respecting an amicable agreement between the colony and the said proprietaries, concerning the boundaries of this colony and the province of Pennsylvania: but if said proprietors preferred joining in an application to his majesty for commissioners to settle said line, in that case the commissioners were authorised to join, on behalf of this colony, in such application: and they were further directed to consult and agree with governor Penn, upon such measures as would tend to preserve peace and good order among the inhabitants of said lands, and prevent mutual violence and contention, during the time the boundaries between this colony and the proprietaries of that province remain undetermined.

BOOK II. 1773. In December following, the commissioners made a journey to Philadelphia, and waited on governor Penn. They communicated to him the acts of the General Assembly, relative to the lands west of the province of New-York, and, in a very able and polite manner, treated with him on the several points comprised in their commission. But the governor would not enter into any negociation with them, for the purpose of settling the limits and boundaries between the colony of Connecticut and the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and the whole controversy between them and Connecticut; nor would he join with the colony in an application to his majesty in council, to appoint commissioners to decide the controversy. At the same time, he was equally opposed to any agreement relative to any such measures as might preserve peace and good order among the inhabitants settled on the contested lands, while the dispute was depending.*

The commissioners reported to the assembly at Hartford, in January. Upon the report, finding that Mr. Penn would come to no composition with the colony, the General Assembly determined to extend their jurisdiction to the settlers on the contested lands, and incorporated them into a town, by the name of Westmoreland, with the same privileges as other towns in the colony enjoyed.

Westmoreland incorporated.

As the Susquehannah company had its opposers, and as many imagined that the claim of the colony was unfounded, the measures which the assembly had adopted, produced a considerable tumult and faction in the colony. A large number of malcontents convened at Middletown, and drew up the following petition and remonstrance.

Petition and remonstrance against the proceedings of the legislature.

"At a meeting of the committees of twenty-three towns in this colony, at Middletown, on the 30th of March, 1774, appointed by their respective towns, to confer together on the present alarming situation of this colony, respecting the public measures lately pursued by the honourable General Assembly, respecting Susquehannah matters, and to prepare a petition and remonstrance, to be presented to the next assembly, which were fully and calmly debated and considered;—Whereupon it was voted, That the annexed petition and remonstrance be printed and dispersed through all the towns in this colony, that the general sense of the public may be had thereupon;—and the same is recommended to their approbation and adoption. The amount of the lists of the towns now met, by their committees, exceeds two fifths of the grand list of this colony.

"ADAM BABCOCK, Clerk."

* See the report of the commissioners, January, 1774.

"To the honourable General Assembly of the governor and company of the colony of Connecticut, to be holden at Hartford, on the second Thursday of May next. 1774.

"We, the inhabitants of , in town meeting assembled, with hearts full of submission and duty, and tenderly affected for the honour, interest, and peace of this colony, and the welfare and happiness of ourselves, and our posterity, beg leave humbly to petition and remonstrate against certain acts and doings of the General Assembly of this colony, and measures taken in favour of the Susquehannah company, (so called,) whereby the jurisdiction of this colony is attempted to be extended to lands west of the province of New-York;—measures which your remonstrants conceive to be of a very dangerous tendency, and pregnant with the greatest mischief to them and their posterity, and highly derogatory to the honour and interest, and destructive to the peace of the colony, and a great grievance.

"Your petitioners, as British subjects, conceive they have an undoubted right to lay their grievances before your honours, by their humble petition;—a right vested in their ancestors, from the earliest periods; an essential part of their privileges; vindicated, asserted, and confirmed, on the most trying and glorious occasions, and at the expense of blood and treasure, transmitted to them; the exercise of which, at this time and in this manner, as they are sure it ought not, so they humbly hope it will not, give any offence or umbrage to your honours, or their fellow subjects.

"Your honors' remonstrants beg leave, with the freedom of Englishmen, and the duty of subjects, to lay their grievances before your honors, the principal of which, and from which, as its source, all other grievances are derived, is, that the proprietors of the Susquehannah company, who claim the lands over which jurisdiction is extended, who were members of the last General Assembly, and deeply interested in the questions discussed and determined, were suffered to, and did sit and act in said assembly, in those very matters in which they were so deeply interested, and for which their partners, settled on said lands, under their votes and for their benefit, were suitors to said assembly. Your remonstrants conceive themselves warranted to assert that said members were interested, from all the acts and transactions of said company, from the peculiar engagedness of said members in promoting the interests of said company, and from their frequent declarations, that they have expended immense sums of money in purchasing the native right, prosecuting measures, in Eng-

BOOK II. land and America, to complete their title: and, from their having prosecuted, at their own expense, a memorial to
1774. the assembly in May last, praying for the exercise of jurisdiction over said lands by this colony; and which lands they must lose, unless the General Assembly would be prevailed upon to take the steps which the last assembly hath taken. But we will not take up your honors' time, to prove their interest and partiality in the present case, since it is so apparent and notorious, that not a freeman in the colony can be ignorant of it. And as their being permitted to debate and give their voice in determining the important questions that came under the consideration of the last assembly, in which their interest was concerned, is contrary to all ancient precedent and usage, as your remonstrants are informed; so it appears to your remonstrants unreasonable, unconstitutional, and of very dangerous tendency, when partial and interested men not only vote to serve their own ends, but are likewise admitted to narrate facts, to argue, to persuade; in short, to be witnesses, counsel and judges for themselves. That full confidence may be reposed in the supreme legislature is of the highest importance; hence the wise care of our ancestors, that an equal representation should take place, that elections should be free; that all suspicion of partiality, prejudice, and sinister or interested views, in the members of that august body should be prevented. And it is with deep concern and grief, that they are obliged to inform your honors that the measures they complain of, not only tend to weaken and destroy that confidence, in their opinion, but have in fact, in regard to the last assembly, had that unhappy effect, of which the feelings of your remonstrants are to them the highest evidence. They can confide, they ever have confided, and will still confide in the unbiassed and impartial determinations of their rulers; but they cannot consider the determinations of the last assembly, in the measures complained of, many of which would not have passed had not said proprietors voted for the same, as unbiassed and impartial.

"Your remonstrants beg leave to say further, that it is not men, but measures, they regard. They have no personal dislike to the gentlemen who are members of that company; they would think themselves warranted to complain, in any case, where men, the best of men, with the same interest and prejudices, were admitted to debate and decide.

"Your remonstrants would justly be tempted to distrust their own judgments, and quiet their fears, had a disinter-

ested representative of the colony taken any measures of which they could not discern the propriety, and against which they might have reasons of weight, with them, presuming their rulers, as they were appointed to watch for their good, had both the means and the will to determine wisely, and for their best interest. But, here they beg leave to shew to your honors, that they conceive the extension of jurisdiction to those lands by the last assembly, was of dangerous, and, in their apprehension, may be of fatal tendency. The title of the colony to those lands is contested; should the same, on trial, be found defective, we conceive the colony might be justly charged with usurping an unwarrantable jurisdiction, misusing and abusing their chartered powers and privileges, and thereby a pretence be furnished for depriving us of our dearest rights and privileges, and at this time especially impolitic, when debates run high between the parent state and her colonies, and we may presume every opportunity will be watched and greedily seized, to extend the power and influence of the crown in America. Again, our humanity is shocked when we consider what bloody tragedies may ensue from the clashing of opposite jurisdictions, actually exercised, or attempted to be exercised within the same limits. We apprehend great numbers of subjects in this colony, taught as they are, from their youth, to place the highest confidence in the legislature, will be, by the acts of the last assembly, tempted to transport themselves and their effects, and settle on said lands, and in case the title of the colony should finally fail, they would be reduced to abject wretchedness, dependance and poverty there, or fall back on this colony, by thousands, in extreme penury, to waste the residue of their lives, a burthen to themselves, and an expense and dead weight upon the community; by which means, the support of the poor, already a heavy burthen, will become intolerable. BOOK II. 1774.

"Your remonstrants are convinced by arguments, offered by the committee appointed to treat with his honor governor Penn, contained in their reports to the assembly, that the possession of said lands is so recent, that it cannot aid, or affect our title, or be of any use on the trial of the same, and therefore must be calculated wholly and solely for the benefit of the Susquehannah company, and procured by the great influence and address of their proprietors, who sat in the last assembly: and although we have reason to think the title of the colony to those lands slender and precarious, yet that being a matter of which we are not competent judges, nor perhaps furnished with facts and

BOOK II. documents, by which a judgment might be made, we are willing and desirous that the right of the colony to them, and
1774. the prudence and policy of asserting that right, should be judged and determined by a disinterested assembly.

"We therefore humbly pray your honors, to exclude the proprietors of the Susquehannah company from a voice on these matters, and to reconsider the aforesaid votes and doings of the assembly, in October and January last; and as we are willing to do justice to all men, let the Susquehannah company, by their counsel, and counsel assigned by your honors to manage the opposite side of the question, be admitted to have a public and open hearing upon the aforesaid matters, which we esteem of the highest and last importance; and we shall be happy to abide by and acquiesce in the decision that shall be made. In the mean time, we humbly hope, the inhabitants of the new made town of Westmoreland, may be suspended from interfering in the voting, being represented, or otherwise transacting in the affair of government, during such term as the title of the company to the same is in suspense and undecided; because till then, it cannot be known whether it is in this colony or not. As your remonstrants in duty bound shall ever pray."

This party, and their memorial, met with very little countenance by the people in general; by many, they were made a subject of banter and ridicule.

Petition and proposals of the Susquehannah company.

The Susquehannah company, at the same time, came forward with a petition, praying the assembly to quitclaim to them the right and title of the colony, to the western lands, purporting that, to quiet all apprehensions of expense and detriment to the colony, they would give good security to it, to take the whole expense of prosecuting the claim upon themselves: and that, if, on the issue of the dispute, the lands should be confirmed to the colony, they would (over and above paying the whole expense of the suit) pay in to the colony treasury, for the public use, the sum of ten thousand pounds lawful money; or that such proportion of said lands, when recovered, should be sequestered to said use, as their honors by themselves, or a judicious committee, shall judge reasonable and just.

The petitioners represented that they were the more urgent with their honors in the affair, as they were sensible of the rapid population and settlement of America, and consequently of the rising importance of those lands, and equally averse to burthening the people of the colony with expenses which, though small, might be an occasion of

internal uneasiness; and that they had not the most distant thought of giving up and relinquishing so fine a country.* Book II.

The legislature persevered in their measures, and the representatives from Westmoreland were admitted to sit in the assembly, as the representatives of other towns in the colony were. 1774.

About the same time, a large pamphlet was written by a Mr. Smith of Philadelphia, who it was supposed had been assisted by Mr. Ingersoll, against the title of Connecticut to the western lands, and attempting to establish the title of governor Penn and the proprietaries. In this, an attempt was made to show that the original grant to Connecticut, and their charter, did not cover the western land in contest: That the tract of country described in them ran off from the sea, a north or north-westerly direction: That the lands granted in the charter, had been previously granted to the duke of Hamilton. Further, it was urged, that Connecticut, by the settlement of boundaries between that colony and the province of New-York, had cut herself off from all lands west of that province. This was officiously spread in the colony. The people were thrown into a great ferment. The malcontents were for turning out the gentlemen of the upper house and forming a new assembly.

A certain clergyman in the colony, who had made a large collection of papers and documents relative to it, though wholly unconnected with the Susquehannah company, and uninterested in it, merely for quieting the people, and maintaining the peace of the colony, wrote an answer to Mr. Smith's and Mr. Ingersoll's pamphlet, in which he attempted to evince, from the most authentic and repeated grants from the crown, and from the great Plymouth company, prior to Mr. Penn's, the indubitable right of Connecticut to the western lands in controversy: That the original grant of territory to Connecticut, and the charter of the colony, extended in longitude from Narraganset river to the South sea; and in fact, comprised all the contested lands: and, that the settlement of boundaries with New-York, could have no effect on the title of the colony to lands which they owned west of said province. The original patent, and various documents relative to the title, were printed and laid before the public. This gave entire satisfaction to the Susquehannah company, and to the people in general. The colony was quieted, and the gentlemen of the council were elected at the next general election.

* Memorial of the company in print.

BOOK II. The colony's asserting its title to the lands west of the province of New-York, was a happy circumstance. Congress, after the American revolution, acknowledged the title and claim of Connecticut, and the State reserved, for its own use, that fine tract of country called New-Connecticut, by the sale of which, the school fund of Connecticut was made. This is a most happy establishment, which not only does great honor, but is of permanent and incalculable advantage to the commonwealth.

CHAPTER XXV.

Controversy at Wallingford. Mr. Dana called to preach there. The church and society, without the advice of the association, invite him to settle with them in the work of the gospel ministry. An opposition arises against him on account of his religious sentiments. Attempts are made to obtain satisfaction relative to them, but none could be obtained. The opposition increaseth. A complaint is exhibited against him to the moderator of the consociation. The consociation is called at Wallingford, and an ordination council at the same time. The church and Mr. Dana deny the jurisdiction of the consociation, and Mr. Dana refuses an examination by it. The ordaining council separate themselves from the consociation, and protest against it. They proceed to Mr. Dana's ordination in direct opposition to the consociation. The consociation adjourn, and invite the neighboring consociation of the southern district of the county of Hartford to unite with them in council. This united council declare Mr. Dana and his church guilty of scandalous contempt. The minor part of the church who opposed the ordination of Mr. Dana, are owned as a distinct church, by the consociation. The minority are made a distinct society, and the Rev. Simon Waterman is ordained pastor over that part of the church and town. Disputes and divisions in the colony relative to said transactions.

1738. AFTER the death of the Rev. Mr. Whittelsey, the first church and society in Wallingford were destitute of a settled minister for about six years.* The people were so divided in their opinions and feelings, that they

* Mr. Whittelsey died, April 15th, 1752.

had not been able to unite in the settlement of any candidate whom they had employed. Mr. Chauncey Whittelsey had preached among them, to more general satisfaction than any other gentleman; but there was such a number in opposition to him, that it was not judged expedient for him to settle with them. The association had advised the committee of the church and society to call in three candidates, of whom Mr. Whittelsey should be one, and the other two to be named by the minor party, and to hear them preach six sabbaths each, and then to settle him who should have the major vote, and that the minority should then agree to his settlement. Provided, nevertheless, that if the minor party should refuse to nominate, that then the society might proceed in a regular manner to the settlement of Mr. Whittelsey. This advice, it seems, was not acceptable. There was no prospect that the majority, who were fixed in the choice of Mr. Whittelsey, would recede from their choice in favor of any other man. At the motion of Mr. Whittelsey, another council, consisting of a part of the association, was called, to give further advice relative to the difficulties then subsisting at Wallingford. This advisory council, as it was called, advised the committee of the church and society, to make application to Mr. Holyoke, president of Cambridge college, Mr. Appleton, minister of Cambridge, and Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, for direction to some suitable candidate to settle in the work of the gospel ministry in Wallingford. President Holyoke and Mr. Appleton advised to Mr. James Dana, of Cambridge. Dr. Chauncey was gone into the country, and his advice was not obtained. Mr. Dana soon after came to Wallingford, and preached to very general satisfaction; so that, at the first society meeting which was called relative to his settlement, there appeared a good degree of unanimity in giving him a call to the work of the ministry in the society. None appeared in opposition, though some, and two or three of the committee, were not in the vote. They were not satisfied with respect to his doctrines, and soundness in the faith. This first meeting, which was on the 23d of June, was adjourned until the 30th of the same month, with a view to consult with Mr. Dana, relative to his settlement and salary. BOOK II. 1758.

Mean while, one of the committee made him a visit, with a view of obtaining satisfaction relative to his doctrines, designing, if he could obtain satisfaction relative to them, to act in favor of his ordination. He, in as mild and decent a manner as he knew how, introduced the matter, and asked him a few questions relating to his doctrines and

BOOK II. preaching, expecting that Mr. Dana would, at least, attempt to satisfy him with respect to his religious sentiments. But instead of this, to his grief and surprise, as he testified, Mr. Dana answered him very short, and in a loud and boisterous manner, and treated him with such apparent anger and disdain, as he never met with from any gentleman before, declaring that he did not regard the opposition a farthing, or words to that effect: That if there were any objections against what he had delivered in preaching, he would answer them before the ordaining council. Farther, Mr. Dana said, he was too young to be examined.

1753.

Some other gentlemen waited on him between the meetings, to obtain satisfaction for themselves as to his religious sentiments, and particularly desired him to let them know his sentiments with regard to original sin, the saints perseverance, and with respect to free will and falling from grace. He made them very short answers, and said he should not tell. They asked him how he liked the platform. He said he had never seen it, but supposed, if he settled, he should settle upon it. They inquired if he had seen the doctrines of faith which Mr. Whittelsey had used? He told them he had. They inquired how he liked them? In reply, he asked them why they did not ask him how he liked John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and Æsop's fables?*

This treatment, and his refusing to give an account of his doctrines, gave much dissatisfaction, and caused a very different appearance at the next meeting, on the 30th. Now a strong and fixed party appeared against him. The society, nevertheless, proceeded to vote him a settlement and salary, and continued their desire that he should be settled with them in the work of the ministry. Mr. Dana, after consulting his friends, declared his acceptance of their invitation.

In consequence of this, some of the leading men in the opposition entered a complaint against Mr. Dana and the church. Against him as unsound in the faith, and against the church for calling him to the work of the ministry under such circumstances, against so large an opposition, on the account of his doctrines. A copy of the complaint is in the words following, viz:

"To the Rev. Mr. Samuel Hall, moderator of the consociation, in New-Haven county.

"Reverend Sir,

"The petition of us, whose names are under written,

* Rev. Mr. Eells' narrative.

humbly sheweth, that whereas the first society and church in Wallingford have been in pursuit of Mr. James Dana, of Cambridge, to settle in the ministry among us, and the said church and society have not taken the steps of the constitution of the government, set forth in the Saybrook platform, reference thereto being had. Furthermore, we the members of said church and society, beg leave to charge Mr. James Dana with declaring in public, some time in June last, that there was no sacrifice for wilful transgressions under the law or gospel. He also delivered, some time in the same month, that to suppose a man's sins are necessary and unavoidable, is to excuse the man from guilt, and lay and cast the blame upon God. Aug. 20th, Mr. Dana took his text out of Chronicles, 28th chapter, 9th verse: under which text he undertook to inform us what were the conditions of our acceptance with God; and saith our obedience must be sincere, uniform, willing, universal, and persevering; that these were the conditions of our acceptance with God, and what would interest us in his favor; and that it would be suspended until we had fulfilled the above conditions. Sometime in July, said Mr. Dana delivered, in one of his sermons, that the gospel makes the practice of the duties of morality, the unchangeable condition of our future happiness. He declared some time in August or September, that it was not strange if we had new things delivered to us in religion, and supposed we should have further discoveries made to us in every century, till we arrived at a perfect state: which doctrines we look upon as unfounded, not agreeable to the word of God, or the doctrines of the Saybrook platform, and the confession of faith therein set forth: and he has preached twenty-one sermons in Wallingford, and has wholly omitted the doctrines of the new birth, and the safety of appearing in the righteousness of Christ; and he compared the doctrine of faith that the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whittelsey taught, to Æsop's fables and John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; which we look upon as unbecoming. We do hereby desire the consociation to be called, to hear these, with other grievances, and determine the whole matter; and we will be at the cost; and the house of Caleb Merriman, Esq. is appointed to meet at. He declares he cares nothing about the opposition. Members of said church.

"Caleb Merriman, Caleb Johnson, Daniel Clark, Street Hall, Levi Moss, of the society.

"A true copy, test, Samuel Hall, Moderator.*

"Dated at Wallingford, September 25th, 1758."

* Rev. Mr. Todd's Narrative.

BOOK II. 1758. Complaint against Mr. Dana and the church.

BOOK II. 1758. In consequence of this complaint, Mr. Hall, the moderator, by the advice of a number of the neighboring elders, and afterwards by the advice of the association, before whom he laid the matter, called the consociation, to meet at Wallingford on the 10th of October; and he gave out citations under his hand, to Mr. Dana, and the church at Wallingford, notifying them of the meeting of the consociation, and requiring them to appear at time and place. Agreeably to the letters missive, the consociation convened at Wallingford, and the council, called for the ordination of Mr. Dana, met at the same time. This consisted of the Rev. Messrs. Noyes, of New-Haven, Hall, of Cheshire, Stiles, of North-Haven, Ruggles, of Guilford, Hall, of Meriden, Whittelsey, of Milford, John Brown, of Hingham, in Massachusetts, and Mr. Whittelsey, of New-Haven, colleague with Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Fowler, of Guilford, colleague with Mr. Ruggles. These were all members of the association and consociation of New-Haven county, except Mr. Brown, of Massachusetts. They all met with the consociation at Esquire Merriman's.

The consociation having thus convened, the moderator, as soon as was convenient, proposed to form the body, by choosing a moderator and scribe. This brought on a dispute on the consociation's being called *de novo*, or as a new one, and also on account of some of the members not being qualified according to the constitution. This, however, was soon so far overruled, that the council united in choosing a moderator and scribe, and the consociation was opened with prayer.

Upon this, Mr. Dana and the churches' committee, and the complainants, came in before the consociation, and the complaint was read. The church then declined to submit to the consociation. The church pleaded that, according to the constitution, it could have no jurisdiction in that case. But they said they were ready to hear and answer all objections made to their proceedings before the ordaining council.

The consociation wishing to conduct an affair of such moment in the most amicable manner possible, chose a committee, of which one was of the ordaining council, to treat with the parties, and attempt some mode of agreement. In this conference, the minority made this proposal by their agents, "That in case Mr. Dana would submit to an examination by the consociation then met, and they should approve of him as orthodox, they would concur in his ordination; for his principles were their chief

difficulty."* But they insisted that this should be determined by the consociation, and not by the ordination council only. But to this, Mr. Dana and the committee would not consent. BOOK II. 1758.

The consociation adjourned, to meet in the meeting-house the next morning. In the mean time, the gentlemen who had been invited to be of the ordaining council, met by themselves and formed, as was generally supposed, to keep the council alive, that they might act, when the way should be prepared by the consociation. It was not suspected, even by some who formed with them, that it was with a design of separating from the consociation.

When the consociation met in the morning, according to adjournment, they met with it. On declaration being made that the council was opened, and that all parties concerned had liberty to be heard, Mr. Dana appeared, and denied the jurisdiction of the council, and insisted, that the complaint exhibited against him, was not cognizable by that body; for he was not one of the associated pastors, that might be complained of for heresy or scandal to the association; nor, if he was, had there been any complaint of scandal or heresy made to the association against him; nor had there been any careful examination of that matter by them.

With respect to this part of his plea, that he was not one of the associated pastors, and that no complaint had been exhibited against him to the associaton, &c.; it was observed, that Mr. Dana's preaching to, and accepting the call of a consociated church, to take the pastoral charge of it, brought him so far within the reach of the constitution, that he must be subject to the government of the consociated churches: That it was a maxim among all nations, and so founded in the reason of things that it will extend to all communities, civil and sacred, that whoever comes into a community, and reaps the benefits of that body, must be subject to the laws of it. That Mr. Dana was reaping the benefits of a consociated church, and therefore, was subject to the laws of the consociated churches, and that, therefore, a charge of scandal or heresy might be brought against him: That a copy of the charge, in substance, was given him, by those who opposed his ordination, and that they certified him that they were going to Northbury, to the association, and that he refused to attend. That though the complaint was carried to the moderator of the last consociation, yet that it was, by his di-

* Mr. Eells' Narrative. That this proposal was made, at this time, is attested by five of the principal men in the minority.

BOOK II. rection, laid before the association, and that they had the same opportunity to examine the matter, as if it had been
1758. directed to them at the first, and to give advice in the affair; so that Mr. Dana was subject to the constitution. His cause had been so heard by the association, that they judged it to be the duty of the moderator to convene the consociation, and advised him to the measure, that Mr. Dana might be heard on the charge exhibited against him.

Though Mr. Dana denied the jurisdiction of the council, he expressed his desire, to give the pastors and delegates of the churches satisfaction, by an open vindication of himself; but at the same time, he gave the council to understand that he would not be interrogated by them on any point of doctrine, or upon the charge, or that he would not be wire-drawn.*

When Mr. Dana had finished what he proposed, the committee of the church and society appeared before the consociation, denied its jurisdiction, and pleaded, "first, That the present convention was not a regular consociation. For,

1. "A regular consociation was a council, consisting of all the consociated churches of the circuit, according to the second article for the administration of church discipline; whereas all the consociated churches were not notified, called, or invited to be present in this council. The moderator never sent any notification to the first church in Wallingford.

2. "The moderator was not empowered by any article of the platform, to call a consociation *de novo*, until the time of the former was expired.

3. "Several of the members of this convention, have not the essential qualifications of members of a consociation; particularly, Mr. Robbins was not a pastor of one of the consociated churches."

It was replied to these objections to this effect: That it never had been the custom of this consociation, to notify a church to send a messenger, when the consociation had been called to consider any matter relating to said church, or their pastor; and that universal practice had shown, that the article in the platform had never been understood in the sense of those who made the objection.†

With respect to the calling of the consociation *de novo*,

* Narratives of Messrs. Eells and Todd.

† It is believed, that there never has been an instance, since the formation of the platform to this time, in this county, of sending a letter missive, to a church or pastor, to sit in a consociation, in which a cause of their own was depending. This would be like notifying a criminal to sit as judge in the very court which was to try him.

it was shewn, that this had been the universal practice, when a new case had occurred. This was testified by a number of the elderly ministers, who were members of the council; and that the calling of the council at Wallingford *de novo*, perfectly corresponded with their understanding of their adjournment without day, and to their universal practice in all similar cases. BOOK II. 1758.

With respect to Mr. Robbins, it was alledged that he had been received as a member, both of the association and consociation; that he was one of the committee of the association, and had before sat with the consociation. It was further observed, if any of the gentlemen to whom the letters were sent, had omitted the reading of them, it could by no means affect the regularity or jurisdiction of the council.

The committee of the church and society further objected, that if the present convention was a regular consociation, yet the case in question did not fall under their consideration, according to the constitution.

1. "The complainants were their own members, and have no right, by the constitution, to call a consociation, to sit in judgment upon them, and exercise jurisdiction over them."

2. "That as the matter of complaint against them, was only their proceeding in the choosing and calling a minister, and what related to his ordination, it belonged to the ordination council, not to the consociation, to judge thereon."

3. "That if it should be granted, that an aggrieved member might bring the church to the bar, before the consociation, yet their members could not be aggrieved as yet; for they had not settled a minister, and, therefore, they were not hurt yet."

To these objections, little was necessary to be said. The first objection was so evidently against the express provision of the seventh article of discipline, that the simple words of it are a sufficient reply. This provides, "That any church in which any difficulty arises, which cannot be issued without considerable disquiet, may apply to the consociation, or that minister or member aggrieved with them, shall apply themselves to the council of the consociated churches of the circuit to which the said church belongs, who, if they see cause, shall thereupon convene, hear, and determine such cases of difficulty," &c. No words could be more express and determinate, as to the right which the aggrieved brethren had to make application to the consociation for relief, and with respect to the duty of the conso-

BOOK II. ciation to convene, and hear their grievance, and the obligations of the church to appear and answer to the com-
1758. plaint. Were not this the case, a church might exercise oppression over their minister, and the minor part of it, and they could have no relief. They might introduce Roman catholics, the most loose, profane and scandalous persons, into the church and into the ministry, to the great grief and distress of the most orthodox and pious people in it, and they could have no relief.

With respect to the second article, that the articles complained of were such as belonged to the decision of the ordination council, and not to the consociation, it was replied to this effect: That the articles of complaint were, that the church had not taken the steps prescribed in the constitution, in calling, and in proceeding to settle a gentleman, who does not hold to the doctrines of faith, and stands charged with heresy: that the consociated churches had received the doctrines of faith, as well as the articles of discipline, contained in the agreement made at Saybrook; and that the General Assembly had established the confession of faith, no less than the heads of agreement and articles of discipline: that the charge against the church was, their choosing such a person, and proceeding in such a manner, to obtain his ordination; that this was the matter to be submitted to trial; and that the constitution knew of no council to try articles of complaint, but the consociation. That the third article of discipline had confined the trial to the consociation, and, consequently, excluded the ordination council. The article provides, that "all cases of scandal that fall out within the circuit of any of the aforesaid consociations, shall be brought to a council of the elders, and also messengers of the churches within said circuit."

With respect to the third objection, that the complainants were not yet aggrieved, because Mr. Dana was not settled, it was considered as merely trifling. The church had proceeded to call Mr. Dana, and had taken all previous steps to introduce him into the ministry, as pastor of the church, against a large and respectable minority, which was calculated to make a great division and separation in the church and town; a man whom they considered as not sound in the faith; whose doctrines they believed, instead of being salutary, would be destructive to the souls of men. He was now their pastor elect, and the church and society had called a council to ordain him. The consociation judged, and they believed that all mankind would esteem these to be grievances indeed.

After these objections had been made, the consociation were for some time by themselves, debating upon them. Here, among other things, what were said to be the doings of a consociation at Branford, in April, 1709, were introduced. This paper was a piece of antiquity, which had lain useless, and almost wholly unknown, for six and thirty years, when it was produced at Branford, in the case of Mr. Robbins: it was then new to almost every minister present. It was introduced at Branford, to prove that Mr. Robbins and his church were consociated, and amenable to the consociation; but at Wallingford, thirteen years afterwards, it was improved by the same men, to show that the church there, which had always been consociated, was not subject to consociational jurisdiction. The explanation of the articles of discipline contained in this ancient paper, had never been improved in the county of New-Haven, but in the case of Mr. Robbins in 1745, and now in this at Wallingford, to prove directly the contrary to what it had been judged to prove at Branford. It never had been adopted as a rule of action, by the consociation of New-Haven county, nor by any other in the colony. Besides, the pretended explanation had never been referred to any of the churches, for their acceptance; nor could any record or proper evidence be produced, that the church at Wallingford, or any other of the consociated churches, had received the platform, or constitution, with any such explanation as that paper contained. The consociation, therefore, considered the explanation pleaded for of no weight, and that it was inconsistent in gentlemen to use it for purposes so directly opposite to each other. BOOK II. 1758.

It was also insisted on, by the gentlemen of the ordination council, that the words in the parenthesis, in the seventh article, "or that minister or that member aggrieved with them," was explained by the next article, where it was provided, that there is not the same liberty to an offending brother to "call the said council, before the church to which he belongs proceed to excommunication in the said case, unless with the consent of the church;" and that no pastor, or aggrieved individual, or individuals, could call a council to arraign the pastor, or a majority of the church, before it, and that it was subversive of the liberties of the churches. The consociation had an entirely different view of the seventh and eighth articles. That the eighth was no explanation of the seventh; and that the case of the offending brother was entirely different and distinct from that of an aggrieved pastor or brother.

When the objections against the jurisdiction of the cor-

BOOK II. sociation had been fully debated, and maturely considered, the question was put, "whether this consociation have a
1758. right to hear and determine, in relation to the complaint exhibited against the proceedings of the first church in Wallingford, with regard to the calling of Mr. James Dana, to settle in the gospel ministry among them?" and passed in the affirmative. Upon this, the gentlemen who were of the ordination council, who had, till this time, joined and acted with the consociation, withdrew themselves wholly from it, and entered into, and presented to the consociation the following protest:

"To the Rev. Mr. Samuel Hall, and other elders and messengers of churches, of this county, convened at the house of Caleb Merriman, Esq. in Wallingford, and acting, or pretending to act, as the consociation of this county.

"We the subscribers, do hereby declare our dissent from, and protest against, whatever resolves may be come into, or determined upon by you, for the following reasons:

1. "Because, by the ecclesiastical constitution of this colony, a consociation may subsist by adjournment, for a year: a new consociation was called, and met last May, and continued themselves by adjournment, and must be therefore now in being; yet the present convention was called together as a new consociation.

2. "Because one of the churches under the constitution, in this county, was not notified to attend the consociation by their delegates.

3. "Because you have voted, or resolved by a prerogative act, that Mr. Robbins, of Branford, may sit and act as a member of the consociation, who, with his church, have voted out the constitution, and refused to be regulated by it; and accordingly did not lead his church to choose any delegate.

4. "Because the special matters which, by complaint, lie before you, relating to the first church and society in Wallingford, and Mr. James Dana, are so brought, that, were you a regular consociation, they could not be taken cognizance of by you, consistent with the essential rights of congregational churches, and the plain directions of the constitution: and the resolve you have already come into thereupon, (if reduced to a precedent) will effectually deprive the churches of their right to choose their own pastors, and to exercise church discipline."*

The consociation sent a copy of their determination, that they had a right to hear the complaint which lay before them. After this, both councils were adjourned until eight o'clock the next morning.

* Mr. Todd's Narrative, p. 40.

The consociation met the next morning, according to adjournment, and came to the following resolve, viz. "Resolved by this consociation, that it shall be esteemed, and it is hereby judged disorderly, for any of the members of this consociation, or any other persons, to proceed to, or be assisting in the ordination of Mr. James Dana, to the gospel ministry, in the first church and society of Wallingford, while the matter is depending before this consociation. And also, it is judged disorderly for the church in Wallingford to proceed in receiving Mr. Dana for their pastor, by ordination; and for him to accept thereof, until the complaint against Mr Dana, and the proceedings of said church, cognizable by this consociation, have been heard and determined. Therefore, this consociation earnestly beseech and desire the church to study the things which make for peace; and all our members not to be assisting in the ordination of Mr. Dana, and Mr. Dana not to accept thereof, till the matter is fully weighed and considered by this consociation, and full satisfaction given in the matters lying before this body. Voted. Test. BOOK II. 1758.

"WARHAM WILLIAMS, Scribe."

The consociation, at the same time, sent a resolve which they had previously passed, relative to the case of Mr. Dana, which was in the following words, viz:

"At a meeting, &c.

"This consociation having duly weighed and considered the reasons offered by Mr. James Dana, why he is not bound, &c. resolved, that this consociation have cognizance of the matter, and a right over all who present themselves as preachers and candidates for the ministry, in any of the consociated churches of this county; so far at least, as to forbid, where there is occasion, any such candidates or preachers, to preach in any of the consociated churches, or be ordained in and over them, until such candidates or preachers give full satisfaction to this consociation, to such matters of complaint as are regularly brought against them, before this body. Above voted and resolved. Test.

"WARHAM WILLIAMS, Scribe.*

"To Mr. James Dana."

In the morning, before they went to the meeting house for a public hearing, the ordination council made a proposal for the dissolution of both councils, each leaving their advice to all parties, to study the things which make for peace. The consociation declined an acceptance of this proposal, and insisted that they could not put the case out of their hands, and leave it in the power of the church to

*Mr. Todd's Narrative, p. 50, 51.

BOOK II. call another ordination council, and settle Mr. Dana, before the consociation could come together again. At the
1758. same time, they were very desirous that both councils should adjourn, and have further time for consideration. For this purpose, the Rev. Mr. Merrick and others, were appointed a committee, to treat with the ordination council, and they expostulated with them, in as tender and moving a manner as possible, that the matter might be deferred for some time; that the heat which then appeared might, in some measure, subside; and they gave them assurance, that the consociation would adjourn for a considerable time, if they would consent to a similar adjournment. They urged that there was great danger of their breaking all in pieces, and of great and lasting divisions, if any thing was done suddenly.* But the ordination council could not be persuaded to postpone the affair.

Several of the ordination council, when they perceived how matters were going, separated from them. The Rev. Mr. Fowler, colleague with Mr. Ruggles of Guilford, and Esq. Sacket of North-Haven, Mr. Stiles' messenger, separated from them immediately, as soon as they perceived they were about to form themselves into a council, distinct and separate from the consociation. Mr. Ruggles also, though he was prevailed upon to sign the protest, yet he was so affected with the affair, that he withdrew from them in the morning, and did not assist in the examination or ordination of Mr. Dana.

The gentlemen of the ordination council having separated themselves from the consociation, after some consultation upon the affair on which they had been convened, at Wallingford, put the question, "Whether this council hath a right to proceed upon matters relative to the ordination of Mr. James Dana, to the pastoral office in the first society in Wallingford, and over the church in said society?" and the vote passed in the affirmative.

Upon the desire of the committee of the church and of Mr. Dana, the ordaining council adjourned to the meeting house, with a view to give the committee an opportunity to publish their proceedings in calling Mr. Dana, and that he might also have an opportunity publicly to manifest his orthodoxy.

After this public hearing in the meeting house, the ordination council returned to madam Whittelsey's, the place of their meeting. The following question was then put, "Whether the church and society have proceeded regularly in their application unto, and call of the said Mr.

* Mr. Eells' Narrative, p. 36.

Dana, to the pastoral office among and over them?" Voted in the affirmative. The question was also put, "Whether Mr. Dana hath vindicated himself, with respect to the charges and allegations against him, to the satisfaction of this council?" Voted in the affirmative. BOOK II. 1758.

The ordination council then proceeded to an examination of the candidate, and after examination, the council voted their satisfaction, with respect to Mr. Dana's knowledge, orthodoxy, and ministerial qualifications. Mr. Dana, at the same time, declared his willingness to settle and take the care and charge of the first church in Wallingford, under the ecclesiastical constitution of this colony.

The consociation, before the ordination council had determined to ordain Mr. Dana, certified them, that there were ninety-five in opposition to Mr. Dana's ordination. They represented that they possessed half the rateable estate in the society.* The moderator intimated to the ordination council, that he considered this as a strong objection to the ordination of Mr. Dana. Some of the opposition were men of principal character in the town, and were possessed of the greatest estates in it.

The ordination council, notwithstanding the prohibition and earnest entreaties of the consociation, proceeded to the important question, "Whether the council will proceed to the ordination of the said Mr. James Dana, to the work of the gospel ministry, in said first church and society in Wallingford?" Voted in the affirmative. The Rev. Mr. Todd, one of the council, says, "We looked upon it, that we were called of God to ordain Mr. Dana."†

The council accordingly proceeded, in these peculiar circumstances, to ordain Mr. Dana at Wallingford. Ordination of Mr. Dana, Oct. 12, 1758.

In consequence of this extraordinary transaction, in opposition to, and in face of the consociation, this body came to the following resolve, viz:

A complaint being exhibited to this consociation, against the proceedings of the first church in Wallingford, in calling Mr. James Dana, of Cambridge, to settle in the work of the gospel ministry with them, as being contrary to the rules of agreement, as set forth in the Saybrook platform; and the charges against Mr. Dana, in regard to his principles in religion, by Caleb Merriman, Esq. a member of said church, and sundry others: and said first church in Wallingford and Mr. Dana, being regularly cited to appear before the said consociation, to answer respectively to the complaints against them: appeared accordingly,

* Mr. Eells' Narrative, p. 10, 11 and 33.
† Mr. Todd's Narrative, p. 50 to 54.

BOOK II. but denied the jurisdiction of the council, which being overruled by the consociation, it was judged disorderly
1758. for any of the members of this consociation, or any other persons, to proceed to, or be assisting in the ordination of Mr. Dana, &c. Copies of the resolve of the said consociation, in regard to overruling the pleas of the jurisdiction, &c. were sent, &c. who were notified that the consociation was open, and ready to hear their defence; but they wholly refused to appear and plead. And likewise a copy of the resolve, relative to its being disorderly to proceed to the ordination, while, &c. was, by order of the consociation, sent to the Rev. Joseph Noyes, moderator, &c.; and sundry endeavors to find some measures of healing the great and unhappy differences in Wallingford first society, were used, but proved ineffectual. Notwithstanding, in direct opposition to the consociation, and before there was time or opportunity to come to a final resolve or result in the affair, sundry members of the consociation, with other persons, proceeded to assist in the ordination of Mr. Dana, &c.; the said church and Mr. Dana submitting thereto. In this distressed, disordered state of the church and society in said Wallingford, this consociation, desiring its peace and edification, and that gospel order, according to the constitution of these churches, may be maintained; and considering that the consequences of this whole affair may be very important; and that the honor of religion, and the communion of the churches in this county, are nearly concerned, would not be hasty and precipitate in coming to a a final determination in this affair; but think best to adjourn this consociation to the 31st day of this instant October, &c. And whereas this case, as now circumstanced, seems great in the nature of it, and of general concern, this consociation being desirous that it might be issued with the greatest safety to the churches, think it best to be referred to a fuller council; and therefore desire the moderator of this consociation, in the name and behalf of the same, to apply to the consociation of the southern district of the county of Hartford, to convene at the time and place above mentioned; to join with this consociation in hearing and determining the case, with respect to Mr. Dana and the first church in Wallingford, lying before this body, antecedent to the ordination, and their disorderly walking, in proceeding to the same, contrary to the resolve of this council. And the moderator is desired to cite the Rev. Mr. Dana, and the first church in Wallingford, to appear before the said adjourned consociation, joined by the

consociation above mentioned, at the time, &c. to answer to the things referred to, &c. BOOK II.

Test. WARHAM WILLIAMS, Scribe. 1758.

To exhibit these extraordinary transactions in a clear point of light, it ought to be stated, that by the agreement at Saybrook, Article XII. the whole business of examining candidates and recommending them to the work of the ministry, had been committed to the pastors of the several counties; and from the very commencement of the agreement, the associations examined all their candidates, and recommended them as persons qualified for preaching the gospel, antecedent to their preaching at all, and that when any vacant church was about to call a candidate for settlement over them, it was done by the previous advice and recommendation of the pastors of the county. This, in particular, had been the practice in the county of New-Haven, as is evident by the records of the association. No association in the colony had been more rigid in this point, than they. They expressed their displeasure against the church and people at Salisbury, for calling an unexceptionable candidate, who had been examined and recommended as a proper person for the ministry, and they excluded a number of the ministers of the association from associational communion, because they ordained him without their advice. They had been consulted by the church of Wallingford, before Mr. Dana preached to them. With respect to Mr. Dana, it does not appear that he had ever been examined or recommended as a candidate, by any association or body of ministers. It was not the general practice in Massachusetts to examine and recommend their candidates. Mr. Dana was, however, recommended by two ministers, in letters to the church at Wallingford, at the time of his ordination. The Rev. Mr. Appleton writes thus of him, "The superior gifts with which God hath endowed your pastor elect, attended with a sober life, &c. gives a good foundation to hope and trust, that he will be a good minister of Jesus Christ, and a great blessing to you and yours after you, if God shall spare his life." Mr. Tyler, of whose church he was a member, says, "By the grace of God he hath adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour, among us: we esteeming ourselves honored of God, that we can make you the present of a son of this church, to be over you in the Lord." This recommendation, from gentlemen at a great distance, without any intimation that they had ever examined him, was very different from the examination, recommendation, and advice of the associated ministers of the county, to whom the church had made

BOOK II. no application, and against whose opinion they were acting. Yet the ordination council voted that the church had proceeded regularly.

It was very extraordinary also, that the ordination council should object against the jurisdiction of the consociation, because it was called *de novo*, when it was proved by the aged ministers, that this had been the universal practice when a new case happened, and they themselves were witnesses to it, and could not produce a single instance to the contrary. Further, that they should vote the matters of complaint were before them, and proceed to judge upon them, when the aggrieved had exhibited no complaint to them; had not been cited before, nor called, nor allowed to produce a single evidence, nor speak a word before them, in support of their complaint and grievances. They acquitted the accused delinquent upon his own declaration and statements, and judged the whole affair upon an entirely ex-parte hearing. This right the ordaining council pretended to claim by virtue of the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony, when, in fact, neither the articles of agreement, nor the articles of discipline, know of any such council; and when the articles of discipline expressly confine the hearing of all matters of scandal to a council of the consociation.

In these extraordinary measures they persisted, and when the united council convened, on the 31st of October, they would not answer before, nor submit to them. The council met and formed in a regular manner, and was the most numerous and respectable ever convened before in the colony, consisting of the most learned and pious divines in the counties of Hartford and New-Haven, and of deacons and justices of the peace, the principal men in the respective churches in the two counties. The Rev. Mr. Russell, of Middletown, was chosen moderator of the consociation from the county of Hartford; a gentleman of great respectability, for knowledge, experience, moderation, and for pacific measures, on all occasions. When the two consociations had formed, united, and opened with prayer, the committee of the church in Wallingford appeared before them, and denied the regularity and jurisdiction of the council thus united. They pleaded,

1. "The convention, that called themselves the consociation of New-Haven county, was no regular consociation; consequently could not, according to the constitution, invite another consociation to join them; nor could another join them.

2. "The ministers and messengers present, from Hart-

ford county, were not called together according to the constitution; for the moderator of the last consociation of the southern district of Hartford county, is not empowered by the platform, to call another consociation, excepting within his own circuit. The moderator might, with proper advice, have called for a consociation in some place within the circuit thereof; which consociation, if they saw cause, might vote to come to Wallingford, and sit with the New-Haven consociation, if there was one. But Mr. Russell did not call the council within their circuit; but issued out his letters missive to the ministers and churches, directing them to meet at Wallingford. BOOK II. 1758.

3. "Two consociations could not, according to the constitution, be united, except there be some difficult case, to be referred to them to judge and determine. But the Wallingford case was finished, before the resolution of the pastors and messengers of the churches of New-Haven county, to call in another consociation."

The consociation from the county of Hartford, judged that the consociation of New-Haven, called at Wallingford, was a regular consociation, and consequently had a right to invite another consociation to unite with them.

With respect to Mr. Russell's not having power to call the consociation of the southern district of the county of Hartford to meet at Wallingford, it was judged that, as the seventh article in the constitution made ample provision, and gave special directions for the calling in of a neighboring consociation, it, in that case, extended the bounds of their action beyond the limits of their own particular district, and empowered them to act within the limits of the consociation which called them; and that it must be, that the moderator had a right to call the consociation to the place where they were desired to meet; and that the calling of the consociation of the southern district of Hartford county, to meet at Wallingford, was regular. The adjournment of one consociation into the limits of another, they observed, had not the least countenance by the constitution; and that it did not appear so reasonable, as to call it immediately to the place of action. They were further of opinion, that the making matters of mere form, in cases where there were no fixed rules essential to the being and acting of an ecclesiastical body, was inconsistent with reason. The council was fully of the opinion, that the Wallingford case was not finished before assistance was called for, and that it was one of such magnitude, as required the calling of the united council.

Objections were made to several gentlemen of the con-

BOOK II. sociation, but one only was excused from acting with the council, who had a father in the minor party. All other
1758. objections having been considered and overruled, the council was prepared to hear the complaints.

But that the fullest proof might be given of its earnest desire, if possible, to accommodate the difficulties at Wallingford, a committee was appointed to confer with Mr. Dana, and the parties, concerning a reconciliation. The committee reported the following proposal of the minority, viz.

Proposal of the minority.

"Whereas, the consociation of New-Haven county, and the consociation of Hartford county, south district, being convened at Wallingford, to hear and determine certain difficulties in the first church and society in Wallingford; and said consociation appointing a committee to reconcile the parties, we the subscribers, members of said church and society, and committee of the minor part, do offer at this time, to the church committee, and Mr. Dana, to have the consociation of the south district of Hartford county examine Mr. Dana's notes, referred to in the complaint; and another sermon, preached the 8th day of October last; and also examine Mr. Dana, according to their method of examination, and if they find him sound in the faith of the gospel, (and also examine his moral conduct) and if they find him qualified for a gospel minister, we will consent to him, and receive him as our minister: but if he is not qualified as set forth above, then to have him dismissed.

JOHN HALL, 2d,	STREET HALL,
ELIAKIM HALL,	CALEB MERRIMAN,
DAN JOHNSON,	DANIEL CLARK,
ABEL PECK,	CALEB JOHNSON,

"Wallingford, Nov. 2, 1758. ISAAC JOHNSON."

Afterwards, they declared to Mr. Dana, and to the council, they were willing to concede, that what respected his moral character should not be regarded on trial. This proposal was rejected by Mr. Dana.* He refused to be examined by the consociation.

Before the council proceeded to any thing expressive of authority, friendly notice was given to Mr. Dana and the church, by Mr. Trumbull. But as this was not regarded, the council proceeded to cite Mr. Dana and the church to appear, and answer to the complaint. But they would not appear. The minor part conceived that they had received hard treatment from the majority, and as they would not consent to their proposal, they declined the reception of any proposals from the church, unless they would submit to the council.

* Mr. Bells' Narrative, p. 38, 39.

As no mode of accommodation could be, at this time, conceded to, the council judged it expedient to appoint a committee of the elders and messengers, and to vest them with power to receive proposals from the parties, and to attempt, if possible, an amicable accommodation, and adjourned until the last Tuesday of the then instant November. BOOK II. 1758.

The council met on the 28th of November, according to adjournment. The council was now, generally, together. Some of the gentlemen of the council had received letters from men of character, relative to the controversy at Wallingford. It was the desire of a number of the council, who had seen those letters, that they might be read in council, as one from Mr. Ruggles to Mr. Trumbull had been, at the desire of some of the ordination council. They were read, while the names of the writers were concealed: this appeared to give offence to some of the gentlemen of the ordination council, and they soon after left the consociation. All proposals of accommodation, made by the council, were rejected: neither Mr. Dana, nor the church, would treat with them as a consociation, but only as neighbours and private gentlemen.

The Rev. Mr. Russell manifested a great concern for the peace and union of the church and society in Wallingford, and to effect an accommodation of the difficulties which had arisen there; and urged some of the gentlemen of the ordination council to advise Mr. Dana, and use their influence with him, to comply with the proposal of his examination, as this, if he should approve himself to the council, would win a third part of the parish to be his friends, and would, at once, heal all their difficulties. At the same time, his refusal would fix them in their opposition. But those gentlemen, instead of advising him to submit to an examination, advised him to draw up a confession of faith, and present it to the council. He accordingly presented a confession, and it was read, agreeably to his desire; but as some words were of doubtful meaning, and Mr. Dana would not be questioned as to his meaning, the council did not receive it as satisfactory.* Mr. Russell, and the rest

* CONFESSION.—"I believe there is one only living and true GOD: That the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of GOD: That the scriptures teach the doctrine of the *Trinity*. Accordingly, upon the authority of the scripture, I believe that the Father is GOD; that the Son, even JESUS CHRIST, is GOD; and that the HOLY GHOST is GOD; and that these three are one: and that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. I believe that, by the apostacy of *Adam*, the whole world are become guilty before GOD, and that mankind is universally corrupted and depraved. I believe that GOD, who is the sovereign of the world, purposed, from everlasting, in his unerring wisdom and infinite

BOOK II. of the council, were much affected with what they esteemed the obstinacy of Mr. Dana, and the church, that they would not comply with what they imagined the most reasonable terms of accommodation. The council, convinced that all attempts for an amicable accommodation, were in vain, came to the following result, viz:—"At an ecclesiastical council, consisting of the consociation of New-Haven county, called and convened according to the constitution, October 31st, 1758, at the house of Charles Sperry, in Wallingford, first society; to hear and determine certain articles of complaint against the Rev. Mr. James Dana, and the first church in Wallingford, dated in said Wallingford, Sept. 25th, signed by Caleb Merriman, Esq. and others, members of said church, in regard to the principles of said Mr. Dana, and the proceedings of said church, in calling him to settle in the work of the gospel ministry among them, originally exhibited to the consociation of the county of New-Haven, which met on the 10th instant, at the house of Caleb Merriman, Esq. in said Wallingford; and also to determine, in regard to the conduct of Mr. Dana, in submitting to be ordained as pastor of the first church in Wallingford; and their promoting said ordination, and receiving him as their pastor on the 12th instant, contrary to a resolve of the consociation of New-Haven county; which difficulties, being great in their nature, and of general concern, were referred by said consociation to the decision of the present council:

1758.

"The council was opened with prayer:

"The Rev. Mr. Dana, and the first church in Wallingford, having been regularly notified, appeared; but denied the regularity and jurisdiction of the consociation of New-Haven county, convened at the house of Caleb Merriman, Esq. in Wallingford, on the 10th inst. and also of the present council. Their pleas against irregularity, having been

goodness, to call and save some of the apostate race of man: That he appointed his own Son, the LORD JESUS CHRIST, to undertake and accomplish this great work: That for this end, he became man, and died upon the cross, a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of those that should believe in him: That the condition of justification and acceptance with GOD, according to the gospel, *is true faith in* CHRIST, which will produce good works; and that there are no works truly good, but what proceed from a principle of faith: That they who are brought into a state of favour with GOD, are, and must be born again, by the renewing and sanctifying influences of the Spirit of GOD; and that none of the TRULY ELECT will fall short of final salvation; but that where GOD has begun a good work, he will carry it on to the day of CHRIST. I believe that the grace of GOD is free and sovereign in calling, justifying, and sanctifying any of the sinful children of men. I believe in the resurrection of the body, the general judgment, and a future state of eternal retribution." Mr. Todd's Narrative, p. 73.

heard, and deliberately considered, were overruled. The council being desirous to use the most healing methods, then sent a committee to the Rev. Mr. Dana, and church, and aggrieved brethren, to endeavor some methods of reconciliation. This proving ineffectual to reach the good end proposed, it was resolved, after having duly weighed the pleas made on each side, that this council has a right to hear and determine the complaints exhibited against the Rev. Mr. Dana, and the first church of Christ in Wallingford, of which they were informed; but refusing to appear, the council thought proper, anew, to cite Mr. Dana and the churches committee, to appear and answer the complaint against them. After this, Mr. Dana signified to us in writing, that he had denied our jurisdiction, and should make no farther appearance. Being still earnestly desirous of an accommodation, we appointed some Rev. elders and messengers, to treat with Mr. Dana, and the church and the aggrieved brethren separately, to heal their unhappy difficulties, which proved ineffectual. The council adjourned to the last Tuesday of November next, to meet at 11 o'clock, in the forenoon, at the house of Charles Sperry, in Wallingford first society. Nov. 28, the council met according to adjournment, and proceeded to the following result. BOOK II. 1758.

"It appears to this council, that the ordination of Mr. Dana was carried on contrary to the judgment and express prohibition of a regular council of the consociated churches of New-Haven county, convened according to the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches in this colony; and whilst a complaint against Mr. Dana, for heterodoxy in principles, lay regularly before said council; and Mr. Dana had been guilty of scandalous contempt, in refusing to make answer thereunto, before said council: Therefore we judge, that the ordination of Mr. Dana was contrary to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches in this colony: And said Mr. Dana, since such his ordination, having refused to answer to said articles of complaint before this united council, we judge him guilty of scandalous contempt, and that he cannot be acknowledged and received as a regular minister of Christ, or preacher of the gospel, by these churches; and therefore, we judge, that the pastoral relation of the said Mr. Dana, to the first church in Wallingford, ought to be dissolved, and it is hereby dissolved; and said Mr. Dana is hereby dismissed from said church. And whereas, the greater part of the first church in Wallingford have promoted the ordination of the said Mr. Dana and received him as their

BOOK II. pastor under these circumstances; and chose Samuel Hall, Esq. and others, a committee, with instructions to appear
1758. before this council and deny their jurisdiction; and the said committee appeared before this council, and in the name of said church, denied their jurisdiction, and refused to submit to their determinations: With respect to Samuel Hall, Esq. and the rest of said committee, they and all the other members of said church, who acted in choosing said committee, and giving the instructions aforesaid, in case they continue to adhere to the said Mr. Dana, until the third Tuesday of March next, shall be adjudged guilty of scandalous contempt, and the sentence of non-communion declared against them. And further, unless the said Mr. Dana shall, between this present time and the third Tuesday of March next, submit himself to this council and their determinations, the sentence of non-communion shall be declared against him. Voted in council,

"Test. EDWARD EELLS, } Scribes of the
"WARHAM WILLIAMS, } council.

"The council then adjourned until the third Tuesday of March next, then to meet at Wallingford, at the house of Charles Sperry: and if the moderator should judge it expedient, he might call the council to meet at Wallingford, at any time, between the time of adjournment and the aforesaid third Tuesday in March next.

1759. "The council met according to adjournment, at the house of Charles Sperry, in Wallingford first society, March 20th, 1759, and came to the following resolution:

"It being so ordered by divine providence, that this council is not so full as might be desired in affairs of so great importance, we think it expedient to defer the sentence of non-communion against Mr. Dana and Samuel Hall, Esq. and others, who have not complied with the determination of this council, unto our next meeting: And also, on account of some other important affairs to be transacted, to adjourn: and this council is hereby adjourned unto the first Tuesday in April next, at eleven o'clock forenoon, (but in case the public fast is on that week, to the second Tuesday of April, at eleven o'clock forenoon) at the house of Charles Sperry, in Wallingford first society."

This council met, according to adjournment, at the house of Charles Sperry, in Wallingford, first society, April 3d, 1759, and proceeded as follows:

"Whereas, this united council have judged Mr. James Dana guilty of scandalous contempt, as expressed in our result; and have used proper measures, in order to bring

him to a sense of his sinful conduct, and exercised due patience, he continuing obstinate: we do therefore, according to that divine direction, 2 Thes. iii. 6, and according to the rules of our ecclesiastical constitution, declare him to be unworthy of the communion of churches; and that henceforth we will not hold communion with him, in any acts of ecclesiastical discipline, or special ordinances: and according to our ecclesiastical constitution, the churches are to approve this sentence, by withdrawing communion from him, which we advise, and expect accordingly." Book II. 1759.

"Voted in council.

"Whereas, the greater part of the first church of Christ in Wallingford, have promoted the ordination of Mr. James Dana, and received him as their pastor, contrary to the prohibition of the consociation of New-Haven county, while a charge of heterodoxy regularly lay against him, before said consociation; and chose Samuel Hall, Esq. and others, a committee, with instructions to appear before this council, and in the name of said church, to deny their jurisdiction, and refuse to submit to their determination: and whereas, this council (as appears in our result, in the session, Nov. 28th, last) have judged, with respect to Samuel Hall, Esq. and the rest of said committee, and all the other members of said church, who acted in choosing the said committee, and giving the instructions aforesaid, that, in case they continue to adhere to the said Mr. Dana, and acknowledge him as their pastor, until the third Tuesday of March next, they shall be judged guilty of scandalous contempt, and the sentence of non-communion declared against them: And whereas, the above mentioned Samuel Hall, Esq. &c. have, notwithstanding, continued to adhere to the said Mr. James Dana, and acknowledged him as their pastor; we judge said Samuel Hall, Esq. and the rest of the committee, and all the members who acted in choosing said committee, and giving the instructions aforesaid, guilty of scandalous contempt; and proper measures having been taken to bring them to a sense of their sinful conduct, and due patience used, they still continuing obstinate: we do now, according to that divine direction, 2 Thessalonians, iii. 6, and the rules of our ecclesiastical constitution, declare them to be unworthy of the communion of churches; and that, henceforth, we will not hold communion with them, in any acts of ecclesiastical discipline, or special ordinances; and according to the rules of our ecclesiastical constitution, the churches are to approve this sentence, by withdrawing communion from them: which we advise, and expect accordingly.

BOOK II. 1759. "And while we declare those members who adhere to Mr. Dana, and are now under sentence of non-communion, to have fallen off from our ecclesiastical constitution: we acknowledge the remaining members as the consociated church in the first society in Wallingford, and are determined to treat them accordingly.

"Voted in council.

"This council do appoint the Rev. Messrs. Jonathan Merrick, John Trumbull, Mark Leavenworth, and Benjamin Woodbridge, messengers; deacons Ithiel Russell, Jonathan Guernsey, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, and deacon Theophilus Baldwin, a committee of this council, to stand in that capacity for the space of four months from this date, to whom any, or all the members of the first church in Wallingford, now under the sentence of non-communion, may apply; and upon their manifesting repentance, they are empowered, in the name of this council, to take off the sentence they are under, and restore them to the privileges of the consociated churches: and if any member shall neglect to apply to the committee aforesaid, within four months, they may afterwards apply (if they desire it) to the moderator of the consociation of New-Haven county, to call the consociation of said county, for the purpose aforesaid."

A complaint being exhibited to this council, dated March 22, 1759, by several members of the first church of Christ in Wallingford, against the Rev. Messrs. Joseph Noyes, Isaac Stiles, Theophilus Hall, Samuel Whittelsey, Jonathan Todd and Chauncey Whittelsey, elders, and Robert Treat, Nathaniel Ruggles, Thomas Darling and Ezekiel Royce, messengers, and members of the consociation of New-Haven county, for breaking off from said consociation, and aiding and assisting in the ordination of Mr. James Dana, &c.; the persons complained of were properly notified. Several of them appeared personally, and others, by letters, denying our jurisdiction, &c. The council not thinking it proper to act upon the abovesaid complaint, the complainers withdrew it. This council having already, in our result, condemned the ordination of Mr. Dana, as contrary to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches in this colony, have therein condemned the ordination council, or those who were active therein: We think it our duty more explicitly to declare our judgment relating to them, which is, that they have so violated the good rules of our ecclesiastical constitution, that they ought to be treated as disorderly persons, and not fit to sit in any of our ecclesiastical coun-

cils, until they shall clear up their conduct, to the satisfaction of the consociation of New-Haven county, for their disorderly breaking off from them, and aiding and assisting in Mr. Dana's ordination. And we advise the moderator of said consociation, to call the consociation, upon application made to him by said gentlemen." BOOK II. 1759.

Voted in council.

Test. EDWARD EELLS, } Scribes of the
WARHAM WILLIAMS, } council.

Though this council was composed of some of the most respectable gentlemen of the clergy and churches in the colony, for literature, age, and candour; and though they took great pains to compromise the difficulties at Wallingford, and appeared to act with coolness and patience, yet their doings were cried out against by the gentlemen of the ordination council, and others who engaged in their cause, as unconstitutional and tyrannical, depriving the churches of their most essential rights. Many hard and severe things were said of them. The Rev. Mr. Todd, who was one of the ordination council, wrote a narrative of the transactions at Wallingford, even before the united council had finished their result. The Rev. Mr. Hart, of Saybrook, wrote against it immediately. He wrote in a high and positive strain, condemning the council, and insisting that their doings were wholly unconstitutional, and inconsistent with the essential rights of the churches. Dispute relative to the transactions at Wallingford.

The writers on this side of the question, who began the controversy, insisted, That the consociation could not have jurisdiction of the affairs of any particular church, without her consent: That the church itself had the sole right of determining whether the difficulties arising in them, were of such a nature as could not be issued without much disquiet or not; and that they must desire the assistance of the consociation, or, at least, consent to their hearing and judging in the case, or they could claim no jurisdiction with respect to it. They insisted, that to construe the seventh article of discipline in such a sense, as to allow an aggrieved minister, or aggrieved members of a church, to apply to the consociation, was contradictory to the first article, which secured to the elder or elders of a particular church, with the consent of the brethren of the same, a right to exercise discipline, according to the rules of God's word, in relation to all scandals which should fall out within the same. They pretended, that this article was explained by the subsequent, or eighth article, which did not allow an offending brother to call the consociation, unless the church gave her consent, until after she had pro-

BOOK II. ceeded to his excommunication. They would allow of no difference, in this case, between an aggrieved minister or brother, and an offending brother.* Says Mr. Hart, "In every view of this article then, (that is the VIIth,) it is far from justifying the members of Wallingford church, in applying to the consociation, as they did, with their complaints, or the consociation in pretending to take cognizance of them, without the churches consent. The cases they judged of, were not of that kind of difficulties intended in the article; but if they had been such, in that case, the complainants could have had no right to apply to the consociation, for judgment upon them, without the consent of the church." He asserted, "That the church and society had determined Mr. Dana's qualifications for the pastoral office in that church, and that the case was issued in the church before the complainants applied to the consociation; and this determination (he says) by our civil and ecclesiastical law must be decisive, and govern the dissenting members, unless they could shew an error in the churches judgment, and that they have chosen a man for their pastor, disqualified, according to the word of God, and our ecclesiastical constitution, for that office. As they thought so, and had objections of heretical doctrines against him, their appeal from the churches judgment, by our constitution, and according to the universal practice of these churches, was, *not* to the consociation, but to the council chosen by the church, to manage the affair of the ordination; and whose judgment of the candidate's fitness for his office, is decisive and final.† And the bringing such difficulties to this council, is the only probable method of issuing them without great disquiet to the churches in which they arise. And if the consociation, instead of intermeddling with that which did not belong to them, had dismissed the complainants, with directions to carry their complaints against Mr. Dana to the ordination council, as the only proper judges of them, I believe that church and society would have been in peace. But for the consociation, in such a case, to receive the complaints of a few dissatisfied members against the churches pastor elect, and force themselves upon the church and candidate, as judges of the case, in *contempt* of the churches right, in electing both her pastor and the council that are to be the final judges of his qualifications for his office, and in contempt of the ordination council then sitting; and for them to pretend to bar the ordination till their claim of authority to

1759.

Mr. Hart's reasoning on the subject.

* See Mr. Todd's narrative, and Mr. Hart's vindication of the ordination at Wallingford, p. 14, 15, 16. † p. 17, 18.

take cognizance of the case is acknowledged; this is the most unlikely method in the world to prevent great disquiets in the church, in issuing such difficulties among them. The art of man, I believe, cannot devise a more probable, a more effectual way to throw a church into the greatest confusion and incurable contentions. But the VIIth article recommends the carrying of difficult cases to the consociation, by way of prevention of the disquiets that are likely to arise from other methods of issuing them. This kind of difficulties, therefore, cannot possibly be comprehended in this article. The framers of it cannot be imagined to have been such dunces as to have recommended this to the churches as a likely method of issuing such difficulties, without great disquiet to the churches in which they arise, namely, that any member of a vacant church, who is aggrieved with the choice the society and church have made of a person for their pastor, shall have a right, without the consent, and contrary to the mind of the church, to call in the consociation to sit in judgment on the candidate, in relation to any complaints of scandal or heresy he is pleased to bring against him; and this too after the church has nominated their *ordination* council. Doubtless, it never came into their thoughts, that any of their successors would understand this article in this sense. BOOK II. 1759.

"I fear, sir, you will think I have been to long on this article: but the present disputes about its sense, and the great stress which is laid upon it, in the justification of the consociation's claim of jurisdiction in the Wallingford cases, rendered it necessary to examine it critically."* He observes further, "that by our ecclesiastical constitution, our consociations have right of jurisdiction only of such ecclesiastical or spiritual causes as are of a criminal nature; only in cases of heresy or scandal: that they have no stated times of sitting: that they have no power of convening themselves, undesired by those who, by our constitution, have a right to call them into business, nor of taking any case whatever under their cognizance, ex officio, but such only as are brought before them by proper persons, authorised by the constitution, or our ecclesiastical law, for that purpose."† He declares that the present contest between the united consociation and the church at Wallingford is the most important controversy that ever was managed in these churches. "'Tis a strife of power in the hands of the consociation, destructive of the most important rights of particular churches."‡ He insinuates that the council acted under the influence of a party zeal

* Page 18. † Page 20. ‡ Page 43.

BOOK II. for orthodoxy, and animated by a love of dictating, and lust of preeminence and power.* He represents the judg-
1759. ment of the council, not only as unconstitutional, but highly ridiculous; and he declares, that the reason of his undertaking in this controversy was, that "the rights and liberties of all our consociated churches were at stake: and that it was clearly the duty of their ministers to undertake their defence, when they were invaded by any of their own order, or when our associations or consociations go into measures, under pretence of constitutional power and authority, directly tending to destroy the balance between power and liberty, to turn consociational power into tyranny, and introduce slavery into the place of liberty."† Thus wrote Mr. Hart.

This was the cry, that the liberty of the churches was in danger; that the consociation at Wallingford were tyrants, influenced by a lust for power, and some of the worst motives, and had put a new and unreasonable construction upon the Saybrook agreement. Every method was taken to alarm and prejudice the churches, and throw odium upon the united council. They were conscious of none of those imputations put upon them. They considered the construction put upon the constitution as perfectly absurd, inconsistent with the law of the colony appointing the meeting of the elders and messengers at Saybrook, the object of which appointment, as expressed by the act, appears to have been to amend the defects which the legislature had been made sensible of, both from their own observation, and by the complaints of others, by a more explicit asserting of the rules given for that end in the holy scriptures:‡ and with the express articles and main design of the constitution, which was to fix the limits of neighboring elders and churches, to bring them into a more intimate union with one another, and provide them fixed judges, and more explicit rules of judging according to the scriptures. Agreeably to this general design, the council knew that the IIId article of discipline provided that all cases of scandal which should fall out within the circuit of the aforesaid consociations, should be brought to a council of the elders, and also messengers of the churches within the said circuit, i. e. the churches of one consociation: That the VIIth article made express provision, that an aggrieved minister or member, should apply to the council of the consociated churches of the circuit, to which the said church belongs: and that the subsequent, or VIIIth article, was so far from explaining it away, that it corrobo-

* Page 37. † Page 45. ‡ See the law in vol. i. of this Hist. chap. xix.

rated it, by saying, *there is not the same liberty to an offending brother*, which is doubtless here opposed to the aggrieved brother, and distinguishes one from the other. They could not conceive that an aggrieved pastor or brother could be considered as one and the same, with an offending one; and that they should have no redress in any case, but be left wholly in the power of the church, to abuse, and tyrannize over them, let their prejudices, passions, and injustice be ever so great. This would be to put them in a far worse situation than civilians are in matters of far less moment. If they are injured by error in judgment, or by illegal prosecutions, they have redress by appeals or petitions. To suppose that the constitution made no provision for the aggrieved, who might be greatly injured and oppressed, would be to view it as making no provision against one of the great defects which it was designed to remedy. The united council considered the construction put upon the constitution by the ordaining council, and Mr. Hart, as one wholly unfounded, and calculated merely to serve a turn. BOOK II. 1759.

With respect to an ordination council, or any other ecclesiastical council, distinct from the consociation, it was considered as having no warrant by the constitution, and a mere creature of the imagination. There was not so much as an intimation of it in the constitution. They imagined that it was so far from this, that it fully excluded all other councils with respect to any thing ecclesiastical. The second article is in these words: "that the churches which are neighboring to each other, shall consociate for mutually affording to each other such assistance as may be requisite, upon all occasions ecclesiastical." This, they were persuaded, included ordination, as one of the most important ecclesiastical occasions. They had proceeded slowly, with the utmost deliberation; they had employed all their wisdom, and all proper means, in their opinion, to preserve the church and society from a division: they used their influence with the minor party to bring them to submit the whole affair, and unite with their brethren, in the settlement and support of Mr. Dana, upon this single condition, that he should prove himself orthodox upon his examination; and they used all their influence with the ordination council, to persuade Mr. Dana to concede to the proposal; but they would not advise him to do it, nor would he comply with it, nor suffer himself to be questioned by them. The council, therefore, considered themselves as greatly injured and abused. As the ordination council had told their own story, and, with Mr. Hart, had

BOOK II. 1759.

sounded the alarm, and grievously reproached them, it was judged expedient to take up the pen, and vindicate their doings before the public tribunal.

The Rev. Mr. Eells, who had been one of the scribes of the united council, wrote a narrative of the transactions of the council, supplying such facts and circumstances as Mr. Todd omitted, noticing some of those things in his narrative which he judged severe, uncharitable, and calculated to render his brethren of the council odious and contemptible. He also made such general remarks as he supposed were necessary for the vindication of the council.

Mr. Hobart evinces the rights of congregational churches.

The Rev. Mr. Hobart, of Fairfield, replied in particular to Mr. Hart, in vindication of the council at Wallingford, showing that they had assumed no powers inconsistent with the rights of congregational churches at large, and consequently could not be inconsistent with the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony, and no more than it was the original design of the Saybrook agreement to give them.

He shows that, "all congregational churches have allowed ecclesiastical councils to be an ordinance of Christ, and to derive their authority from Him:" that they allow a decisive power to them; and he insists, that it would be strangely inconsistent to assert, that councils are a divine institution, and yet to deny them the right of deciding those controversies which were regularly brought before them; or to suppose the parties interested in such decisions, at liberty to regard, or disregard them, as they please.

He clearly evinces, by quotations from the best authors, "that congregational churches, though not united in consociations, have a right to enquire into the conduct of a particular church, upon the complaint of any of its members, or even upon common fame, and to proceed to a sentence of non-communion, in case the church refuses to give an account of its conduct, or obstinately persists in its errors and disorders." He quotes from the apology of the congregational ministers in England, in 1644, this declaration: "We agree that in all cases of offence, the offending church is to submit to an examination, by other neighboring churches, and on their persisting in their error, or miscarriage, they are to renounce all christian communion with them, till they repent. It is a maxim to be abhorred, that a single society of men, pretending to be endowed with a power from Christ, to judge them of the same body, should arrogate to themselves, an exemption from giving an account, or being censurable of any other."* He shows, that with these sentiments of the congregational divines in Eng-

* Pages 4, 5, 6, 7.

land, our forefathers in this country fully agreed. He quotes Dr. C. Mather, in his account of the discipline of the New-England churches, in which he allows that a person censured by a particular church, may call a council, which, finding him greatly injured, may, if no other measure will answer, by a solemn act, withdraw communion from that church, or from as many in it as will go on to abet and maintain the unjust sentence which has been passed in it. And he maintains, that "it is one of the principles of these churches, that the neighbouring churches, upon the motion of their pastors, may, without any call from the church, (or from any in the church,) where gross mischiefs do notoriously happen, upon the justly believed report of those mischiefs, meet in council, to take course about them." BOOK II. 1759.

He proceeds further, to prove, that the ordination and settlement of a minister, is one of those cases which are allowed to require an ecclesiastical council; and in which, by congregational principles, a particular church ought not to proceed without the approbation, or concurrence of others. He quotes Dr. Increase Mather, whose words are, "In momentous matters of common concern, particular churches should proceed with the concurrence of neighbouring churches. So, in the ordination of a pastor, much more in the deposing of one. Thus it has ever been in the churches of New-England." He also quotes the resolution of the synod of Boston, in 1662, which includes, in the cases in which churches ought to seek and accept help from, and give help to one another, "matters of more than ordinary importance, as ordination, translation, and deposition of elders."

Shows the alteration made by churches consociating.

Having shown what were the rights of congregational churches at large, while they were unconsociated, he proceeded to show what alteration was made, either in the constitution, or rights of ecclesiastical councils, by congregational churches uniting in consociations, or how these things stand in the churches of Connecticut, since the Saybrook agreement.

Here he observes, that the ecclesiastical councils in Connecticut have, undoubtedly, as large and extensive rights and authority, at least, as those which were not thus limited: that in all the debates relative to the consociation of churches, there had never been the least intimation of lessening the rights and authority of councils, by their consociating: that it must, therefore, be granted, that the councils in Connecticut, were an ordinance of Christ, vested with all the rights of congregational churches at large, to hear complaints of irregularities and disorders in par-

BOOK II. ticular churches: that they are judges of the morals and qualifications of all probationers for the ministry; and no 1759. minister may be settled in, or removed from a particular church, without their approbation, or concurrence; and that they had a decisive authority, or a right to enforce their determinations by ecclesiastical censures, at least by a censure of non-communion, or withdrawing from such as walk disorderly. He then evinces, that if the councils consisting of consociated churches, be only councils of which the Saybrook agreement allows, that they must have the right of exercising this whole authority.

That the consociated churches are limited *in calling* councils to those churches with which they are united *in* consociation, and that these are the only councils according to the Saybrook agreement, he endeavours substantially to prove, as he conceived that on this the whole controversy turned. For this purpose he states, that the great alteration made by the churches entering into consociation, is this: The churches consociated are confined, with respect to their councils, to the pastors and churches of their own particular consociation, while other churches pick and choose their councils from all parts of the country. "And the great and invaluable advantage of consociated councils, is, that they have certain known judges to decide their disputes, vested with authority to c ir judgments into execution; and, consequently, rtain way to have their controversies issued, an test security of having it done in an impartial, j itable manner: while such as are not consoci unavoidabl be liable, either to have their disp s, or to h them decided in such a way, as p xposes t to partial and unrighteous judgme

Advantage of consociated churches.

That the councils of congrega necticut, are limited to their se from "the nature of that union a consociation."

They are limited to their own districts, by the nature of their union.

"Congregational churches, ciation, agree to come into a m with each other than they were es stand in to each other. T some advantages from it. A advantages, they consent which are inconsistent wit consistent with union for a own affairs, (which do not with it,) by itself, or with fairs of a public nature

require the counsel, assistance, or approbation of other churches, the other parts of the united body, called a consociation, have a right to be consulted; and, in some cases, to interfere, though they are not invited nor desired. And for a particular church, in such cases, obstinately to refuse to submit to the judgment of the whole, is a breach of the agreement, and exposes it to be cast out of the union, or to have the sentence of non-communion declared against it. BOOK II. 1758.

The choice and settlement of a minister, is a matter of a public nature, and of general concern; every church belonging to the same consociation has an interest, and a very important one, in it; and that not only as, on account of their situation, they and their children, will be likely to be affected by the good or bad principles and practices of a neighboring minister, which is the grand reason why, in churches not consociated, neighboring ministers and churches are judged the proper ones to assist at ordinations; but upon a much more important account, and such an one as arises from the consociation of churches. The pastor of one consociated church stands in a very near relation to every other church in the same consociation: for he is as such a member of the association, and has a right to sit in all the councils of the consociated churches of that district. Now Mr. Hart allows that the associations are made, in some sort, guardians and inspectors of vacant churches; and though he contends that particular churches may send where they please for ordination councils, yet he admits that, in other affairs that require a council, they are limited to the consociation, whose determination is decisive and final. Now let us see whether, on Mr. Hart's own principles, a particular churches' settling a minister against the declared judgment of the other churches united with them in consociation, be not inconsistent with this union.

"Every church in the consociation is liable to become vacant, and, consequently, to have this minister for one of its guardians and inspectors; it is liable to have such disputes and contentions arise in it as require the judgment of an ecclesiastical council, consequently, to have this minister for one of the judges, and perhaps the very man on whose vote in council a final and decisive judgment in its most important concerns may depend. Now, is it agreeable to such an union, or even consistent with the common rights of mankind, for a consociation, consisting of perhaps twenty churches, to have a guardian, an inspector, a judge, over them all, appointed by one of them, not only with-

BOOK II. out the approbation, but against the declared judgment and public protestation of the other nineteen. Every 1759. man of common sense must own that this is unreasonable, and even absurd; and yet, there is no avoiding it, but by allowing that consociated churches, in calling councils, and particularly ordination councils, are limited to the churches united with them in consociation; and it is evidently inconsistent with the very nature of the union to do otherwise.

"The same thing may be argued from the end and design of churches thus uniting. It is some *inconvenience* in the constitution of any civil or religious society that puts them on making alterations in it. Congregational churches, not formed into consociations, found this defect in their constitution, that, in the choice of councils at large, there was room for great partiality. The contending parties, in a divided church, must either unite in what they call a mutual council, that is, one in which each party nominates an equal number of ministers and churches; in which case, it was sometimes found that the council, when met, would be equally divided, and so could come to no determination in the case; or else each party must send for a distinct council, of their own picking and choosing; which councils frequently gave contrary judgments; which rendered controversies endless, introduced confusion, and turned the church of Christ into a mere Babel. As no other remedy for this evil could be contrived, proposals were made for the consociation of churches. There neither is, nor can be, an effectual security against these evils, in any other way, than by limiting churches to the consociation which they belong to, in calling councils. Accordingly, our wise predecessors, in the synod of Saybrook, agreed to come into consociation, without having any exempt cases. And after all Mr. Hart has said, I believe men, in general, will think it most reasonable to interpret a law in such a sense that it may answer its end, and prove a remedy for the mischief it was designed to remove."

He further argues, "This proposition may be proved, from the grounds the synod at Saybrook went upon, and the expressions they used in the agreement they came into. They mention it as a principle universally acknowledged, *Quod tanget omnes, debet tractari ab omnibus.* What all are concerned in, all have a right to act in. This they had an especial respect to, in coming into this agreement. Now those affairs, in one consociated church, which do require an ecclesiastical council, do concern, and will affect, all the other churches united with it. This is particularly

the case of ordination, as has been proved already; and, therefore, the churches of a particular consociation, upon the principles of the Saybrook synod, have a right to act, in all cases that happen within their limits, which require the determination of an ecclesiastical council; and especially in an affair of so great consequence to them all, as the settlement of a minister in any one of them. By necessary consequence, our consociated churches are not at liberty, in these cases, to call councils at large, or to pick here and there a church; but are, by the very principles of their constitution, limited to their brethren of the same consociation. BOOK II. 1759.

"The expressions used by our venerable fathers of the synod at Saybrook, are agreeable to this principle, on which they acted. Thus, in the second article, they mention this as the end for which churches were to consociate, viz. For mutually affording each other such assistance as may be requisite upon all occasions ecclesiastical. In the next article, they say that, All cases of scandal, that fall out within the circuit of any of the aforesaid consociations, shall be brought to a council of the elders, and also messengers, of the churches within the said circuit. In the fifth article they provide, that when any case is orderly brought before any council, &c. their determination shall be final. In the next article, they order, that if any pastor and church doth obstinately refuse a due attendance and conformity to the determination of the council, &c. they shall be reputed guilty of scandalous contempt, and the sentence of non-communion shall be declared against such pastor and church. This is the language of the Saybrook agreement, from the beginning to the end of it; it says, all occasions ecclesiastical, all cases of scandal, any case brought before a council, &c. He observes, that the constitution allows of no exempt cases, and that allowing them would destroy the very design for which the churches consociated. He thinks it certain and indisputable, from these considerations, that all councils were, by the constitution, limited to the consociations of their particular districts."

He observes, "The ordination council at Wallingford consisted of the elders and messengers of seven churches; their advocates will have it, that they were an ecclesiastical council, known and approved by our constitution: the only proof they produce of it is this; the heads of agreement mention the pastors of neighboring congregations as proper persons to concur in an ordination. A slender proof indeed! I believe no council ever carried their claims so high, and produced so poor a commission. The

BOOK II. 1759. expression, *pastors of neighboring congregations*, must be stretched pretty hard to make it take in a minister at the distance of an hundred and fifty miles, which was the case of one who sat in this council: But it is a greater stretch still, to make it mean both ministers and messengers of churches.

"I conclude, therefore, on the whole, that the churches of Connecticut, by entering into consociations, have limited themselves to the particular consociations to which they belong, in all cases, (without exception) that require the advice, or determination of an ecclesiastical council; and particularly in the important affair of ordination: That our constitution acknowledges no council but a consociational one: And that to set up an ordination council in opposition to the consociation, is not only perfectly unconstitutional, but absolutely subversive of the consociation of churches, which is the very basis on which our constitution stands.

"If we consider the matter merely as an ordination, without regarding the special difficulties that attended it; the nature of the union that subsisted between the church of Wallingford and the other churches of the district, the principles on which this union subsists, and the good ends it was designed to answer, all unite to require that the consociated churches should have been invited to examine and approve the candidate, and to act in the ordination.

"But if we consider this ordination with its peculiar circumstances, it will appear to have been one of those difficult cases which could not be issued without considerable disquiet; For Mr. Todd allows that, at a parish meeting, consisting of two hundred voters, fifty appeared against the proposed settlement of Mr. Dana, and these appear to have been continually gaining ground; for at the time of the ordination, they were increased to the number of ninety five. Some of these were gentlemen of figure and estate; and it was evident that they were fixed and in earnest in their opposition. Every one must be sensible, that a case thus circumstanceed must be really a difficult one."

Mr. Hobart says, "I do not love to give names to any number of gentlemen, that will displease them, yet I cannot help saying that it is a plain case with me, that these gentlemen must, on the principles of our constitution, be esteemed as an anti-council; and therefore, not only be judged destitute of all ecclesiastical authority, but even as having acted a criminal part; especially those (who were almost all of them) that were pastors, or members

of consociated churches; for they acted contrary to the agreement they had entered into, and the obligations they were under; they set themselves up in opposition to the highest ecclesiastical authority in that consociation of which they were members, and did all that in them lay to dissolve all consociations of churches in the colony. BOOK II. 1759.

"It is not so much as pretended that there ever was before an instance in which any council, called to an ordination, acted in opposition to the declared sense of the consociation of the district. The gentlemen who met in council at Wallingford, have the unenvied honor of being the first that ever did so in Connecticut. In all other cases there has been some reason to presume, that the consociated churches did approve the candidate, and allow of his settling within their bounds. It was always in their power to have assembled in council, and protested against the proceedings. Or if any, over whom a minister was to be ordained, had any thing to accuse him of, they might have complained to the consociation, as was now done. Nor do I believe there ever was an ordaining council before, but what would, in either of these cases, have shewn so much regard to the constitution, and the peace of our churches, as to have stopped proceedings."

Mr. Hart had suffered himself in expressing his own groundless suspicions of other men's being influenced by some of the worst designs of which mankind are capable; and, speaking of the members of the council at Wallingford, complains, that after their ordination of Mr. Dana, they were spoken of as Arminians and favorers of heresy, and he appeared concerned for himself, lest some unfavorable imputations might be thrown upon him.

To this Mr. Hobart replies, "It is universally known to all, who are, in any measure, acquainted with things of this nature, that there has been a very great change (either for the better or the worse) in the principles or doctrines of religion introduced into the English nation since our forefathers left it; so great, that those doctrines which were then, almost universally, esteemed not only important, but (some of them) fundamental truths of christianity, have by some been explained away, by others flatly denied, and, by too many, even treated with banter and ridicule. Arminianism led the way, Pelagianism followed it, Arianism and Socinianism brought up the rear. And while such as professed the gospel were explaining away, or denying its most essential doctrines, Deism has come in like a flood, and almost swallowed up the name of Christianity. Corruption in doctrine.

BOOK II. 1759. "These corruptions in doctrine have crossed the atlantic; and too many in our churches, and even among our ministers, have fallen in with them. Books, containing them, have been imported; and the demand for them has been so great as to encourage new impressions of some of them: others have been wrote on the same principles, in this country; and even the doctrine of the sacred and adorable Trinity, has been publicly treated in such a manner, as all who believe that doctrine must judge not only heretical, but highly blasphemous.*

"How far a liking to these errors, or a *desire* to open a door for their admission into our churches, might *influence* the members of the ordination council, or their advocates, I cannot pretend to say; for I must own, I am not able to look into the hearts of men; nor will I indulge myself in publishing conjectures, as Mr. Hart has done: but facts are open, things of which every man is a judge. For my own part, I can truly say, that I never before heard, nor do I now believe, that any one member of that council, gained that character (that is, of an Arminian, or favorers of heresy) since, but what had that same character before. I have enquired of gentlemen who have a large acquaintance in the country; they all say, that they have not heard louder complaints of this kind, against those gentlemen, since the ordination at Wallingford, than they had heard before. It is unhappy that they ever gave so much occasion for suspicions of this kind; and more so, that they should take such measures as tend to strengthen such suspicions. Some of them certainly knew that they had this character, and have often complained of it as an abuse. Had they modestly declined acting in this case, they had taken a proper way to have removed the suspicions others had entertained of them; but to set themselves up for the only judges in this case, in opposition to the remonstrances of their brethren, and to the constitution they professed to act upon, which constitution some of them had before carried to as great a height as any (and to a higher than most) men in the country, was certainly the way, not to remove, but to strengthen those suspicions.†

Arminianism imputed to the ordination council, and their advocates.

Grounds of suspicion.

* The Rev. Mr. Edwards, in his preface to his treatise on the doctrine of original sin, mentions the great corruption of doctrine in New-England, by Dr. Taylor's writings, which had been published about fifteen years before, or about the year 1742.

† These were the very gentlemen who deposed Mr. Robbins, directly against the will, and in opposition to the church: and who excluded three of their brethren, in the ministry, from associational communion, for assisting in the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Lee, of Salisbury, who was of an entirely unexceptionable character, and a candidate in whom both the church and town were well united, because they did it without the previ-

"There are several other things which have the same tendency: I shall mention one or two. BOOK II.

"The first, is the connecting the business of Wallingford with the affairs of Yale College. Wallingford has no more connection with the college, than any other parish in the government; and the two ministers of New-Haven county, that have the honor to be fellows of the college, were of the ordination council. It is well enough known, that the students of Yale College attend public worship and ordinances under the administration of the professor of divinity; and I suppose few are ignorant that this was very much owing to a certain gentleman's refusing to satisfy the corporation, that he was not Arian in the important articles of Christ's divinity and atonement, when they let him know the reasons of his being suspected on these heads, some of which were taken from sermons he delivered on sacramental occasions, when the scholars did attend. Endeavours have been made to raise a ferment, and throw the government into convulsions on this account, but hitherto in vain: the friends to the ecclesiastical constitution of the country, have justified and supported the college in this measure, esteeming it necessary for preserving the faith of our churches in the most important doctrines of the gospel." 1759.

Here he takes occasion to notice a virulent writer, who had employed his pen both against the college and the legislature of the colony, and had cast injurious reflections on the principal gentlemen in the legislature and corporation, and who was known to differ from the established doctrines of our churches, in the most important articles. He says, "but I must own that I was surprised to find Mr. Todd and Mr. Hart joining with him in it, and publicly owning a connection between the two cases. This looks like a design to open a door for letting in men into the ministry, that differ fundamentally from the doctrines established in these churches.

"Another thing which directly and strongly tends to raise and confirm suspicions of this kind, is the manner in which these gentlemen express themselves, and the satisfaction they discover, when they suppose they find a weak place in our constitution. I suppose all that have read Mr. Hart's remarks must have observed several things of this kind: Thus, when he had exerted himself to the utmost, to prove that the pastors of neighbouring congregations,

ous advice of the association; were some of the most violent opposers of the religious awakening in the country, and the only gentlemen who had publicly thanked the legislature for their tyrannical, unjust, and persecuting ecclesiastical laws. Now they had become great sticklers for liberty.

BOOK II. 1759. mentioned in the heads of agreement, meant a body of men different from, and that may be opposed to the associations and consociations spoken of in the articles for discipline, and found that this would, unavoidably, make the several parts of our constitution inconsistent, he says, "If there is a little jumble in this part of our constitution, let the constitution itself bear it." And again, when he mentions it as an objection some might make to this scheme, that the churches are but poorly guarded against corrupt ministers, he says it may be replied, that "it is what it is." I believe a man who is not of a very suspicious temper, will find some disposition to doubt, whether the man that uses such expressions, be a very zealous friend to our constitution; and even whether he does not rejoice, in thinking it such a weak, jumbling thing, as is insufficient to secure our churches against corrupt ministers.

"Now if, on the whole, we have reason to fear the prevalence of error, it certainly concerns our associations and consociations to exert themselves; not indeed by assuming any authority which does not belong to them, but by strictly observing the rules and directions of our constitution. And all the friends to the faith and order of the gospel established among us, will, doubtless, encourage and strengthen them therein.

Appeal with respect to liberty.

"The grand objection against the scheme I am pleading for, is, that it establishes a tyrannical power in councils, and destroys the liberties of particular churches, and the members of them. The advocates for what they call the ordination council at Wallingford, are continually harping upon this string; and as the objection is popular, they seem to have raised expectations from it. I am heartily willing to join issue with them here. I am a sincere friend to liberty, and detest tyranny of every kind, ecclesiastical as well as civil. I freely consent that the whole controversy should turn on this single point. If my principles establish tyranny, I give them up on the spot: nay, I will go further,—if they do not more effectually promote and secure the rights of mankind, than the opposite scheme does, I am content that they be exploded. To determine which of these schemes is most favourable to the rights and liberties of christians, it will be proper to view them in different lights. As,

1. In their aspect on the liberties of particular churches. I allow that a particular church has a right of choosing their own pastor, but say, that, in the exercise of this right, they must have the approbation of the churches with which they are united in consociation, and may not pro-

ceed to the settlement of a minister without this. The gen- BOOK II.
tlemen whom I oppose, do not pretend that a particular
church is under no limitation at all, in the exercise of this 1759.
right; but allow they must have the concurrence and assistance of neighbouring churches in calling, choosing, and settling their own ministers. It is a right thus limited, that Mr. Todd represents himself, and those joined with him, as contending for. Mr. Hart likewise allows, that a church cannot settle a minister without the approbation of neighbouring ministers and churches; for he allows ordination councils to hear complaints against a pastor elect, and expressly says that their judgment is decisive and final. We are agreed, then, that churches are thus limited in the exercise of this right, and the only question between us, in this spot, is, who shall limit them? Now, if this limitation itself be inconsistent with the liberty particular churches ought to have, it will follow, that both our schemes are tyrannical, and that they are equally so: But if this limitation be a just and reasonable one, these two opposite schemes are equally free from any thing tyrannical or oppressive. I am sensible of but one circumstance in which these gentlemen can so much as pretend that their principles are, in this case, more favourable to the liberties of a particular church than mine; and that is, what they call an ordination council, chosen by a particular church, whose right it thus limits. And here they seem to place the emphasis, a council of neighbouring churches, chosen by themselves. But now, churches, in entering into consociation, do choose the council of that district, to assist them in all cases that require the assistance of an ecclesiastical council, and, consequently, this is as truly a council chosen by themselves, as any picked council can be.

2. "Let us consider these two opposite schemes, in the influence they will have on those parties, into which a church is too often unhappily divided. That churches are too often divided into parties, will not be disputed; and when they are so, that each party has some rights, cannot be denied. The meanest of men, and even the vilest criminals, have a right to be tried by indifferent judges, and to have impartial justice done them. The choice of a minister is one of those cases in which a church may be divided; and it may be that the division shall be nearly equal: there may be but one more for the man than there is against him: and since particular churches are not infallible, it is possible that a minor part may have reason and justice on their side. Now, in this case, our constitution, as I have explained it, appoints certain and known judges between

BOOK II. these parties: but, upon the other interpretation, it allows of one of the parties to choose all the judges; and that they may be sure of having such as will give a judgment in their favour, it permits them to send far and near, and pick three or four ministers and churches out of three or four hundred. Let all men of common sense judge which of these methods is most agreeable to the rights and liberties of christians, and in which a righteous and impartial judgment is most likely to be obtained; and let every man consider that he may happen to be one of such a minority.

1758.

3. "The rights and liberties of the whole consociated body, must be taken into consideration, in order to determine which of these schemes has the most favourable aspect on christian liberty. A number of churches united in consociation, are to be considered as, in some respects, one body; and this such a one as has rights, liberties, and privileges belonging to it. Now, my scheme allows the several members of this body to act in affairs wherein they are all concerned. But the opposite scheme admits, that one member of this body may impose a guardian, an inspector, a judge over all the rest, (perhaps twenty in number,) not only without their consent, but against their declared dissent, as I have before observed.

"Let the gentlemen on the other side fairly answer these things, and they have my free consent to use all their rhetoric, in painting the glorious advantages of their own scheme in point of liberty, and to load mine with the epithets, tyrannical, oppressive, and intolerable. But, till they do this, I hope I do not flatter myself, when I suppose the impartial public will judge, that the interpretation I have given of our constitution, is not only perfectly consistent with the liberties of our churches, but even the only way in which those liberties can be preserved, and the rights and privileges of all parties concerned, be maintained and secured."

Notwithstanding the early and extraordinary pains which the gentlemen of the ordination council at Wallingford, and advocates employed to prepossess the clergy and churches in general in their favour, by narratives, and sounding the alarm, that the liberty of the churches was in danger, and that councils were usurping an unconstitutional and tyrannical power, the clergy and people in general approved of the doings of the united council. They expressed their approbation of their sense of the constitution, when they met in general association, the June after their result, in the following resolves.

"At a general association, at the house of the Rev. Ebenezer White, in Danbury, June 19th, 1759:

1759.

"Resolved, by this association, That as the consociation of churches is one great thing that the composers of the platform had in view, as they expressly declare that what affects all ought to be managed by all; so the ecclesiastical constitution of this colony knows of no other council whatever, but a council of the consociated churches of the district, or, in some cases, a consociation of a particular district, united with a neighbouring consociation, called in according to the direction of the constitution.

Resolutions of the general association, relative to the controversy.

"Resolved, That it is most expedient, for preventing the introducing of unsound and disqualified men into the ministry, and entirely agreeable to our ecclesiastical constitution, that the council for the ordination of ministers, to whose province it belongs to examine candidates for ordination, should consist of the consociation of the district to which the church belongs, over which a pastor is to be ordained: and as this has, for sundry years, been practised by several consociations in this government, so we recommend it to universal practice."

Mr. Todd, the next year, replied to Mr. Eells, attempting to vindicate himself with respect to his former narrative, and to justify the ordaining council. Mr. Hart, also, wrote a reply to Mr. Hobart. But they did little for the strengthening of their argument: they used hard words, in too many instances, instead of arguments. They imputed dishonourable and grievous things, not only to the united council, but to Messrs. Eells and Hobart, and the general association of the colony. They insinuated, that their design was to deprive the churches of their dearest rights and liberties. Mr. Hart reproached the corporation of the college, and charged them with unconstitutional and arbitrary measures.* He calls Mr. Hobart's remarks on his representation that there was a jumble in the constitution and that it was what it was, most impertinent; and charges him with giving his words a most disingenuous and perverse turn: and further says, "This is such an instance of meanness of spirit and perverse ill nature, as I should not have thought this good gentleman capable of."† He says, a spirit of jealousy and evil surmisings has possessed us, and charges the general association of the colony with it. His words are, "Our last general association gave a remarkable instance of this shameful distrust and jealousy, in recommending it to the particular associations, for the future, not to trust their committees with a power of ex-

* Page 53 of his reply. † Pages 54 and 55.

BOOK II. amining, licensing, and recommending candidates for the ministry; and to agree to use the consociation councils, in 1760. time to come, as the only ordaining councils."* Both these gentlemen wrote in a magisterial manner, as though they were most certainly right, pleading the cause of God and liberty; and faulting all who differed from them, whether individuals or public bodies. They wrote disrespectfully of councils, and in a manner calculated to bring them into disrepute, and destroy their influence.†

Mr. Hobart replied to those gentlemen, in a very cool and dispassionate manner, avoiding all personal reflections, and keeping close to his argument. He adduced such authorities and facts relative to the opinions and principles of congregationalists, as he imagined proved what he before advanced, so far as any thing could be proved by facts and arguments, and that congregationalists at large, abhorred the independence and liberty for which they pleaded; and that the principle which they maintained, was that of independents only. He farther evinced, that the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony knew of no council but that of the consociation of the district. That the compilers of it had carefully avoided so much as giving even the name of council to any other number of men, and that whatever related to the general interest of the churches, in the several districts, of an ecclesiastical nature, was committed to them. As he perceived they laid great stress upon that forced construction which they had put upon the seventh and eighth articles of discipline, he paid a more particular attention to them, and showed what an unnatural and tortured construction they put upon them, totally foreign from the design of the compilers, inconsistent with themselves, and a gross perversion and confounding of language. He observed, that a minister could not be an offending and aggrieved person in their view, as the church could pass no censure upon him, as no act of discipline could be exercised in the church without the consent of the pastor. He could not, therefore, possibly be conceived as an offending party, agreeable to their construction. Besides, he observed that it was a gross perversion of language, and contrary to the common sense and feelings of mankind; that offending or scandalous persons and aggrieved, were entirely opposite and different characters; and that the construction they put upon the articles, was

* Marginal note, p. 40.

† An appeal for the truth of these representations, is made to the pamphlets which they wrote. The advocates on that side of the question, wrote rather against the platform and constitution itself, than in answer to Mr. Hobart, as will appear by reading their pieces.

making the scandalous person, the drunkard and the debauchee, the same as the innocent and upright man, who is injured and oppressed by the unrighteous judgment, or cruelty of his brethren. Nothing could be more absurd than this, nothing more contrary to the common use of language, and the common sense of mankind. BOOK II. 1760.

He also shewed wherein they had evaded and not answered his arguments: and, with respect to the liberties of the churches, he showed in a strong point of light, that the churches and individuals enjoyed as great, and even greater liberty, and that all their ecclesiastical rights were more amply secured by the Saybrook agreement, according to his construction of it, than that of his opponents. He represented them as much more free, as the people of Connecticut, under their mild constitution of civil government were, than if they had no constitution, or law to control and govern them.

These gentlemen made no reply to Mr. Hobart. But several other pieces were written against his construction of the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony; some in favor of Cambridge platform, as preferable to Saybrook agreement, others in the strain of independence, but not meeting the arguments of Mr. Hobart, or in any measure invalidating them. Though there was a considerable party in the colony who were advocates for Mr. Dana and the ordination council, yet the great body of the clergy and the churches in general, put the same construction on the constitution which Mr. Hobart had done. The advice of the general association was very generally adopted by the associations and consociations; greater attention was paid, both to the morals, qualifications and orthodoxy of candidates for the ministry; ordinations have generally been attended by the consociations of the several districts in which they have been performed.

The aggrieved members in Wallingford were released from taxes to the support of Mr. Dana, by the General Assembly, in the October session in 1759, and allowed to worship by themselves. The Rev. Simon Waterman was ordained pastor over them, October 7th, 1761. The church members at their beginning were fifty, and at the ordination of their pastor, they were increased to sixty-one. The people were made a distinct society, by the name of WELLS, in May, 1763.

Mr. Dana was a young man at the time of his ordination, and had little acquaintance with the colony, and doubtless took his measures wholly from the ordaining council. Whatever his sentiments were at the time of his ordination,

BOOK II. 1760.

he doubtless considerably changed them upon further improvement and more mature consideration. He made no secret of it, that he committed numbers of his first sermons to the flames. It is but just to observe, that he was a scholar and a gentleman, and a man of very general information, of hospitality, and irreproachable morals.

The gentlemen of the ordination council never reconciled themselves to their brethren, but died in a state of exclusion from associational and consociational communion. It was remarkable that, after they had carried the claims of the association and consociation higher than any other gentlemen in the colony, and had excluded others in an extraordinary manner from communion with the association and consociation, and from the communion of their churches, they should finally be excluded themselves.* This was the unhappy issue of the ordination at Wallingford; it divided the town, alienated brethren, effected divisions in the commonwealth and churches, and after all, the arts and struggles of the gentlemen who performed it, to exculpate themselves, criminate and cast odium upon others, brought dishonor and evil upon themselves. So it often eventually proves that, with what measure men mete it is measured to them again.

* Some of them had excluded numbers from communion in their churches, of their own mere authority and sovereign pleasure, without any vote or consent of the brethren, for hearing their zealous brethren, though regularly ordained, orthodox, and unimpeachable as to their morals. They had shut such men out of their pulpits, contrary to all the rules of the constitution.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A Catalogue of the Congregational and Consociated Ministers of Connecticut, from the year 1713 to the year 1764, inclusively.

COUNTY OF HARTFORD.

Ministers' Names.	*Names of Towns.*	*When ordained, or installed.*		*Died, or removed.*	
Timothy Woodbridge	Hartford,	Nov. 18,	1685	April 30,	1732
Daniel Wadsworth	1st	Sept. 28,	1732		
Edward Dorr	church	April 20,	1748		
Thomas Buckingham	2d do.			Nov. 19,	1731
Elnathan Whitman		Nov. 29,	1732		
Samuel Woodbridge	3d do.	March 30,	1705	June 9,	1746
Eliphalet Williams	East-Hartford	March 30,	1758		
Benjamin Colton	4th do. Hartf.	Feb. 24,	1713	March 1,	1749
Nathaniel Hooker	west division	Dec. 21,	1757		
Jonathan Marsh	Windsor,	June,	1710	Sept. 8,	1747
William Russell	1st church	July 24,	1751		
Timothy Edwards	2d do.	May,	1694	Jan. 27,	1758
Joseph Perry	East-Windsor	June 11,	1755		
John Woodbridge	Poquonack	January,	1740		
Samuel Tudor					
Ebenezer Mills	Turkey Hills				
Nehemiah Strong					
John McKinstry*	Ellington	Installed,	1730	Resigned,	1756
Nathaniel Huntington					
Seth Norton					
Hezekiah Bissell	Wintonbury	January,	1740		
Thomas Potwin	North-Windsor	May,	1754		
Stephen Mix	Weathersfield,		1694	Aug. 28,	1752
James Lockwood	1st church	Feb. 28,	1737		
Elisha Williams		Oct. 17,	1722	Removed,†	1726
Simon Backus	2d do.	Dec. 28,	1726		1745
Joshua Belden		Nov 11,	1747		
Daniel Russell	3d do.	June 7,	1727	Sept. 16,	1764
Samuel Whitman	Farmington,	Dec. 10,	1706		1751
Timothy Pitkin	1st church	June,	1752		
William Burnham	2d do.	Dec. 10,	1712	Sept. 23,	1750
Samuel Clarke		July,	1756		
Jeremiah Curtis	3d do.	Nov. 13,	1728	Dismissed,	1755
Benjamin Chapman		March 17,	1756		
Samuel Newell	4th do.	August,	1747		
Ebenezer Bogge	5th do.	Nov. 27,	1751		
Noadiah Russell	Middletown,	Oct. 14,	1658	Dec. 13,	1715
William Russell	1st church	June 1,	1715	June 12,	1761
Enoch Huntington		Jan. 6,	1762		
Joseph Smith	2d do.	Jan. 5,	1715	Sept. 8,	1736
Edward Eells		Sept. 6,	1738		

* Mr. McKinstry was educated at Edinburgh: died 1757. aged 77.

† Was chosen rector of Yale College.

Ministers' Names.	*Names of Towns.*	*When ordained, or installed.*		*Died, or removed.*	
Daniel Newell	Middletown,	Oct. 25,	1721	Sept. 14,	1731
Moses Bartlett	3d society	June 6,	1733		
Ebenezer Gould	4th do.	December,	1747		
John Norton	5th do.	Nov. 29,	1748		
Benjamin Bowers	Middle Haddam	Sept. 14,	1740	May 16,	1761
Benjamin Boardman		Jan. 5,	1762		
Jeremiah Hobart*		Installed,	1700		1715
Phinehas Fisk	Haddam		1714		1738
Aaron Cleveland			1749	Dismissed,	1753
Joshua Elderkin			1749	Dismissed,	1753
Eleazar May			1756		
Dudley Woodbridge	Simsbury,	March 3,	1796	Aug. 3,	1710
Timothy Woodbridge	1st church		1712	Aug 28,	1742
Gideon Mills		September,	1744	August,	1754
Benajah Root		Aug. 10,	1757		
Benjamin Ruggles	Suffield,	May,	1698	Sept. 5,	1702
Ebenezer Devotion	1st church	June 28,	1710	April 11,	1741
Ebenezer Gay		Jan. 13,	1742		
John Graham	2d do.	Oct. 22,	1746		
Nathaniel Collins	Enfield				
Peter Reynolds			1724		
John Southmayd	Waterbury				
Mark Leavenworth		March,	1740	Aug. 20,	1797
John Trumbull	Westbury				
Samuel Todd	Northbury				
Timothy Stevens	Glastenbury,		1793	April 14,	1796
Ashbel Woodbridge	1st church	October,	1728	Aug. 16,	1758
John Eells		June 27,	1759		
Elihab Brainard		January,	1736	June 1,	1739
Nehemiah Brainard	2d do.	January,	1740	Nov. 9,	1742
Isaac Chalker		Installed,	1744		
John Bliss	Hebron	October,	1717	Dismissed,	1734
Benjamin Pomeroy†		December,	1735		1784
Stephen Steele	Tolland	February,	1722		1759
Nathan Williams		April,	1760		
Thomas White	Bolton,	Oct. 26,	1725	Feb. 22,	1763
George Colton	1st church	Nov. 9,	1763		
Ebenezer Kellogg	2d do.	November,	1762		

COUNTY OF NEW-HAVEN.

Joseph Noyes	New-Haven,	July 4,	1716	June 14,	1761
Chauncey Whittelsey	1st church	March 1,	1758		
Jacob Hemingway	East-Haven	October,	1711	October,	1754
Nicholas Street		Oct. 8,	1755		
James Wetmore			1718	Dismissed,‡	1722
Isaac Stiles	North-Haven	Nov. 11,	1724	May 14,	1760
Benjamin Trumbull		Dec. 24,	1760		
Samuel Johnson			1720	Dismissed,§	1722
Jonathan Arnold	West-Haven		1725	Dismissed,	1734
Timothy Allen			1738	Dismissed,	1742
Nathan Birdseye		October,	1742	Dismissed,	1758
Noah Williston		June,	1760		

* Mr. Hobart died in the 85th year of his age, and 15th of his ministry, in Haddam. Mr. Fisk was at college with him about one year.

† Dr. Pomeroy died in the 81st year of his age, and 49th of his ministry.

‡ Declared for Episcopacy. § Declared for Episcopacy.

Ministers' Names.	*Names of Towns.*	*When ordained, or installed.*		*Died, or removed.*	
Benjamin Woodbridge	Amity		1742		
Stephen Hawley	Bethany				
Samuel Bird	White-Haven	Inst. Oct. 13,	1751		
Samuel Andrew	Milford,	Nov. 18,	1685	Jan. 24,	1738
Samuel Whittelsey	1st church	Dec. 9,	1737		
Job Prudden	2d do.	May,	1747		
Thomas Ruggles	Guilford,	Nov. 20,	1795	Died,	1796
Thomas Ruggles, jun'r	1st church	March,	1729		
Amos Fowler		June 3,	1758		
John Hart	East-Guilford	November,	1667	March,	1782
Jonathan Todd		Oct. 23,	1732		
Samuel Russell	Cohabit, or	June,	1725	January,	1746
John Richards	North-Guilford	November,	1748	Dismissed,	1765
John Sprout	4th church	April 17,	1748		
Richard Ely	5th do.	June 3,	1758		
Samuel Russell	Branford,	Probably,	1687	June 25,	1731
Philemon Robbins	1st church	Feb. 7,	1732		
Jonathan Merrick	2d do.		1727		
Warham Williams	3d do.				
Samuel Whittelsey	Wallingford,	April,	1710	April 15,	1752
James Dana	1st church	Oct. 12,	1758		
Samuel Hall	Cheshire, 2d do.	December,	1724		
Theophilus Hall	Meriden, 3d do.	Oct. 29,	1729		
Joseph Moss	Derby,	About	1706		1731
Daniel Humphreys	1st church		1733		
Jonathan Lyman	Oxford,	October,	1745	Oct. 19,	1783
David Bronson	2d do.	April 25,	1764		
Nathaniel Chauncey	Durham	Feb. 7,	1711	Feb. 1,	1756
Elizur Goodrich		Nov. 24,	1756		

COUNTY OF NEW-LONDON.

Eliphalet Adams	New-London,	February,	1709	April,	1753
Mather Byles	1st church	Nov. 18,	1757		
James Hillhouse	2d do.	Inst. Oct. 3,	1722	Dismissed	
David Jewett		Oct. 3,	1739		
Thomas Buckingham	Saybrook,				
Azariah Mather	1st church				
William Hart		Nov. 17,	1736		
Abraham Nott	2d do.				
Stephen Holmes					
John Devotion	3d do.				
Jared Harrison	4th do.				
Simeon Stoddard					
James Noyes	Stonington	September,	1674	Dec. 30,	1719*
Ebenezer Russell	North society	Feb. 22,	1727	Died,	May 22,
Joseph Fish		Dec. 27,	1732		[1781
Nathaniel Eells	East do.	July 14,	1733		
John Woodward	Norwich				
Benjamin Lord†		November,	1717	Died Mar. 4,	1784

* After the death of Mr. Noyes, Stonington was divided into two societies.

† Dr. Lord died about 90 years of age. He was sole pastor of the church until his 34th year, and died in the 67th year of his ministry. During his ministry, the town was divided into eight ecclesiastical societies.

Ministers' Names.	*Names of Towns.*	*When ordained, or installed.*		*Died, or removed.*	
Henry Willis	Norwich,	Oct. 8,	1718	Dismissed,	1756
John Ellis	2d church		1753		
Daniel Kirtland	3d do.	Dec. 10,	1723	Dismissed	
Peter Powers		Dec. 2,	1756		
Benjamin Throop	4th do. Bozrah	Jan. 3,	1738		
Jared Elliott	Killingworth	Oct. 26,	1709	April 22,	1768
William Seward	N. Killingworth				
Ephraim Woodbridge	Groton,	Nov. 8,	1704	Died,	1724
John Owen	1st church	Nov. 22,	1727		1755
Samuel Kirtland		Dec. 19,	1757	Dismissed,	1758
Jonathan Barber		Nov. 3,	1758		
Ebenezer Punderson	2d do.	Dec. 25,	1729	Dismissed*	
Andrew Croswell			1736	Resigned,	1746
Jacob Johnson	3d do.	June,	1748		
Moses Noyes†	Lyme,		1695		
Samuel Pierpont	1st church	Dec. 10,	1724	Drowned,	1725
Jonathan Parsons‡					
Stephen Johnson		Dec. 10,	1746		
Ebenezer Mack	2d do.				
George Griswold					
George Beckwith	3d do.				
Salmon Treat	Preston,	Nov. 16,	1698	Res'd, Mar.	1744
Asher Rossiter	1st church	March 14,	1744		
Hezekiah Lord	2d do.	Nov. 20,	1720	June,	1761
Levi Hart		Nov. 4,	1762		
John Bulkley	Colchester,	December,	1703	June,	1751
Ephraim Little	1st church	Sept. 20,	1732		
Joseph Lovett	2d do.		1719	Dismissed,	1745
Judah Lewis	3d do. Chester	Dec. 17,	1729		
Thomas Skinner		April,	1742	October,	1762
Robert Robbins		October,	1764		

COUNTY OF FAIRFIELD.

Joseph Webb	Fairfield,	Aug. 15,	1694	Sept. 19,	1732
Noah Hobart	1st church	Feb. 7,	1733		
Daniel Chapman	2d do.	Oct. 26,	1715	Nov. 28,	1741
Daniel Buckingham	Green Farms	March 19,	1742		
John Goodsell	3d do.	May 18,	1726		
Seth Pomeroy	Greenfield				
James Johnson	North-Fairfield	Dec. 14,	1763		
Nathaniel Hunn§	4th do.	March 21,	1733	Died,	1745
Nathaniel Bartlett	Reading	May 23,	1753		
Samuel Sherwood	Northfield	Aug. 17,	1757		
Timothy Cutler‖	Stratford,		1709		1719
Hezekiah Gould	1st church	June,	1722	Dismissed,	1752
Israhiah Wetmore		May,	1753		

* He professed episcopacy.

† Mr. Noyes preached 27 years in Lyme before his ordination, because no church could be formed there till that time.

‡ Mr. Parsons removed to Newburyport, and was considered as a gentleman of very respectable character.

§ Mr. Hunn's widow lived to be a hundred years old.

‖ Chosen rector of Yale College, 1719. In 1722, was removed from his office in the college, as he had professed episcopacy.

Ministers' Names.	*Names of Towns.*	*When ordained, or installed.*		*Died, or removed.*	
Charles Chauncey	Stratfield				
Samuel Cooke					
Robert Ross					
Jedediah Mills	Ripton	February,	1724		
Richardson Minor	North-Stratford	January,	1730	Dismissed,	1742*
James Beebe					
Mr. Bostwick	Greenwich, 1st church				
Ebenezer Davenport					
Robert Morris					
Mr. Sackett			1717		1727
Stephen Monson	West-Greenwich	May 29,	1728	May,	1750
Abraham Todd			1733		
John Davenport	Stamford, 1st church		1694	February,	1731
Ebenezer Wright		May,	1732	May,	1748
Noah Wells		Dec. 31,	1746		
Moses Mather	2d do. Middlesex				
Robert Silliman	Canaan				
Benjamin Strong	Stanwick	June 17,	1735		
Stephen Buckingham	Norwalk,	Nov. 17,	1697	Resign'd,	Feb. 24, 1727
Moses Dickinson	1st church		1727		
Robert Sherwood	2d do. Wilton	July 20,	1726	Dismissed,	1732
William Gaylord		Feb. 13,	1752		
Seth Shove	Danbury,		1696	Oct. 5,	1735
Ebenezer White	1st church	March 10,	1736		
Thomas Brooks	2d do. Newbury	Sept. 28,	1758		
Noah Wetmore	3d do. Bethel	Nov. 25,	1760		
David Judson	Newtown				
Jonathan Ingersoll	Ridgefield				
Benajah Case	New-Fairfield	Nov. 9,	1742	Dismissed,	1758
James Taylor		March 29,	1758		
Thomas Lewis	North society	March 28,	1744		
Elijah Sill		Oct. 17,	1751		

COUNTY OF WINDHAM.

Samuel Whiting	Windham, 1st church	Nov. 4,	1700	Sept. 27,	1725
Thomas Clap		Aug. 3,	1726	Removed, Dec.	
Stephen White		Dec. 24,	1740	10,	1739†
William Billings	2d do.	May 20,	1733		
Samuel Mosely		May 15,	1754	July 26,	1791
Ebenezer Devotion	3d do.	Oct. 22,	1735		
Joseph Coit	Plainfield	January,	1703	March 16,	1748
David Rowland		March 16,	1748	Dis'd, Ap. 25,	1761
Samuel Easterbrooks		June 13,	1711	June 26,	1727
John Wadsworth	Canterbury	March 28,	1729	March 1,	1741
James Cogswell		Dec. 28,	1744		
Ebenezer Williams	Mansfield, 1st church	Oct. 18,	1710	Sept. 20,	1742
Richard Salter		June 27,	1744		
William Throop	2d do.	Oct. 11,	1744	June 13,	1746
Daniel Welch		June 29,	1752		

* Mr. Minor declared for episcopacy, 1742. He went for orders, and died in England.

† Mr. Clap was chosen rector of Yale College, and installed in his office, April 2d, 1740. He presided over the college with great ability and reputation, for about 27 years. He resigned his office, Sept. 10th, 1764. He died at New-Haven, Jan. 7th, 1767.

Ministers' Names.	*Names of Towns.*	*When ordained, or installed.*		*Died, or removed.*	
James Hale	Ashford	Nov. 26,	1718	October,	1742
John Bass		Sept. 7,	1743		1751
Timothy Allen		Oct. 12,	1751		
Joseph Parsons	Lebanon, 1st church	Nov. 27,	1700		1708
Samuel Wells		Dec. 5,	1710	Dis'd, Dec. 4,	1722
Solomon Williams		Dec. 5,	1722		
Mr. Smith,	2d do.		1720	May 27,	1725
William Gager,		May 27,	1725	May,	1739
Eleazar Wheelock			1739		
Jacob Elliott	3d do.		1728		
Ebenezer Williams	Pomfret, 1st church	Oct. 26,	1715	March 28,	1753
Aaron Putnam		March 10,	1756		
Ephraim Avery	2d do.	Sept. 4,	1735	Oct. 20,	1754
Josiah Whitney		Feb. 4,	1756		
David Ripley	3d do.	Feb. 21,	1753		
Josiah Dwight	Woodstock, 1st church,		1690	Sept. 3,	1726
Amos Throop		May 24,	1727	Sept. 10,	1735
Abel S. Stiles		July 27,	*1737		1760
Abiel Leonard		June 23,	†1763		
Stephen Williams		July 27,	1747		
Seth Paine	Stafford, 1st church		1734	July 20,	1740
Eli Colton			1744	June 8,	1756
John Willard		March 23,	1757		
Isaac Foster	2d do.	Oct. 31,	1764		
Samuel Dorrance‡	Voluntown		1723	Nov. 12,	1775
John Fisk	Killingly, 1st church		1715		1741
Payley Howe			1746		1753
Aaron Brown			1754		
Martin Cabot	2d do.	Feb. 5,	1730	April,	1756
Noadiah Russell	since Thompson	Nov. 9,	1757		
Nehemiah Barker			1746		
Samuel Wadsworth	3d do.		1747		
Eden Burroughs			1760	Dismissed,	1763

COUNTY OF LITCHFIELD.

Timothy Collins	Litchfield	June 19,	1723	Dismissed, Oct.	
Judah Champion		July 4,	1753	[14,	1752
Daniel Boardman	New-Milford		1716		1744
Nathaniel Taylor		June 29,	1748		
Zachariah Walker	Woodbury, 1st church	May 5,	1670		1700
Anthony Stoddard		May 27,	1702	Sept. 6,	1760
Noah Benedict		Oct. 22,	1760		
John Graham	2d do. Southbury	Jan. 17,	1733		
Thomas Canfield	3d do. Roxbury	August,	1744		
Andrew Bartholomew	Harwinton	About	1737		
Jonathan Marsh,	New-Hartford	October,	1739		
Nathaniel Roberts	Torrington		1741		
Elijah Webster	Canaan	Oct. 1,	1740	Dismissed, Oct.	
Daniel Farrand		Aug. 12,	1752	[14,	1752

* On a division of the society, in 1760, Mr. Stiles removed to the north society, where he died, July 25th, 1783, in the 75th year of his age, and 46th of his ministry.

† Mr. Leonard came to an untimely end, by laying violent hands upon himself.

‡ Mr. Dorrance died in the 47th year of his ministry, and in the 90th year of his age.

Ministers' Names.	*Names of Towns.*	*When ordained, or installed.*		*Died, or removed.*	
Mr. Pratt	Sharon				
John Searle					
Cotton Smith		Aug. 23,	1755		
Stephen Heaton	Goshen		1740	Dismissed,	1753
Abel Newell			1754		
Cyrus Marsh	Kent,	May 6,	1741		1756
Joel Bordwell	1st church	Oct. 8,	1758		
Sylvanus Osborn	2d do.	Jan. 29,	1757		
Jonathan Lee	Salisbury	Nov. 23,	1744		
Ammi R. Robbins	Norfolk	October,	1761		
Reuben Judd	Parish of Judea		1742		1747
Daniel Brinsmade		March 1,	1748		
Noah Wadhams	New-Preston		1757		

On the 25th of September, 1725, an episcopal church was formed in New-London. Their first priest was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, appointed April 10th, 1732. He continued with the people until 1743, when he removed to Hempstead, on Long-Island. To him succeeded the Rev. Matthew Graves, April 26th, 1748.

About the year 1734, episcocapy commenced at Hebron. The Rev. John Bliss, the first minister of the town, having been dismissed from his pastoral labors, in that church and congregation, by an ecclesiastical council, soon after declared for episcopacy, and a number of his warm adherents declared with him. In 1735, they erected a church house. He preached to them and read service for a number of years, but was never in orders.

After his death, Mr. Seabury, of New-London, visited them four or five times a year, preached and administered the sacraments to them, and was allowed ten pounds a year for his services at Hebron.

The Rev. Mr. Dean went to England, and took orders for the church at Hebron, but died at sea, on his return, about the year 1745. The Rev. Mr. Punderson, of Groton, then preached to them and administered the sacraments from 1746 to 1752. The people at Hebron, were very unfortunate with respect to the gentlemen who went to England for orders in their behalf. A Mr. Cotton, in 1752, received orders for them, but he died on his passage for New-England, with the small pox. Mr. Graves, of New-London, served them from 1752 to 1757. In 1757, one Mr. Usher went for orders in their behalf. He was taken by the French on his passage to England, and died in captivity.

The Rev. Samuel Peters was ordained their priest, in August, 1759, and the next year returned to New-England. He continued priest at Hebron, until the commencement of the revolutionary war, soon after which, he left this country for Great-Britain.

In 1737, an episcopal church was incorporated at Norwalk, by the Rev. Mr. Canner. It continued under his care until his brother, the Rev. Richard Canner, arrived, in orders, from England, and became its priest. He officiated there four or five years, and then removed to Staten-Island. In 1751, Mr. John Fowle was recommended to the society in England, for orders, for that church. He returned in orders, and officiated there about five years. The people by that time, were so dissatisfied with his moral conduct, that he was dismissed. To him succeeded the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming.

BOOK II. About the year 1736 or 1737, an episcopal church was formed in what was called Norwich long society. The Rev. Ebenezer Punderson was appointed their missionary. He had been pastor of the second church in Groton. In 1733, he professed himself to be a conformist to the church of England. Some time afterwards he went to England, and became priest of that church for several years.

About the same time, several people appeared to be churchmen in Newtown and Waterbury. The Rev. John Beach was appointed incumbent over the episcopalians in Newtown. In 1737, there were but two or three *families* of church people in Waterbury, and they increased very little, until the year 1742, when a considerable number of families professed themselves to be of the church of England; and went off from the congregation to which they formerly belonged, and joined that communion. Soon after, a church house was erected. Before this, one Mr. Arnold preached to them a few times. He had been minister at West-Haven, and, imbibing episcopacy, he went to England, and took orders for West-Haven and Derby. He returned about the year 1737. He preached to them a few years, and then removed to Staten Island. Dr. Johnson of Stratford, and Mr. Beach of Newtown, visited them occasionally, preached and administered the ordinances to them. Soon after the erecting of their church house, one Mr. Morris was appointed, by the society in England, to preach to them and other churches of that *denomination*. He continued but a short time, and it seems that, not liking the country, he returned to Europe.

An episcopal church and congregation had been formed at Derby, and one Mr. Lyon was appointed missionary for Derby and Waterbury. He continued with them about four or five years, and then removed to Long-Island. To him succeeded the Rev. Richard Mansfield, about the year 1749. He preached part of the time at Derby and the other part at Waterbury, until the year 1758. By this time, the church in Waterbury had greatly increased. In the society of Northbury, a majority of the people were, for a time, churchmen, and the Rev. James Scovil was appointed their missionary.

In 1740, a church house was erected at Ripton. The church in this place was under the care of Dr. Johnson, until the year 1755, when the Rev. Christopher Newton was appointed their missionary.

The church was formed in Stamford in 1747, and another small one soon after at Greenwich. Their only missionary has been the Rev. Ebenezer Dibble.

About the year 1750, a church professing episcopacy commenced at Middletown, and, two years after, they erected them a handsome church, with a steeple and bell. In 1751, Mr. Ichabod Camp went to England for ordination, with a view to the church in Middletown and Wallingford. In Wallingford, there were thirteen subscribers for him, ten in the first society and three in Cheshire. In North-Haven, there were two only. He returned in 1752, with an appointment of missionary for Middletown and Wallingford. In 1760, he left Middletown, and removed to Louisburg in Virginia. To him succeeded the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, afterwards bishop Jarvis, in the church at Middletown; and the Rev. Samuel Andrews in the church at Wallingford. He supplied the church at North-Haven, once in four sabbaths. 1764. 1768.

In New-Haven, the church of England commenced about the same time as that at Middletown. The Rev. Ebenezer Punderson was their first and only priest from 1755 to 1762, when he removed to Rye, in the state of New-York. He generally officiated once in four sabbaths at North-Haven, while he continued in New-Haven. To him succeeded the Rev. Solomon Palmer, in 1763.

At the close of the year 1764, to which this history is brought down, there were thirteen ministers of the episcopal denomination in the colony. They had pluralities. Few of them were confined to one church only.

They were missionaries from the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. They generally had a salary from the society, of about fifty pounds sterling, upon an average: some had more and some less.

The churches were supplied with books suited to their mode of worship, from the society in England. To them the missionaries annually transmitted an account of their labors and churches. This was the state of the episcopal churches, in Connecticut, until the American revolution.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Sketches of the Separates and Baptists.

OF the separation from the standing churches, an account has been given, and of the disorders and oppressions of those times when they commenced. Churches of this character were formed in New-London, Stonington, Preston, Norwich, Lyme, Canterbury, Plainfield, Windsor, Suffield and Middletown. Some of their churches and congregations were nearly as large as some of the standing churches. There were ten or twelve churches and congregations of this denomination, first and last, in the colony. Some of them carried their enthusiasm to a greater extreme than others. In New-London, they carried it to such a degree, that they made a large fire to burn their books, clothes, and ornaments, which they called their idols; and which they now determined to forsake and utterly to put away. This imaginary work of piety and self-denial they undertook on the Lord's day, and brought their clothes, books, necklaces and jewels together, in the main street. They began with burning their erroneous books: dropping them one after another into the fire, pronouncing these words, "If the author of this book died in the same sentiments and faith in which he wrote it, as the smoke of this pile ascends, so the smoke of *his* torment will ascend forever and ever. Hallelujah. Amen." But they were prevented from burning their clothes and jewels. John Lee, of Lyme, told them his idols were his wife and children, and that he could not burn them; it would be contrary to the laws of God and man: That it was impossible to destroy idolatry without a change of heart, and of the affections.

How much they held to a miraculous and immediate assistance of the Spirit, in their performances, may appear by a charge given to elder Paul Parks, of Preston, at his ordination. He was solemnly charged not to premeditate, or think, before hand, what he should speak to the people; but to speak as the Spirit should give him utterance. The preachers of this denomination were laymen, and their ordinations were of the same sort.

Their zeal and enthusiasm abated as they were kindly treated, and the oppressive laws were repealed.

For this purpose the dissenters in England deeply interested themselves. They had a committee to guard

their liberties, and to oppose all measures which might be attempted to infringe them. At the head of this, was Dr. Avery, a very noted and influential gentleman. He wrote to a gentleman in New-England, "I am very sorry to hear of the persecuting spirit that prevails in Connecticut. It is unaccountable, that those who live and breathe by liberty, should deny it to their brethren. If any gentlemen that suffer by these coercive laws will apply to me, I will use my influence that justice shall be done them."* This letter was read in the General Assembly. In consequence of it, governor Law wrote to Dr. Avery, acquainting him with the disorders and extravagancies into which the people ran, under a pretence of, and zeal for religion, which had occasioned such laws to curb their excesses. The Dr. replied, that he disliked such wildness and disorder as much as he did; but that civil penalties were not the proper remedy to heal them. Upon a revision of the laws soon after, the laws which had given so much trouble and done so much dishonor to the colony, were expunged, or left out. The churches of this denomination are now generally extinct. Some have returned to the standing churches, but they have generally turned baptists. BOOK II.

With respect to this denomination of christians, there were but a few of them in the colony, at the period to which this history comes down. The first appearance of them, in Connecticut, was at Groton, about the year 1700. In 1710, Mr. Valentine Wightman was ordained their pastor. He continued in his ministry with them between thirty and forty years. He died, June 9th, 1747. He was succeeded by elder Daniel Fisk, from Rhode-Island, who was installed in autumn of the same year. He continued with them in ministry about ten years, and was dismissed. To him succeeded Mr. Timothy Wightman, son of their first pastor, who was ordained, May 20th, 1756.

There were a few baptists in New-London and Lyme. In 1720, they called one Stephen Gorton, a young man, who was a warm exhorter, from Rhode-Island, to be their teacher; he was ordained by elder Wightman. He was supposed to be a descendant of Gorton, who gave so much trouble in Massachusetts, in the first settlement of that state. He was brought up in great ignorance. When he came to New-London he married a Connecticut girl, and she learned him to read and write. This church and congregation increased to about an hundred and fifty mem-

* Manuscripts of the Rev. Mr. Birdseye. It is probable, that the gentleman to whom the letter was addressed, was rector Williams, for Mr Birdseye says, he shewed him the letter.

BOOK II. bers, and were respectable among the baptists in Rhode-Island. They attended their general meetings. The ministers in the vicinity of New-London began to be alarmed; and as they understood that Wightman of Groton, Moss of Providence, Gorton of New-London, and one Hitchcock, a seventh day baptist, were about to meet at Lyme, for the propagation of their opinions, on the 7th of June, 1727, the Rev. Messrs. Adams of New-London, Bulkley of Colchester, Griswold, Noyes and Mather, met with them, by agreement, and they had a public disputation, on the points of difference between them. But they parted much as they began, each retaining their former opinions. There were, probably, a few scattering baptists at Lyme, attached to Gorton's congregation, which was gathered from different places.

Gorton was not of a good moral character. Soon after the disputation at Lyme, he was accused of sodomy, by his own church; and, after many trials before them, the cause was referred to a general meeting of the baptists in Rhode-Island. Many witnesses appeared against him, and the general meeting condemned his conduct as unworthy of an elder, and advised the church to dismiss him. He persisted in his office, but it scattered his congregation, and left but very few hearers.

A number of baptists appeared in Wallingford, about the year 1735. They consisted of about ten families. They built them a small house of worship, in which they assembled for a number of years. Their first elder was Timothy Waters, who was succeeded by John Merriman. They were laymen of no great talents, and the church, many years since, became extinct. As late as the year 1764, it does not appear that there was one family of that denomination in the town.

There were a considerable number of baptists in the society of Weston, and a small number in Greenwich, on the line between Connecticut and New-York. It is believed that these were all the baptists in Connecticut, before the year 1764.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

A PLAN of a proposed union of the several colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British settlements in North-America, in July, 1754.

I. That humble application be made for an act of parliament of Great-Britain, by virtue of which, one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed in the said act, as hereafter follows.

II. That within months after the passing of such act, the house of representatives that happens to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for that purpose convened, shall choose members for the grand council in the following proportions; that is to say,

Massachusetts Bay,	7
New-Hampshire,	2
Connecticut,	5
Rhode-Island,	2
New-York,	4
New-Jersey,	3
Pennsylvania,	6
Maryland,	4
Virginia,	7
North-Carolina,	4
South-Carolina,	4—[Total, 48]

who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, being called by the president general, as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

III. That there shall be a new election of the members of the grand council every three years; and on the death or resignation of

any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

IV. That after the first three years, when the proportion of the money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen by each colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion, yet so as the number to be chosen by any one province, be not more than seven, nor less than two.

V. That the grand council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the president general on any emergency; he *having* first obtained, in writing, the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

VI. That the grand council have right to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting, longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent, or the special command of the crown.

VII. That the members of the grand council shall be allowed for their services, ten shillings sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

VIII. That the assent of the president general be requisite to all acts of the grand council, and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

IX. That the president general, with the advice of the grand council, hold or direct all Indian treaties, in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned: and make peace and declare war with Indian nations.

X. That they make such laws as shall be judged necessary for regulating the Indian trade.

XI. That they make all purchases from the Indians, for the crown, of lands, not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

XII. That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit rent to the crown, for the use of the general treasury.

XIII. That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown should think fit to form them into particular governments.

XIV. That they raise and pay soldiers, and build forts, for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts, and protect trade on the ocean, lakes, or the great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature.

XV. That for these purposes, they have power to make laws,

and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people, rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens.

XVI. That they may appoint a general treasurer, and particular treasurers in each government, when necessary, and from time to time, may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

XVII. Yet no money to issue but by the joint orders of the president general and grand council; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the president general is previously empowered by an act to draw such sums.

XVIII. That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the general assemblies.

XIX. That a quorum of the grand council empowered to act, with the president general, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

XX. That the laws made by them, for the purposes aforesaid, shall not be repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the king in council, for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

XXI. That in case of the death of the president general, the speaker of the grand council for the time being, shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the king's pleasure be known.

XXII. That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the president general; but the approbation of the grand council is to be obtained before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the grand council, and to receive the president general's approbation before they officiate.

XXIII. But in case of vacancy, by death or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the governor of the province under which such vacancy happens, may appoint, till the pleasure of the president general and grand council can be known.

XXIV. That the particular military, as well as civil establishments in each colony, remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that, on sudden emergencies, any colony may defend itself, and lay the account of the expense thence arising before the president general, and general council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as they judge accounts just and reasonable.

Doctor Franklin, who afterwards appeared so firmly and nobly in

the defence of the liberties of America, was a warm advocate for the plan of a general council, agreed upon in the preceding articles, which the legislature of Connecticut judged would be more subversive of their liberties than the government of the king and parliament. They therefore opposed it by all means in their power.

NUMBER II.

Literature of the State of Connecticut, January, 1818.

OF YALE COLLEGE, ITS BUILDINGS, FACULTY, AND LIBRARIES.

Buildings.	*Length and breadth.*	*Four stories.*	*All in a line.*
NORTH College,	- -	108 feet	by 40 feet.
Lyceum,	- - - -	56	by 46
Middle College,	- - -	100	by 40
Chapel,	- - - -	50	by 40
South College,	- - -	104	by 38

Back of the colleges, is a Kitchen and large Dining-Room.

Under the Lyceum, is a Laboratory for chemical operations. It is furnished with an extensive apparatus, and a full course of instruction is given in this branch, as well as in natural philosophy, for which there is also a very valuable apparatus. The great mineral cabinet of colonel Gibbs, consisting of more than 10,000 choice specimens, is deposited in Yale College, which, also, possesses a good cabinet of its own, and full courses of instruction are given in this branch also.

FACULTY.

Rev. JEREMIAH DAY, LL.D. President, and Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

ÆNEAS MONSON, M.D. Professor of Materia Medica and Botany.

NATHAN SMITH, M.D. C.S.M. S. Lond. Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic, Surgery, and Obstetricks.

BENJAMIN SILLIMAN, Professor of Chemistry, Pharmacy, Mineralogy, and Geology.

JAMES L. KINGSLEY, A.M. Professor of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin Languages.

ELI IVES, M.D. Adjunct Professor of Materia Medica and Botany.

JONATHAN KNIGHT, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology.

Rev. ELEAZER T. FITCH, A.M. Professor of Divinity.

Rev. CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, A.M. Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory.

ALEXANDER FISHER, A.M. Adjunct Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy.

TUTORS.

ELISHA MITCHELL, A.M.	HORACE HOOKER, A.B.
FREDERICK MORGAN, A.M.	HUBBARD ROCKWELL, A.B.
WILLIAM DWIGHT, A.M.	JOSEPH WICKHAM, A.B.

1781, by the name of The Trustees of Staples' Free School; and were enabled to hold property to such an amount, that the annual interest should not exceed a thousand dollars. The present instructor is the Rev. NATHANIEL FREEMAN, A. M.

Academy at Plainfield. This was founded in 1784. It is vested with charter privileges. It has a fund of 334 dollars. The interest of this, with the bills for tuition, supports the school. The number of scholars, on an average, is about 80. The fund was given by Isaac Coit, Esq. of Plainfield.

There is an academy at Wallingford, which has a charter, but no fund. The Greek and Latin languages are taught; the English grammar, and other branches of useful knowledge. The average number of scholars is about 45.

There are several other academies in the state, which have no charter; in some of which the learned languages are taught. Besides these, there are twelve Greek and Latin schools.

DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

By the law of the state, the several towns in it are divided into districts, for the schooling of the children and youth. Committees are appointed to examine the masters and mistresses of the schools, and take care that they are duly qualified for instructors. The state is divided, according to the best collection I have been able to obtain, into about 1,580 district schools, consisting of different numbers. In some of them there are an hundred scholars, or more; in others there are not more than twenty. On an average, they will amount to fifty-five, or fifty-six. From between one third and one half of the whole population are schooled the greatest part of the year—In the winter, and part of the fall and spring, by masters, and in the warmer and more busy season, by mistresses. For the support of these schools, the legislature have appropriated very ample funds:—one arising from new lands, sold by the then colony, many years since—the other from the sale of the land in New Connecticut. These lands, called the Western Reserve, sold for 1,200,000 dollars. In October, 1815, the value of the fund, as reported by the committee of said fund, was $1,501,914 89, secured by mortgages and lands. Since October, 1815, there has been funded and added to the principal, 106,759 dolls. making the present amount of the school fund, $1,608,673 89. The dividends on the school funds, paid to the different school societies in the state, for the year ending March 1st, 1818, on the list of 1816, is as follows:

October dividend, 1817. - - - -	Dolls. 19,761..87
March dividend, 1818, - - - - -	29,643..11
Allowance of two dollars on the 1000, on the list of 1816, payable out of the treasury, on the old fund, - - - - - -	13,174..68
	Dolls. 62,579..66

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